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ANNALS

OF

Philadelphia,

BEING A COLLECTION OF

MEMOIRS, ANECDOTES, & INCIDENTS

OF THE

CITY AND ITS INHABITANTS

FROM

THE DAYS OF THE PILGRIM FOUNDERS.

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

TO WHICH IS ADDED

AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

OLDEN TIME RESEARCHES AND REMINISCENCES OF
NEW YORK CITY.

“ Oh ! dear is a tale of the olden time ! ”

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

BY JOHN F. WATSON,

Member of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

PHILADELPHIA,

E. L. CAREY & A. HART ;

NEW YORK,

G. & C. & H. CARVILL.

1830.

EASTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA, To wit:

***** BE IT REMEMBERED, that on the twenty-fourth day of June, in the fifty-fourth
* L. S. * year of the Independence of the United States of America, A. D. 1830, JOHN
***** F. WATSON, of the said District, has deposited in this office the title of a Book,
the right whereof he claims as author, in the words following, to wit:

“ANNALS OF PHILADELPHIA, being a collection of Memoirs, Anecdotes, and Incidents of
the City and its Inhabitants, from the days of the Pilgrim Founders. Intended to pre-
serve the recollections of olden time, and to exhibit society in its changes of manners
and customs, and the city in its local changes and improvements. To which is added An
Appendix, containing Olden Time Researches and Reminiscences of New York City.

“Oh! dear is a tale of the olden time!”

“Where peep’d the hut, the palace towers;
Where skimm’d the bark, the war-ship lowers:
Joy gaily carols, where was silence rude;
And cultur’d thousands through the solitude.”

By JOHN F. WATSON, Member of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.”

In conformity to the Act of the Congress of the United States, intituled, “An Act for the
encouragement of Learning, by securing the Copies of Maps, Charts and Books, to the
Authors and Proprietors of such Copies during the Times therein mentioned.” And also
to the Act, entitled, “An Act supplementary to An Act, entitled “An Act for the encour-
agement of Learning, by securing the Copies of Maps, Charts and Books, to the Authors
and Proprietors of such Copies during the Times therein mentioned,” and extending the
Benefits thereof to the Arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other
Prints.”

D. CALDWELL,

Clerk of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania

Philadelphia, June 7, 1830.

At a stated meeting held this evening, it was

Resolved,—That the Society being informed that John F. Watson, Esq. one of its members, was about to publish a work entitled "ANNALS OF PHILADELPHIA," which having been examined and found to be authentic, curious, and highly interesting in many respects, it is recommended to the patronage of those who feel an attachment to our city, and take an interest in its primitive character.

Ordered, that a copy of this resolution be furnished to John F. Watson, Esq.

ROBERTS VAUX, Vice President.

JOSHUA FRANCIS FISHER, Secretary p. t.

ADVERTISEMENT.

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

THIS work, dedicated to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania by one of its members, is designed to revive the recollections and the peculiar traits and characteristics of the *olden time*; to give to the present race of Philadelphians curious and amusing facts from *times by-gone*, of which few or none have had any proper conception. It is an effort to rescue from the ebbing tide of oblivion, all those fugitive memorials of unpublished facts and observations, or reminiscences and traditions, which could best illustrate the domestic history of our former days. As such a work is without example for its imitation, it may be deemed *sui generis* in its execution. It has, however, powers to please apart from its style and composition, because it is in effect—a *museum* of whatever is rare, surprising, or agreeable concerning the primitive days of our pilgrim forefathers, or of the subsequent changes by their sons, either

in the alterations and improvements of given localities, or in the modes and forms of "changing men and manners." It is a picture of the doings and characteristics of a "buried age." By the images which their recitals create in the imagination, the *ideal presence* is generated; and we talk and think with "men of other days."

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

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

* It may be noticed, as a proof of the care with which this work has been restricted to moderate size, that in most cases of recitals from others, a smaller type has been used than the common text; and frequently whole articles have been omitted, and only referred to, as to be seen in the two MS. books, either in the Philadelphia Library, or in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It has been limited also to one volume, of over size, rather than present the name of "two volumes" on so untried a subject.

PREFACE.



OUR love of antiquities,—the contemplation of *days by-gone*,—is an impress of the Deity.—It is our hold on immortality. The same affection which makes us reach forward and peep into futurity, prompts us to travel back to the hidden events which transpired before we existed. We thus feel our span of existence prolonged even while we have the pleasure to identify ourselves with the scenes or the emotions of our forefathers. For the same cause relics are so earnestly sought and sedulously preserved,—“they are full of local impressions,” and transfer the mind back to “scenes before.”

As *Americans*, we see in a short life more numerous incidents to excite our observation and move our wonder, than any other people on the globe. The very newness of our history ministers to our moral entertainment and increases our interest in contemplating the passing events. A single life in this rapidly-growing country, witnesses such changes in the progress of society, and in the embellishments of the arts, as would require a term of centuries to witness in full-grown Europe. If we have no ruins of Pompeii and Herculaneum to employ our researches; no incomprehensible Stonehenge nor Circle of Dendara to move our wonder; we have abundant themes of unparalleled surprise in following down the march of civilization and improvement, from the first landing of our pilgrim forefathers to the present *eventful* day!

The wealth and ambition of a potent prince may have accomplished a magnificent city in shorter time upon the banks of the Neva; but in this country we have many equal wonders by the energies and resources of a people, until lately “no people.” The wisdom of our free institutions has made our land the desired asylum of the oppressed. Here human life is not wantonly wasted in ambitious broils for sovereignty; we therefore behold our population quadrupled in a term of forty years, and our hardy pioneers subduing the soil, or advancing their settlements, from the Atlantic to the Pacific wave. Canals, rivaling in magnitude the boasted aqueducts of imperial Rome are in successful operation. By these and turnpikes, inaccessible districts are brought nigh; mountains charged with metallic treasures are entered, and their deposits of iron, coal, and lead, &c. lavished over the land. Cities, towns, and villages, arise in the West, as if by enchantment.—Many of their present inhabitants redeemed their soils from a waste howl-

ing wilderness. In less than twenty years our exports have grown from twenty to eighty millions. Our navy, from "cock-boats and rags of striped bunting," has got up to power and renown. Our private law, commercial code, and bold diplomacy, have grown into a matured and learned system. Our inventions and improvements in the arts, which began but yesterday, make us, even now, "a wonder unto many;" and our vapour vessels, while they fill all our waters and overcome the rapids of our great Mississippi and Missouri, are accommodating and enriching the old world by their adoption and imitation. Here we have no lordly potentates in church, "lording it over the consciences of the people;" no standing armies to endanger their liberties; no despots to riot on the oppression of the subject. Nay, so exalted are our privileges, as a *self-governed* people, that the fact of our example and happiness is bidding fair to regenerate other nations, or to moderate the rigour of despotic governments throughout the world!

If topics like these, which enter into the common history of our growing cities, may be the just pride and glory of an American, must not the annals which detail such facts, (and to such, these pages are devoted,) be calculated to afford him deep interest; and should it not be his profit as well as amusement to trace the successive steps by which we have progressed from comparative nothingness, to be "a praise in the earth!"

There are minds, feeling and cultivated, which can derive rich moral pleasure from themes like those, for

"Is there a man with soul so dead
Who never to himself hath said—
This is my own, my native land!"

Such a Philadelphian, may now stand upon the site of Philadelphia and feel his soul partaker of its grandeur. He beholds a city and liberties with a population of 110,000 souls, assessed at a value of 43 millions of dollars; containing edifices and improvements of princely magnificence and expenditure. He looks through the long vista of progressive ages, and imagines to what wide extended range she may yet run. He foresees, as at no distant period, when all the area from river to river will be filled with closely compacted houses, "stretching street on street." From such elevation and comprehension of thought, he looks back on the past. Only seven scores of years have past since the plot of this wide-spread city lay in woods or waste fields of blackberries and whortleberries. Then it was daily traversed by swarthy Indians, and the leafy arbours were vocal with plumed songsters; at such a crisis, he sees and considers the landing and settlement of our enterprising founders—they had to encounter and subdue innumerable inconveniences which riches and the arts have since changed or hidden from our eyes. The heads and the hands which achieved those choicest benefits for us are no more; we now tread

their ashes beneath the soil which they subdued for our use. Oh ! the memory of it is touching,—

“ ———— And the heart is stone
That feels not at it, or it feels at none !”

A *Philadelphian* has every reason to prize and venerate such forefathers,—men of peace and men of worth. The excellency of the morals which regulated their lives, infused itself into all the institutions which they, as public officers, established for the government of the people. We their descendants will embalm their memory, because we inherit and enjoy the rich patrimony which their wisdom and enterprise created.

The progress of such a society, originating our present fair “City of brotherly love,” becomes therefore, if duly told, *a tale of stirring interest*, and should be the favourite theme of her sons.

“ Go call thy sons,—instruct them what a *debt*
They owe their ancestors, and make them swear
To pay it,—by transmitting down entire
Those *sacred rights* to which themselves *were born!*”

Such views and such feelings impressed and imbued the mind of the author, else he had never attempted these pages. His stimulus was purely *con amore*; recompense he did not contemplate, and time he could ill spare from other engagements, wherefore, indulgence for casual imperfections is but justly due from the considerate reader. He wrote at first for his sole gratification, never intending his collections for the public eye, nor now does he encounter that ordeal but by the encouragement of those friends who are willing to accept the performance by their sense of his *limited means* to perfect it. If it should stimulate others to add to these materials it will be a grateful service. And if the example, thus set to the sister cities of New York, Boston, &c. should engage minds of kindred feelings and adequate industry to make similar collections of their domestic history, the usefulness of the present publication will be still more felt and acknowledged; and the eventual aim of the author still more accomplished.*

We should not forget these things: Our land, and our fathers have been the subject of many heaven-descended mercies. They who love to contemplate the cause of the numerous effects, so indicative of our blessings as a nation, will regard it not less a duty of piety than of patriotism, to thus preserve their memorial.

*The Annals of Portsmouth, Lewis' History of Linn, Gibbs' Collections of Salem, and Davis' Notices of Plymouth, are already works of the nature which we wish to see multiplied in our country.

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ANNALS

OF

Philadelphia.

GENERAL INTRODUCTORY HISTORY.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

‡ Roenoke is the Indian name for Wampum.

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

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

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

* It is a fact on record, that Virginia resisted Cromwell's rule, and treated with his naval commander as an "Independent Dominion." King Charles II. afterwards quartered Virginia with his Arms, having the motto, "*En dat Virginia quartam.*" Vide—Encyclopedia Britannico. See also those Arms and motto engraved on a Virginia 5*l.* bill of the year 1773 in my MSS. Annals, p. 276, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

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

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

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

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

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

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

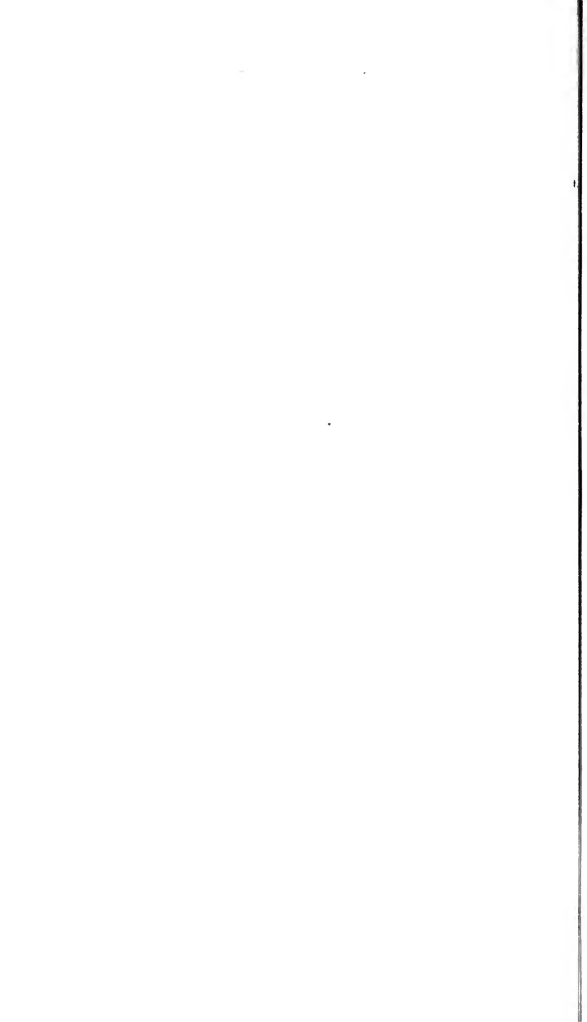
In 1640 the Puritans from New Haven, under the name of English People, desirous of planting churches "after a Godly sort," and "to trade and traffic with the Indians" along the Delaware bay, made a purchase of soil for 30*l.* sterling, transported thither about fifty families, and erected trading houses;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

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

* Called also Tekoacho.

† I have assumed the time given by Campanius, both because he was among the earliest historians of our country, and also dwelling among us as a Swede. He speaks thus, "when the Swedes arrived in 1631." Proud, deriving the time from Smith's *Nova Cæsaria*, has given the year 1627 as the time; but this is a mistake easily accounted for, as being the year, as the state paper shows, in which the king and diet of Sweden gave their sanction to the colonization. There are, however, several reasons assigned for thinking that 1638 was the year of their first arrival and settlement, and the facts are well told in Moulton's history of New York;—it should be consulted by the curious in this matter. James Logan's letter of 1726 to the Penns. to be found elsewhere in these pages, says, "there was also a prohibition (from the New York government,) to the Swedes between the years 1620 and 40."

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



EPITOME

OF

PRIMITIVE COLONIAL

AND

Philadelphia History.

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“—————push enquiry to the birth  
And spring-time of our State.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

\* Now Lewis town creek I presume.

† This was the same place called the "Hoer creek," by the Dutch, and Sinknasse, by the Indians. As Aereel speaks of the Dutch having a fort at the Hoer Kill in 1638, the probability is that they had then resumed their settlement there. The English once called it Deal, and also "whore creek."

to this day. Indeed, what few did remain on our shores must have been about the lower and bay part, as was expressed by William Penn in his letter to the Marquis of Halifax of 1683, saying, "the Swedes having had the upper part of the river, and the Dutch the lower and all the bay."\*

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

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

Mutual jealousies being thus fully awakened, and their "High Mightinesses" sufficiently powerful at New York to sustain an expedition, we see, in 1655, that governor Stuyvesant with half a dozen vessels and 700 men, embarked from the then New Amsterdam to subdue the power of the Swedes on the Delaware. Such a force

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

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

‡ The present Wilmington.

§ Consecrated in 1646.

|| The name of the original proprietor of the scite of Philadelphia.

in that day was too imposing to be successfully resisted, and the consequence was the entire surrender, after some resistance, to the Dutch conqueror. They destroyed all the public buildings, including the fort on Tenecum island, and carried off the chief people to New York and afterwards to Holland. But the common people and such as were not subjects of jealousy remained in the country, under the dominion of the Dutch laws.

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

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

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

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

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

\* The Swedes and Dutch on the Delaware, in 1683, are given by Oldmixon as equal to 5000.

† The Indian name of the Jerseys was Scheyichbi.

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

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

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

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

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

In 1675, some Friends settled at Chester, probably from the Jersey colony. At Robert Wade's house there, (a distinguished Friend often afterwards in the Assembly,) they held their Meetings. So too, some Friends from Jersey or from New York were settled near the Falls of Delaware, called Sankicans by the Indians.

There they had regular Meetings. Their titles they derived from Sir Edmund Andros, the Governor of New York.

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

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

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

much opposed it, and went to the King to have it struck out and altered, he said, 'twas past, and would take it upon him; nor would twenty guineas move the under Secretaries to vary the name,—for I feared least it should be looked on as a vanity in me, and not as a respect in the King, as it truly was, to my father, whom he often mentions with praise.\* If the cause was thus peculiar in its origin, it is not less remarkable in its effect, it being at this day perhaps the only government in existence which possesses the name of its founder!

Penn. being thus in possession of his province, forthwith proceeded to allure the good people of Europe to its settlement and improvement. He published terms, at 40 shillings per 100 acres, and 1 shilling per 100 acres for quit rent. He did not sell such small parcels himself, but in "shares" of 5000 acres each for 100£. How little this seems for lands now bringing from 100 to 300 dollars an acre, and yet how great is the consideration that *he* possessed 26 millions of such acres!

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

They bought at first 20,000 acres; and their appurtenant city lots "was an entire street, and on one side of a street from river to river,"† comprising therein 100 acres, exclusive of 400 acres besides in the Liberties. Contemplate the value of all this ground now, in comparison of its original cost of only 400£. then! What a result in 150 years! They set up a glass-house, a tan-yard, a saw-mill, and a whalery. A society of Germans was also formed at Frankfort in Germany with a view to send out settlers. These took up Germantown township, Manatawny, &c.

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

The first colony, the venturesome pioneers to this new State, left England in August, 1681, in three ships; and the first arrival was the ship *John and Sarah*, from London, captain Smith! The name of this vessel, and of this captain, and of those who were passengers therein, became memorable in the future city,—as they came in time to be designated as "the first landers," &c. by the succeeding generations. When they had lived to see the rising importance of the growing city they must have felt themselves ennobled by their identity with its primitive existence. Among those primitive names was Nathaniel Allen, (a name conspicuous in the Annals of Phila-

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

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

delphia.) John Otter, Edmund Lovett, Joseph Kirkbride, &c. This little colony was the more memorable, because the other two ships were prevented for some time from increasing their population. For one, the *Amity*, captain Dimon from London, was blown off to the West Indies, and did not land her disappointed passengers in Pennsylvania until the next spring; and the third ship, the *Factor*, captain Drew from Bristol, having made as high as Chester on the 11th of December, was frozen up the same night, and so made their winter there. What a cheerless winter it must have been! How different too from their former comforts and homes!—There several of them had to crowd into little earthy caves and huts, constructed for the emergency.

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

I infer from the premises, that as the primitive comers knew not of such an appointed plot as Philadelphia, but were aware, through Penn's previous correspondence in Jersey, that the then existing small village of Upland (now Chester) was peopled by Swedes and some Friends from Jersey, they therefore would be predisposed, as I conceive, to make their first landings at that place. So in fact, Mrs. Sarah Shoemaker, who died in 1825, at the age of 92.

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



assured me she was expressly told by her grandfather, James Lowmes, who was one of the emigrants who so tarried for a time at that place. As we know that many vessels arrived with passengers during the year 1682. (say 23 ships,) we must conceive the great influx into Upland of the earlier part of them, and how very natural it should have been to many of them then who had begun to make it a kind of home, to wish the intended city to be located there. We suppose from this cause, though we have no records to that effect,\* that the tradition, so often repeated, has come down to us that Chester was once purposed as the great emporium of our State.

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

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

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

William Penn did not embark with his first colonists, but he sent out his cousin, captain William Markham, as his first deputy governor, to supply his place, and also to make needful buildings and preparations for the reception of the founder when he should arrive. To this end the finer parts of the frame work required for

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

the construction of "Penn's cottage" in Lætitia court, and for "Pennsbury palace," were freighted from England, together with Penn's workmen, (called "servants," in the parlance of that day,) to set them up.\*

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

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

They landed first at New Castle on the 27th of October, 1682,—a day since to be devoted to commemorative festivals by those who venerate the founder and his primitive associates.† Here the founder was hailed with acclamations by the Swedes and Dutch then there. He forthwith made a call of the people at the Court-house, to address them on the business of his government. The ship with the passengers proceeded further up the river to the general rendezvous or settlement.

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

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

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

† Proud had assigned the 24th of October, as the landing day, but on consulting the record at New Castle lately, it was found to have been on the 27th of October. The record saying,—“On the 27th day of October, 1682, arrived before ye Towne of New Castle from England, William Penn, Esq. whoo produced twoo deeds of feofment for this Towne and twelve myles about itt, and also for ye twoo Lower Counties, ye Whoorekills and St. Jones's—wherefore ye said William Penn received possession of ye Towne ye 28th of Octobr, 1682.”

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

William Penn soon left New Castle, and went thence to hold the first Assembly at Upland. Nicholas Moore, a lawyer from England, was made Speaker. In three days, having much unanimity and cordiality, they passed all the laws previously constructed in England, consisting of sixty-one subjects, called the Great Law of Pennsylvania. Some of them, framed for a professedly religious community, and having for their object the leading into religious affections by civil checks and restraints, may seem sufficiently peculiar in our modern law conceptions to deserve some mention—such as, “A law against drinking of healths,” another against spreaders of false news, one against clamorous persons, scolders, and railers; finally, these laws, intended to have been permanent, and to have had a perpetual moral tendency, were to have been read as occasional reading lessons in the schools. Ah, what would our boys think of our modern statute books if read in lieu of Æsop’s fables! Another peculiarity of the “Frame of Laws,” was, “that all persons in all courts might plead by themselves or friends in their own way and manner freely,—the complainant to swear that his complaint is just, and to give it in writing into court, and a copy to the accused, (to enable him to prepare for trial,) to be delivered to him or her ten days before the trial.” It might perhaps please some, bent on simple justice, and who have seen the rapacity of the law in some cases, if these tokens of primitive simplicity were restored, “and every man within the reach of right!”\* It is not a little curious as a sequel to the whole, that none of those sixty-one primitive laws have now any force, being all made obsolete, or superseded by other enactments in after years.†

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

By the close of the year 1682, such had been the tide of emigration, induced by the popularity of Penn’s character as a mild, generous, and wise Governor, that as many as 23 ships had arrived with passengers since the spring. None of them miscarried; all

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

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

had short passages,—some of them 28 days. A few however, say two or three, had the affliction to have some small-pox on board. In those vessels several children were born without accident to themselves or mothers. Sadly inconvenient and embarrassing situations for some of their descendants now to contemplate, who dwell in sumptuous elegance! But their ancestors were nerved with undaunted resolution to breast and brave every emergency. One of those sea-born accessions received the name of Sea-mercy.

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

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

The first Grand Jury was called the 2nd of 3d mo. 1683. The

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

Petit Jury which succeeded it, found one Pickering guilty of coining and passing base money. He was condemned to make restitution and to pay 40*l.* towards building a court house. What a wretch he must have been to have commenced such a vile employ at a time when honest business of every kind so well rewarded the diligent!

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

In the year 1683-4 the emigration was very great. They came from England, Ireland, Wales, Holland, and Germany. Few or none of the French took any fancy to us, although it was the opinion of Penn that they would, and that they would much profit here by the cultivation of the grape: which then every where abounded in surprising excellence and profusion. The Germans from Cresheim near Worms, were nearly all of them Friends, and all of them made their settlement at Germantown. By this emigration, says Sewall, they providentially avoided the desolation of a French war, which soon after laid waste their former possessions. The Welsh made a very respectable emigration at this time. They bought up 40,000 acres of land, in 1682, and formed their settlements, after the names of their native homes,—in Merion, Haverfield, Radnor, Newtown, Goshen, and Uwechland.

Penn's letter to Lord North, of 7 mo. 1683, saith, "Twenty-two sail more have arrived since I came. There are about 300 farms (of the new comers,) settled as contiguously as may be. Since last summer we have had about sixty sail of great and small shipping, which is a good beginning." To the Marquis of Halifax, under date of 12 mo. 9th, 1683, he says with much truth, "I must, without vanity, say, I have lead the greatest colony into America that ever any man did upon a private credit, and the most prosperous beginnings that ever were in it are to be found among us!" Such self-gratulation was honest and well merited. Indeed we cannot forbear to expatiate a little on the superior tact and talent which he manifested for a founder, by comparing his rapid success with the slow progress of those who preceded him. For, when we consider how long the Swedes were in possession before Penn came,—say, half a century,—we cannot but feel aston-

ished at the very little ability they manifested in producing any thing great or important, commensurate with their opportunities. We neither see nor hear of any public acts, by any of their leading men, to bring themselves or country into notice. Not unlike our present frontier squatters, they seem to have set down contented in their log and clay huts,—their leather breeches, jerkins and match coats for their men,—and their skin jackets, and linsey petticoats for their women. But no sooner has the genius of Penn been enlisted in the enterprise, than we see it speak a city and commerce into instant existence. His spirit animated every part of his colony: and the consequence was, that the tame and unambitious Swedes soon lost their distinctive character and existence as a separate race.

Well might the city of Philadelphia, which imports *brotherly love*, be so called, when we contemplate the benevolent motives of its founder, and the religious and good intentions of his coadjutors and compatriots. “Our views (says A. Soules’ publication of 1684.) was to have freedom of worship, and to live in greater simplicity and innocency on a *virgin elysian shore*, and to give thousands of dark souls to civilization and piety.” Penn solemnly declares he came into his charge of the province “for the Lord’s sake.” He hoped, under the divine aid, to have raised a people who should have been a praise in the earth for conduct, as well as for civil and religious liberty. “I wanted,” says he, “to afford an asylum to the good and oppressed of every nation. I aimed to frame a government which might be an example. I desired to show men as free and happy as they could be. I had also kind views towards the Indians.” “I am night and day (says he, in his letter from Chester,) spending my life, my time, my money, without being a six-pence enriched by my greatness. Had I sought greatness only, I had staid at home, where the difference between what I am, and was offered, and could have been there in power and wealth, is as wide as the places are.” Under the influence of a proper credence to such strong expressions of disinterested patriotism and good will, it seems impossible to avoid the confession that a more disinterested public servant and benefactor the world never saw, preceding our own great Washington. Both were peculiarly and emphatically the father of his country,—*Pater Patriæ*.

Penn’s views respecting his improved system of government, as he himself intended it, is strongly expressed in his letter of 1681, to R. Turner and others, saying, “As my understanding and inclinations have been much directed to observe and reprove mischiefs in governments, so it is now put into my power to settle one. For the matters of liberty and privilege, I purpose that which is extraordinary, and to leave myself and successors (a noble design!) no power of doing mischief;—so that the will of one man,

may not hinder the good of a whole country!"\* Think of this moderation, ye ambitious Chiefs! Such was the worthy and noble spirit of him, whom we are proud to call our generous founder! But the secret was,—a holy religion regulated his life:—yea more, —to those who can appreciate spiritual premonitions as held among Friends,—he was "sky guided" and "heaven-directed" in his scheme of mercy to our race, even twenty years before this government began! For in this same letter he emphatically declares,— "This I can say, that I had an opening of joy as to these parts in the year 1661, at Oxford!"—meaning of course, that when he was then but a student of only 17 years of age, he had some peculiar and sensible intimation of this, his eventual country. In another letter to the same R. Turner (a year before the government began,) he also says, "My God, that has given it me through many difficulties, will, I believe, bless and make it the seed of a nation!"

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

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

It is painful to generous natures, to see so noble minded a gentleman perpetually harrassed with so many cares. It might well be said of him, "Ill rests the head that wears a crown." We feel an influence of tender sorrow when we enter into sympathy with his troubles,—we want to see such a great benefactor enjoy felicity without alloy. But from the time he became a public friend, he seemed appointed to struggle through "evil report," as well as through "good report;"—as "often cast down, but never de-

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

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

stroyed." In his letter to R. Turner, and others, of 1681, he says, "I have been these thirteen years the servant of truth and Friends, and, for my testimony sake, lost much:—not only the greatness and preferments of this world, but 16,000*£.* of my estate,—that had I not been what I am, I had long ago obtained:—but I murmur not." He was imprisoned in the years 1668–9, for his religion, as often as four times in London.—and in later life, whilst the *Great Proprietor of Pennsylvania*, he was a short time on prison limits for debts, and actually had to mortgage his province! "And is this all! cried Cæsar, at his height disgusted!" Who may not "sigh at such success, and weep at such renown!"

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

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

Penn's desire to return to his colony, and his great disappointments from his people, are thus strongly expressed by him in the year 1686,—"Unkindly used as I am, no poor slave in Turkey



more earnestly desires deliverance than I do to be with you." But one cause, which hindered his return, was his great expense for Pennsylvania.—"I must say my expenses is the ground of my present incumbrance." His quit rents, he says, "were at least 500£. per annum, but he could not get one penny."

I have several MSS. letters in my possession, about the above period of time, from Penn to his confidential friend and steward, James Harrison, at Pennsbury, which sufficiently evidence that Penn was much hindered from a speedier return, by the strange indisposition of the colony to provide suitably for his maintenance as Governor: from the same cause I think I can discern that his wife was not favourably disposed to a residence among us,—she had probably heard so much of unkindness and ingratitude towards her husband, as soured the feelings of both herself and her daughter Lætitia. From different letters I quote as follows,—to wit: 1685, "I will be with you as soon as ever I can,—I hope in the spring,—but if the country will not think of considering me as Governor, I have little encouragement."—1686, "The country thinks not about my supply, and I resolve never to act the Governor and charge my private estate. If my table, cellar, and stable, may be provided for, with a barge and yatch for the use of the Governor and government, I may try to get hence;—for in the sight of God, I may say, I am 5000£. and more behind hand, than ever I received or saw for land in the province,—and to be so baffled by the merchants is discouraging and not to be put up with."\* "There is nothing my soul breathes more for, in this world, next to my dear family's life, than that I may see poor Pennsylvania again,—and my wife is giving up, [meaning to go, for the first time, willingly] but I cannot force my way hence and see nothing done on that side inviting. It is not, that I will not come, whatever they do there,—but not the sooner to be sure!" Another letter of 8th of 11 mo. 1686, final on this subject, is very energetic, saying, "As to a supply, I will sell the shirt off my back before I will trouble them any more. I will never come into the province with my family to spend my private estate to discharge a public station, and so add more wrongs to my children. This is no anger, although I am grieved,—but a cool and resolved thought."

Republics have been reproached as "proverbially ungrateful,"—but is there not better evidence that colonies are unthankful! Is it not the general history of colonies, to whine and fret like wayward children;—to give immeasurable trouble and expense to rear them up to maturity;—and then to reward the parental care with alienation! Is it not the present history of all we know as such,

\* The case of "the merchants" is explained in Penn's letter to James Logan, 1705. He had indulged them, as a favour, with an exemption from duties on exports and imports, for a year or two while he was present; but when he was gone, they refused compliance as their right.—He had required the rates as paid at New York and Maryland. His letter of the 8th of April, 1681, to the inhabitants, expressly says, "pay my deputy those dues you formerly paid to the Governor of New York."

who feel themselves able to begin independence for themselves! We speak these things as lookers-on.

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

William Penn, in 1699, again set himself to embark for his province, after an absence of fifteen years. He came with a full purpose to make his stay permanent, and brought his family with him. But the voyage of the vessel (like the former names,) was ominous. They were three months at sea! and when they arrived they found an unexpected and an unwelcome guest. The yellow fever, which had been raging in the West Indies, had been communicated, it is supposed, in Philadelphia. Thomas Story, the recorder and a public Friend, described it as a time when "Great was the fear that fell on all flesh.—I saw no lofty or airy countenance,—nor heard any vain jesting:—but every face gathered paleness, and many hearts were humbled." Penn arrived in the 10th month, and he and his family were received with universal joy, on account of his known intention to stay for life. James Logan, writing of that event, says, "Friends' love to the Governor was great and sincere—they had long mourned for his absence, and passionately desired his return." His arrival being on a first day, he went forthwith to the Meeting, thronged all the way with a crowd, where he spoke to the people. But desirable as was his stay, he was in time again compelled to leave his "wilderness retreat," after a stay of but two years,—never to return! While he remained, there were about 100 laws enacted, chiefly at New Castle, where they as often legislated, to please the low counties, as they did at Philadelphia. He also attended at Philadelphia, in 1701, a great Indian treaty, with forty Indian Chiefs, who came from many nations to settle the friendship. The same year, he had also a great Indian council at Pennsbury mansion, to take leave of him, and to renew covenants, &c.

Penn's stay, for a time, seemed to promise permanency, and he governed with more than usual satisfaction to himself;—but there seemed no more of peace and repose for him than for Moses of old!—for perplexities were gathering. About this time the crown officers began to fear the colonies might grow too powerful under the proprietary governments, and they therefore showed desires of buying them out, so as to bring them more immediately under the direct control of government. The records of the "Board of

trade," it is believed, would show much on this subject if investigated. They began to take measures to curtail their liberties:—and, in 1701, they brought in a bill to enable the crown to take the colonies into possession, for the alleged "better regulation and surer defence."\* At this crisis the owners of land in Pennsylvania, dwelling in England, became very importunate for Penn's return to prevent those measures. He therefore said "he must go back with great reluctance, although he desired the quietness of our wilderness." In his letter of 1701, to James Logan, he says, "no man living can defend us or bargain for us better than myself." Still it may be questioned if this necessity was really so absolute. In truth, the cause of his going was removed even before he arrived there, for king William had died, and queen Anne was his friend. I think I can discern domestic reasons, from expressions made by himself and family, (which probably import even more than was uttered,) which go to show that there were grounds enough of personal dissatisfaction to make a residence in England preferable to one here, under the circumstances under which his family was placed. In a letter which Penn wrote to James Logan, in July, 1701, (preserved in the Logan collection,) he says, "I cannot prevail on my wife to stay, and still less with *Tishe*. I know not what to do,"—and, as if fearing some would demur to his going, he adds, "to all that speak of it, say, I shall have no need to stay (in England) and a great interest to return." In a letter of 1704, he says, "had you settled a reasonable revenue (on him) he would have returned and laid his bones there,—also his wife too, after her mother's death," then expected. From the whole the inference is unavoidable, that however urgent was the business-call of his leaving the country, and the dissatisfaction of the female part of his family here, he would nevertheless have gladly come back to us if adequate provision had been made for his support in the style of a public officer.

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

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

men for occasional services in England, than it was to keep up the government of a whole province by agents, which served at three to four thousand miles from the principal.

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

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

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

when an idle tale found afflictive currency—that the Indians were purposing their massacre.

It was about the year 1708 that Penn's perplexities and troubles fell upon him in more than common measure. He had received the petition for Evans' removal, and a successor was imperious. His debts, through the mal-conduct of a corrupt steward, (Ford) became so ponderous and unmanageable, (although he had a patrimony of 1500*£*. a year.) that he was obliged to mortgage his province for 6600*£*. and to give it in trust to James Logan, Isaac Norris, and others. There began about this time to appear a more than common selfishness in some of the people, even to cabals and factions, and to a virtual resistance, in some cases, of the proprietary's right. David Lloyd, Esqr. of Chester, an attorney and a Friend, Speaker sometime of the Assembly, was the visible head of the opposition. There was much bickering from such causes between the Assembly—headed as it then was—and the Secretary, James Logan. There was certainly a very rude and disrespectful manner of resistance in the Assembly, and their being re-elected was a painful indication to Penn's real friends that the temporary disaffection was too prevalent among the people.\* Their ill-natured disputations with governor Gookin, who had succeeded Evans, in 1709, (written in the plain style of Friends, which had hitherto prevailed in the public acts of the colony,) however provoked by the admitted strange temper of the Governor, are rather burlesque compositions than otherwise, to our sober judgments in this day. Under the force of their excited feelings they proceeded to such extremities as to impeach and to try to arrest the devoted and excellent public servant, James Logan, on pretexts which he readily and ably refuted. The scandal of these measures reached England, and much use was made of them there to disparage and reprobate colonial proprietary governments, and to set forth by those opposed to Penn's interests, that such were not capable of any stable self-government and good conduct.

All these things combining tended eventually to sap and alienate the affections and confidence of Penn to his people : and when, with the increase of his debts for his colony, and their poor returns, he also fell into an occasional defect of mind by a stroke of apoplexy, it became more and more a measure of necessity that he should yield to the wish of the crown (and I might add, of his friends also) by selling out his province for 12,000*£*.—reserving to himself the quit rents and estates. The deed was formally made, and he had received, it is said, 1000*£*. in 1712, as earnest money : † but he never executed it, he having, in that year, so far

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

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

lost his mental faculties as made him incapable, as was supposed by the law-officers, to confer a legal conveyance. So nearly were we once to losing all that connection with the Penn-family, which afterwards, for so many years of the rule of their sub-governors, united our destinies! The MSS. collections by Mrs. Logan are very ample in facts on this sale and arrest of execution.

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

Respecting this meditated surrender to the crown I am enabled to add some facts, derived from the use of the MSS. collections of Mrs. Logan, kindly lent to me for general use. There I ascertained that James Logan and the friends of William Penn in Philadelphia often suggested this measure as a dernier resort. It appears to have been made as early as the year 1701, by some of the crown officers, as a necessary security to the crown in case of a war. Penn appears all along to have deprecated and resisted this. From 1702 to 1707 it is spoken of to Penn by his Philadelphia friends in their letters and in his replies. In 1704, Penn says it will depend on the kindness of the next Assembly to him,— "I shall see this winter's session, and take my measures accordingly." In 1705, he says, "whether I surrender or not, shall make no difference as to my coming and laying my bones among you." All these, so far, were secret confidential views on both sides. In 1707, James Logan is very strenuous in his advice, saying, "If the thing I have so often mentioned can carry any weight, it is (under the then troubles) that thou wilt get a consideration from the crown for the government. 'Tis what I advise: for thou wilt really find it impossible to hold the government here, so refractory as things are conducted. Depend upon it, there is a constant plot here against thy interest." &c. To this I might add, that Isaac Norris, in 1711, says, "I cannot be against it,—he is now old, and the best terms may be had in his life-time. I only hope he will make good terms for Friends,—on oaths, ministers' pay, and militia." Penn himself, on one occasion, writes, "I believe it repents some that they began it, (by requesting or urging the crown to retake it per force,) for now, 'tis I that press it upon good terms, as well for the

people as self,—in the judgment of the wisest and best of my friends.”\*

Finally, it may be seen, as the proper sequel to the whole, what moving causes of complaint and dissatisfaction Penn really possessed, by consulting his long and very able expostulatory letter “to the inhabitants of Pennsylvania” of 27th of 4 mo. 1710.—Vide Proud, vol. 2, page 45. It might well be called his patriarchal and farewell address. It is full of pathos and sensibility, and produced much effect in kindlier feelings from his people after its publication among them, but too late expressed by them in their elections and public measures to prevent his purposed bargain with the crown! Every true Pennsylvanian, imbued with due good feelings to our honoured founder, should make that paper his manual. So his real friends of that day regarded it; and on page 507 of my MSS. Annals, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, is preserved one of those primitive printed letters, kept in one family “with pious care” even down to the present day! “It is (says he,) a mournful consideration, and the cause of deep affliction to me, that I am forced, by the oppression and disappointments which have fallen to my share in this life, to speak to the people of that province in a language I once hoped I should never have occasion to use.”—“I once had reason to expect a solid comfort from the services done so many people, and I have not been disappointed in their prosperity.”—“Did the people really want any thing of me in the relation between us that would make them happier, I should readily grant it.” After showing his grounds of grievance, he says, “When I reflect on all those heads, of which I have so much cause to complain, I cannot but mourn the unhappiness of my portion, dealt to me from those of whom I had reason to expect much better; nor can I but lament the unhappiness that too many of them are bringing upon themselves; who, instead of pursuing the amicable ways of peace, love, and unity, which I at first hoped to find in that retirement, are cherishing a spirit of contention and opposition, and oversetting (by party violence) that foundation on which your happiness might be built.” Finally, he adds, “If I must continue my regard to you, manifest the same to me, by showing, in a fair election, more than I have for some years met with: or else, without further suspense, I shall know what I have to rely on.”

This valedictory, as it in effect proved, from the good old patriarch, was prompted, I am satisfied, in a good degree, by the correspondence and subsequent presence of James Logan.† When it arrived, Isaac Norris writes, that it “extremely pleased;—it is so

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

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

tender and soft where it touches others :— it is so suitable, that we wish it public as possible. Had it arrived before the election it would have given great support to Friends. As it is, the party is lessened, and the mask of the designers and troublers is half off.”

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

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

From the facts which have just passed in review, we arrive at the conclusion,—that however Penn once saw “an opening of joy as to these parts,” it was but too manifest, it was such only “for another and not for himself!” However we may palliate the jealousies of liberty inherent and cherished in our forefathers, by which small or fancied grievances were sometimes magnified even by men intending honest opposition, yet, as ambition or blind zeal will either of them mislead party leaders, and acerbity of feelings will excite wrong doings, we cannot but regret, that so distinguished a benefactor should not have been less equivocally requited ; so that the honest exertions of the best years of his life had not been rewarded with the carking cares of straitened circumstances, by the *res angusti domi*, and the disheartening opposition of refractory children. Ah! “how sharper than a serpent’s tooth it is to have a thankless child!” Much we could have wished that his sun had set in brighter glory :— in such as he once hoped :— for which he always toiled,— “a youth of labour for an age of ease.” This was the reward which generous natures would have wished conferred! In the language of Burke’s eulogium, we may join in the sentiment, that “ ’tis pleasing to do honour to those great men, whose virtues and generosity have contributed to the peopling of the earth, and to the freedom and happiness of mankind ; who have preferred the interest of a remote posterity and times unknown, to their own fortune and to the quiet security of their own lives!”

Whether other men can so appreciate the exalted virtues and



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

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

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

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

In 1732, the country was gratified with the arrival of Thomas Penn, the second son by the second wife, and in 1734, his brother, John Penn, eldest son by the second wife, also arrived. He was

called "the Pennsylvania born," and "the American,"—having been born in Philadelphia at the time of Penn's second arrival, in 1699. He never married, and died in 1746. After his death, his youngest brothers, Thomas and Richard, (Dennis being dead,) became sole proprietaries.

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

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

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

To a considerate and reflecting mind it must be a matter of just surprise, that Pennsylvania, and, I might add, the other colonies, should so rapidly and progressively attain to riches, independence, and renown, notwithstanding the numerous and successive disastrous events;—such as might be regarded, by the superficial, as quite sufficient to cripple and prevent the growth of the infant Hercules. We can scarcely look into any period of colonial history, where we cannot find them struggling with what they deemed adverse circumstances;—such as, low markets, want of currency, slow returns for debt, and loud contentions about deficiencies of public funds for national purposes. In New England they had Indian wars to sustain. The colonies generally had to make large appropriations to aid the wars of the crown against the French and Indians in Canada and on the western frontiers, &c,—not to forget the expensive and "glorious" expedition to Cape Breton. To these succeeded the waste and ravages of the war of the revolution. In all these measures the waste of treasure was immense; and yet the nation as a whole has gone on in quick and full bodily vigour to full-grown manhood,—even, as if none of those evils had ever existed to impede the growth! Nor are these all the disasters they encountered;—they actually lost, by depreciation, immense sums in a depreciated paper currency; (for their practice was to issue

a paper medium for almost every pressing emergency,) so that the abundance and worthlessness of continental money was itself a proverb. Our frequent commercial failures too, since the year 1800, have nearly ruined all the old and firmest houses of the country, and yet trade survives and flourishes, and the nation as a whole, is in signal prosperity! Such a phenomenon might be imputed to a special providence, resolved thus to exalt and establish us against probabilities and against hope! But it may not be amiss to suggest such causes as appear to have been natural:—such as may in some good degree account for our surmounting so many apparent obstacles. They are generally these, to wit:—the seeming waste of money in furnishing supplies for the wars of the crown, as it never went out of the country still enriched such classes of the community as are usually the operatives for those who merely live to fight. Even the money often so paid was of the paper emission, and usually depreciated beyond redemption, which of course was a virtual relief of the national treasury. As it would never circulate abroad it afforded no means to foreigners to withdraw thereby our substantial resources. If fortunes were indeed lost to some by a sinking of paper money in their hands, it also aided others to pay great purchases with small means, in the form of debts incurred. The rich sometimes sunk, and the poor sometimes rose. There was a change of relative condition,—but the usual required proportion of the sons of toil to “be hewers of wood and drawers of water” to the self-indulgent and the dainty, was still the same. The whole transaction having been an entire family affair, although the sign of money often changed its character and produced eventful changes in the relations of the members of the family, still the land and its improvements were theirs, and could not be alienated from the whole as an entire people. In the mean time, real substantial coin in great sums flowed into the country for the necessary purposes of paying off the crown officers and army, and these being expended in the country for the necessary commodities of the consumers, left a real wealth among us.\* The very Indian wars too, although expensive to the State, at the same time enriched the men who ministered to the campaigns. The lands too, so acquired by conquest, enriched the colonies by furnishing them the means to sell lands to the numerous emigrants arriving with coin and substance from abroad. The constant influx of population as it gave a constant call for lands in the country, or for lots and houses in the cities and towns for their accommodation, not to omit the consideration also of our own natural increase, so it naturally tended to enhance all real estate; and therefore, so many as have been holders of estates in town and country have

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

seen themselves enriched from year to year even while they held only the same numerical quantities. The causes then, if I understand the subject, why we so rapidly rose, against so many untoward circumstances, to national and individual wealth, is chiefly imputable to our facilities in providing places for a rapidly increasing population, and their skill and industry in improving and enhancing their value by agriculture, manufactures, and traffic. An older country whose population was full, and whose improvements were at their utmost already, could not have sustained our successive disasters, or have surmounted them triumphantly as we have done.

Those remarks, already over long, have been elicited by so often noticing the terms of despondency in which the early settlers of Philadelphia were accustomed to speak of their condition and prospects. There was a constant cry of want of money, where little existed,—of bad markets,—where heaven had most “blest their store,”—of little value of lands and improvements,—where so much abounded, &c. They feared to invest capitals if they had them, even while the properties they actually held were progressively, though with small momentum, rising in value to their zenith. Thus, as late as the year 1700 to 1705, &c. we see such a man as Samuel Carpenter, who made the first and most numerous important improvements in Philadelphia and the country, selling them out in vexation and disappointment. James Logan’s letters too, abound with remarks of dissatisfaction at things as he found them:—especially in managing William Penn’s affairs,—in collecting rents,—disposing of lands,—and in being deferred the pay for them. “They make my life (says he,) so uncomfortable, that it is not worth the living,”—and again, “I know not what any of the comforts of life are.” As late as 22 years after the settlement (say in 1704) James Logan thus states the perplexities of things, to wit: “Money is so scarce that many good farmers now scarce ever see a piece-of-eight of their own throughout the year,”—but although this could not prevent their fields to yield, and their cows to calve, and abundance of children to be warm clothed and well fed! the sad story is continued: “What little there is of money is in town, and wheat for two years past has been worth very little.” On another occasion he complains that “pay for land sold near New Castle to amount of 5000*£*. is due, and I have received but 200*£*. and that in produce, nor will one half of it ever be paid unless times should mend; for the land, as in many other cases, will be cast back on our hands.” “The Susquehanna lands (says he) is much in the same state: and I could have wished it had been a lake, rather than it should have ever been purchased for thee.” In another place, he says, “last night William Penn, jun’r. sold his manor on Schuylkill (now Norrington) to William Trent and Isaac Norris for 850*£*. They were unwilling to touch it,—for without a great prospect none will now meddle with land,—

but in his case he was resolved to sell and leave the country." At the same time, William Penn exclaims in bitterness of soul, "Oh, Pennsylvania, what hast thou cost me!—surely above 30,000*£*. more than ever I got by thee!" But notwithstanding such discouraging feelings and prospects, the country, even while they slept, went on prospering, and the interests which any of them retained in the land and its improvements, enriched their families. Labour produced fruitful fields, and that produced commerce,—these united, enriched all; so that what was sown in bitterness, brought forth a fruitful and honied harvest to the reapers.

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

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

# FRAGMENTS

OF OUR

## Primitive History.

“Colligite fragmenta, ut non quid pereat!”

Scraps of ancient lore, he culls from ev'ry store.

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

I take this occasion to acknowledge my obligations to my much valued friend for her generous indulgence, in allowing me freely to extract what I pleased from her valuable and voluminous selections—in five volumes quarto—compiled from numerous files of papers left by the honourable James Logan and by the kindred Norris family. To the future historian of Pennsylvania they will furnish documents of much value: and a grateful posterity will not fail to commend the kindness of the heart, and the untiring patience of the head that has thus usefully laboured for their information and entertainment.

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

### SALARIES TO OFFICERS, IN 1701.

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

## THE VALUE OF THE CUSTOMS.

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

## TOBACCO CULTIVATION.

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

## FAIRMOUNT.

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

## THE FACTION AGAINST PENN.

These drove their opposition to Penn's interests to extremes. In 1700, colonel Quarry, judge, and John Moore, advocate, of the admiralty, were the two ring-leaders. "The faction (says James Logan) had long contended to overthrow the settled constitution of the government." At that time, David Lloyd, the attorney-general, (afterwards an opposition leader, although a Friend) defended the measures of Penn's administration. James Logan remarks on these ungenerous hostilities to their patron, that governor Penn "was sometimes warm enough to inveigh highly against past proceedings, not sparing several, in express words, that were concerned in them." Penn himself calls them "knavish and foolish enemies." It was a part of their regular business, as mal-contented, to send many idle and pernicious tales to England, and also to the government there.

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

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

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

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

In 1734, James Logan gives a general history of the state of the province, and of all its political divisions and cabals, it being a long letter of 24 pages to John Penn.—Vide vol. 5, page 174, of Mrs. Logan’s MS. selection. It gives many characteristics of Andrew Hamilton, Esqr. to whom the Penns gave the Bush-hill estate for useful legal services and benefits.

\* In the year 1774, John Reed, of Philadelphia, published a book of 60 pages, 8vo. avowedly to illustrate his large map of city lots. It would seem he had hostilities to the Penn interest here, and intended to weaken their titles. His book is very deficient in perspicuity, even hard to be understood;—but he has revived some buried scandals, taken from minutes of the early Assemblies—such as reproaching Penn,—“With *thy* unheard of abuses to thy purchasers, &c. in pretending to give them a town, and then by unconscionable quit rents make it worse by tenfold than a purchase; not only so, the very land the town stands upon is not cleared of the Swedes’ claims.”



## EMBARRASMENTS OF THE GOVERNMENT.

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

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

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

Jonathan Dickinson, in 1715, writes, that “our laws are mostly come back repealed,—among which was our law of courts and manner of giving evidence, whereupon we have no courts, nor judicial proceedings these two years past!” Isaac Norris too, thus writes, “Things among us pretty well,—nothing very violent yet, but in civil affairs all stop. We have no courts,—no justice administered,—and every man does what is right in his own eyes!” James Logan at the same time remarks, “That the disallowance of the affirmation act, and repeal of the laws for courts, put a stop to all proceedings and so weakened the hands of the Magistrate that the public grew rampant, and wickedness was bold and open. A mobbish disposition encouraged,—and the weaker and more sober

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

people affrighted, it is admitted, by every member of note among other persuasions, that it is impossible to hold courts and carry on the administration of justice without Quakers, who are so numerous a part of the community."

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



#### CIVIL GOVERNMENT, EMBARRASSING TO FRIENDS.

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

James Logan, in speaking of these facts, in 1709, says, “The clamours and abuses from such men to the Friends in government

tires them and makes them weary of the load. When the queen asks for our quota for Canada, Friends know not how to act or how to refuse, seeing that all the other colonies contribute more than is required."

Isaac Norris, in 1709-10, speaking of these facts, says, "Those of the church grew very uneasy and unneighbourly in their expressions, because of the defenceless situation of the place. They are for a coercive law, that all may be obliged to bear arms, or else they will do nothing. They manage this craftily, in order to lay Friends aside in government,—the holding of a place in which, is extremely difficult to Friends, and we can hardly judge which has the worst prospect,—whether to hold it under such difficulties as daily fall in the way, or, to resign it to some men who are of no honourable principles. Embarrassed and discordant as we are, I often think of the frogs' petition to Jupiter, and fear it must be a Governor immediately from the crown that must set us to rights. We are a mixed people, who all claim a right to use their own way. Some Friends still in places and offices that cannot be exercised without great difficulties and sometimes full stops,—so that a very great hardship falls upon the Assembly. To me it seems impracticable to do any thing that will please and hold!"

In another place, to James Logan, he says, "We say our principles are not destructive or repugnant to civil government, and will admit of free liberty of conscience to all, yet, to me it appears, (although I get into a labyrinth when I turn my thoughts that way.) to be concerned in government and hold them, we must either be independent and entirely by ourselves, or, if mixed, partial to our own opinion, and not allow to others what we desire from them!"

To illustrate some of the difficulties, supposed to exist in civil matters because of the religious objections of Friends to oaths, I give the following facts—to wit:

In 1703, William Penn writes, that "the lords of trade spake to me of the insufficiency of the government of Pennsylvania,—saying, the first of the council was not able to register ships, administer an oath, or perform some other requisites: but I told them this could not hinder government, while three or four of the council were churchmen, and of age and experience,—and no matter who of the council transacted them, so that they were qualified to do it;—and yet, by our constitution, our Friends were so:—besides, I told them it was not to be thought that a colony and constitution, made by and for Quakers, would leave themselves, and their lives and fortunes, out of so essential a part of government as juries:—nay more, that we would not have gone thither to be so precarious in our security as to be deemed incapable of being jurymen,—if so, that the coming of others shall overrule us who are the originals and made it a country."

On one occasion, stated by James Logan, the Grand Jury being summoned of such as could swear, it was found the number present

were insufficient. "On the sheriff's calling for more out of the tales, one and another, being offered the oath, declined it, some for one reason, and some for another. The design evidently was by those factious persons who contend for nothing more than our confusion. They would herein prevent all things that might take away occasion of complaint against us, and they hoped the delay of justice might prove a great one!"

On another occasion it happened, that, only three of the five judges being present, and those only who could swear, "they administered an affirmation according to law, which gave cause of many discourses among the discontented. But through these men's restless endeavours, it is found extremely difficult fully to discharge the duties of government incumbent on us;—they taking all advantages of throwing in our way whatever may perplex us, by reason of oaths, and such other things as are inconsistent with the principles of most of us:—besides, that many things occur in the administration according to the law of England, as well as immunities by our own law, which cannot well be executed by men of our profession. Such objections against us, being what they daily court, when, by their endeavours, they by any means bring them to bear, they greedily lay hold of them."

William Penn, in reply to these and similar statements, makes a remark, in 1704, saying, "I am grieved to think that you ever gave way to any other affirmation than that appointed by law in the province, by which you have given away a most tender point, not easily recoverable. My regard to the queen is known almost to partiality; but I shall never obey her letters against laws, into which she may be drawn by interested persons."

James Logan was never averse to measures for protection,—i. e. for just defensive war; and there is reason to infer that Penn himself and some other Friends were of the same opinion. The idea gained ground as the colony increased, and therefore members were often found in the Assemblies, of the Friends' Society, who, in the opinion of "the most straitest" of the sect, were too lax in their discipline of "testimony," &c. We find, therefore, that such a public Friend as John Churchman deems himself called to express his disapprobation of their public callings generally, as too exposing, in its general tendency, for tender minds.—and about the same time, the year 1758, we see a warning voice from "The Watchman," by a Friend, in the *Pennsylvania Journal*, wherein he says, "From the moment we Friends began to lose sight of our original institution, we erred greatly: for, when we saw so much corruption interwoven in the affairs of this world, we were unfit to be concerned in them, and should have rested satisfied on a dependence on the arm of the Lord, and what protection the laws of our country would have given us. But we must needs have that power in our own hands; and having so exceeded their native moderation and self-command, they knew no bounds,—they grasped at more,

by which means the life of our old and respected friend and governor William Penn, was made a life of trouble. Let us return to our original plan, and leave the concerns of this world entirely to the men of this world!"

### PENN'S SURRENDER TO THE CROWN.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### PENN'S TITLE TO THE LOWER COUNTIES.

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

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

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

In 1717, when the Earl of Southerland was endeavouring to obtain a grant of the counties of New Castle, Kent, and Sussex, from

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

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

When *New Castle* and the lower counties were delivered by the Duke of York's agent to *William Penn*, it was done formally by

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

delivery of *turf and water!*—a fit subject for an historical painting. The Duke's deed of sale is dated the 20th of August, 1682.

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

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

### PRIMITIVE COMMERCE.

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

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

Samuel Carpenter, in a letter of 1708, to Jonathan Dickinson,

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



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

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

### CONCLUSION.

We have seen from the foregoing pages, that the lords of trade had a most busy surveillance of our affairs. Their intimate knowledge of which, and their ample records, if now consulted, might cast much light upon our infant history. This idea should be improved by some of our future historians. That board was instituted, in 1671, on purpose to keep up a keen inspection and jealous check of all the British colonies. They therefore sustained an active correspondence with the several plantations, and required frequent communications and exposes of the events transpiring there. We know it to have been the fact in our case, that many secret reports, both good and ill, were made to them,—both from the Governors and authorities among us, and also from the disaffected, who thus laboured to frustrate the common purposes of the country. Evelyn's memoirs show, as he was a member of that board of trade, the kind of machinery they employed against us as colonies.

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

Besides these might be added the fact, that in our own archives at Harrisburg are many records and MS. volumes, which might reward the diligence of a competent explorer. There are there, early minutes of the council, minutes of the first Assemblies, &c. which might amuse as well as edify. It is believed that many

early papers and records of the city, perhaps as far down as to the Revolution, are irretrievably gone. J. P. N——, Esqr. and others, informed me they were in the possession of judge Shippen, and were put in his garret. After his death, Mrs. L. his daughter, (now in New York) regarding them as mere lumber, allowed them to be burnt.\*

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

### CATALOGUE OF ANCIENT PUBLICATIONS,

*Illustrative of our early History, in the Philadelphia Library, to wit:*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

\* Dunlap's Memoir says, Joseph Shippen, the Secretary, only gave up his books, and withheld the documents of his office.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MSS.—Copies of Records concerning the early settlements on the Delaware river.—1st. English Records from 1614 to 1682.—2d. Dutch

Records, from 1630 to 1656,—extracted from the archives of the State of Pennsylvania, by Redmond Conyngham, Esqr.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The conduct of the Paxton men impartially represented. 1764.

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

In the Cambridge Library, Massachusetts, there is a German pamphlet, 12mo. of 44 pages, printed at Memmingen, by Andrew Seyler, 1792; the title of which is “A Geographical, Statistical description of the Province of Pennsylvania, by Fr. Daniel Pastorius, in an extract, (“Im Auszug”) with notes.” It contains several facts from 1683 to 1699, with an account of the Indians, &c. that would much illustrate our early history. Pastorius was a sensible man, and a scholar, who lived during the above time in Germantown, as chief Magistrate there.

The New York Historical Society has reprinted some of Holme’s “New Swedeland,” from the Stockholm edition.

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

## THE

## Primitive Settlement.

“—————I trace thy tale  
To the dim point where records fail.”

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

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

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

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

“—————all shagg'd with wood,  
Where twisted roots, in many a fold,  
Through moss, disputed room for hold.”

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

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

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

Such impediments overcome, they gathered beneath the dark ever-greens :— there they meet the welcome salutations of the red natives,—both in mutual wonder stand, and ruminatè, and gaze.— Then the exploring eye, ranging on objects all around, beholds behind them interminable woods and hanging grape vines, &c. —“ a boundless contiguity of shade,”—and below them, on the limpid stream, their own ships amid the paddling canoes of the Indians. All has the air of novelty and surprisè. Their spirits feel many stirring emotions :—joy for safe arrival,—a lively sense of inhaling a new and genial air, so necessary after the restrictions and sickness of sea life :—even a momentary sadness might agitate the bosom from the sense that they were devoid of all the wonted accommodations and comforts of former home and civilization ; but the prevalent sense of escape from “ woful Europe,” was an antidote, always at hand, to repress any murmurings.

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

“ —————Vex'd from age to age  
By blatant bigotry's insensate rage.”

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

tered furniture and goods to their several cabins, and feel themselves housed and settled for a season,

“Where homes of humble form and structure rude  
Raise sweet society in solitude!”\*

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

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

We know there were many inequalities in the surface of the city plot then which we do not perceive now. Some hills were to

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

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

reduce, and several low or wet and miry places to fill up or drain off. In many places, the most delightful rural beauties, formed by arborescent charms, were utterly effaced by "clearings and burnings." Even solitary trees of sublime grandeur were not spared, from the then prevalent opinion, that dense foliage and shades would conduce to fevers. So general was the havoc in process of time, that none remained of all the crowded forest, save a cluster of black walnut trees, which, till of late years stood opposite the State-house on Chesnut street, and guided the stranger to that once venerable edifice.\*

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

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

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

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

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

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



Fifth street, through the "Potter's-field," to the scite of the present Doctor Wilson's church, where it terminated in another wild-duck pond.

As buildings and comforts progressed, soon they turned their attention to public edifices. The Friends-meeting, built at the Centre Square, lay far beyond the verge of population, and often, when the early settlers were visiting it by the usual cart-road from the town, they saw it traversed before them by deer and wild turkies. Their first prison was "the hired house of Patrick Robinson," in Second street, a little north of High street;—and the first that the city held in fee simple, was situated on the scite of the present Jersey market, a little eastward of Second street. Between it and Front street was once a "grassy swarth, close cropt by nibbling sheep," retained there till slain and sold by one Crone from the moveable shambles set there on market days. Near there stood Penn's low two-story house, in Lætitia court; before which was the "Governor's gate," where the proclamations of the day were made by "public out-cry."

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

Cotemporary with the structures before named rose the first Christ church, under the mission of the Rev. Mr. Clayton,—a wooden building of such declining eves that a bystander could touch them. Preeminent in the grandeur of that day, and often visited as a curiosity then, was the present antiquated Swedes' church and steeple at Wiccaco, built, in 1700, to replace the former log church, wherein were loop-holes for fire arms in case of emergency from the Indians.

The "slate house," as it was called, wherein governor Penn dwelt in the year 1700, still standing in humble guise at the south east corner of Second street and Norris' alley, was once an edifice with "bastions and salient angles" like a fortress, and having behind it a great garden-enclosure adorned with a lofty grove of trees.

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

At this time the only places of "common landing" were at the "low sandy beach," still open on the north side of the Draw-bridge. Another was at the "peuny-pot house" on the north

side of Vine street. The third and last was at a great breach through the high hill at Arch street, over which an arched bridge extended,—thus letting carts and people descend to “the landing” by passing under the arch.

We must conceive that in the earliest days, the Indians were more or less constantly present, either as spectators of the improvements thus progressing, or, as venders of their game and venison from the neighbouring woods. New England barks too, were early allured to bring in their supplies of provisions. The Swedes and Dutch, as neighbours, brought their productions to market as a matter of course. The Friends, before settled in and about Burlington, had already begun their thrifty Jersey traffic.

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

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

“While we thus retrace with memory’s pointing wand,  
That calls the past to our exact review,”

We may readily conceive that the young people of both sexes often formed exploring parties. Wishing to see the scenes which environed them, they plunged into the deep woods beyond the Dock creek: thence making a great circuit, they have seen the then wild Schuylkill shadowed by towering sycamores and oaks, and all the intermediate woods crowded with grape vines and whortleberries. Being protected from surprise by their needful guns,

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

they start or shoot the rabbit, the raccoon, perhaps the fox, or the heavy wild turkey. Perhaps they have met with a colony of friendly Indians, and, bent on novelty and sport, they have bargained for the use of their canoes. Into these slender vessels they have huddled, and thus have made a voyage of discovery up and down the Manaiunk, endangered all the way by the frequent leaping of the reckless sturgeons.\*

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

“But times are alter’d,—trade has chang’d the scene,”

“—————where scatter’d hamlets rose

Unwieldy wealth, and cumbrous pomp repose—

And rural mirth and manners are no more!”

A mind fully alive to the facts which in this new land still environ him wherever he goes, can hardly ride along the highway, or traverse our fields and woods, without feeling the constant intrusion of thoughts like these, to wit:—Here lately prowled the beasts of prey,—there crowded the deep interminable woodland shade,—through that cripple browsed the deer,—in that rude cluster of rocks and roots were sheltered the American rattlesnake, just emblem of our brave, which slow of entrance to a quarrel, is bold to sustain it. These rich meadows were noxious swamps. On those sun-side hills of golden grain crackled the growing maize of the tawny aborigines. Where we stand, perchance to pause, rest the ashes of a Chief, or of his family; and where we have chosen our scites for our habitations, may have been the selected spots on which were huddled the now departed lineage of many generations. On yon path-way, seen in the distant view, climbing the remote hills, may have been the very path first tracked, from time immemorial, by the roving Indians themselves. Nay, it is very possible, that on the very scite of Coaquanock, by the margin of the Dock creek, on which their wigwams clustered and their canoes were sheltered,—on the very spot where Henry, Hancock and Adams since inspired the delegates of the colonies (at the Carpenter’s Hall) with nerve and sinew for the toils of war,—there may have been lighted the council-fires of

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

wary Sachems, and there may have pealed the rude eloquence of Tamanend himself,—and of the Shinga's, Tadeuscund's and Glikican's of their primitive and undebauched age! In short, on these topics, an instructed mind, formed and disciplined to Shenstone's muse, could not be idle!

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

## FACTS AND OCCURRENCES

OF THE

# Primitive Settlement.



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

“PENN’S instructions for settling the colony,” dated the 30th of September, 1681, had long been buried among the lumber of the Hamilton family, and was so fortunate at length as to have been discovered among other papers in the year 1827. I herein make some extracts as worthy of particular notice and remembrance in my inquiries, to wit :

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

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

\* Thus showing how well they fulfilled his wishes in selecting such a preferable stream as the Schuylkill so near the city, even without his special designation of that river.—surpassing to in advantages, the once projected site of “old Philadelphia,” near the “Bake-house,” the south side of Poquesink creek in Byberry.

† Dean Prideaux’s “Connexions” says he had the plan of the great Babylon in his view.

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

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

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

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

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

William Penn's letter\* of the 3d of 8 mo. 1685, to "dear Thomas Lloyd," says, "I recommend the bearer, Charles De la Noe, a French minister of good name for his sincere and zealous life, and well recommended from his own country. If he is used well more will follow. He is humble and intends to work for his bread, has two servants, and a genius to a vineyard and a garden. Let him have 40*l.* worth of corn if he wants it. It will be of good savour, for a letter is come over (to England) from a great Professor in

\* These MS. letters are in my possession.

France to some here, to say there is no room (there) for any but Quakers." &c.

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

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

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

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

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

William Penn's letter of the 28th of 5 mo. (July.) 1683, to the Earl of Sunderland, says, "I have laid out the province in counties: six are begun to be seated, laying on the great river, and planted

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

† These MS. letters are in my possession.

about six miles back. Our town plot has a navigable river on each side,—about 80 houses are built, and 300 farms are settled contiguous to it. The soil is good—air serene and sweet, from the cedar, pine and sassafras, with a wild myrtle of great fragrance. I have had better venison, bigger, more tender, and as fat as in England. Turkeys of the wood I had of 40 and 50lbs. weight. Fish in abundance, especially shad and rock. Oysters are monstrous for bigness. In the woods are divers fruits, wild, and flowers that for colour, largeness, and beauty, excel.”

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

I. The province in general is as followeth,—

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

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

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

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

\* How true it is.



providence in it, to the inhabitants; the multitude of trees, yet standing, being liable to retain mists and vapours; and yet not one quarter so thick as I expected.

V. The natural produce of the country, of vegetables, is trees, fruits, plants, flowers. The trees of most note, are the black walnut, cedar, cypress, chesnut, poplar, gum-wood, hickory, sassafras, ash, beech, and oak of divers sorts, as red, white and black; spanish, chesnut, and swamp, the most durable of all. Of all which there is plenty for the use of man.

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

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

VII. Of living creatures; fish, fowl, and the beasts of the woods; here are divers sorts, some for food and profit, and some for profit only: For food, as well as profit, the elk, as big as a small ox; deer, bigger than ours; beaver, raccoon, rabbits, squirrels; and some eat young bear, and commend it. Of fowl of the land, there is the turkey, (forty and fifty pounds weight) which is very great; pheasants, heath-birds, pigeons and partridges, in abundance. Of the water, the swan, goose, white and grey; brands, ducks, teal, also the snipe and curloe, and that in great numbers; but the duck and teal excel; nor so good have I ever eat in other countries. Of fish, there is the sturgeon, herring, rock, shad, cats-head, sheeps-head, eel, smelt, perch, roach; and in inland rivers, trout, some say salmon, above the falls. Of shell-fish, we have oysters, crabs, cockles, conchs and muscles: some oysters six inches long; and one sort of cockles as big as the stewing oysters; they make a rich broth. The creatures for profit only, by skin or fur, and that are natural to these parts, are the wild-cat, panther, otter, wolf, fox, fisher, minx, musk-rat; and of

the water, the whale, for oil, of which we have good store; and two companies of whalers, whose boats are built, will soon begin their work; which hath the appearance of a considerable improvement: to say nothing of our reasonable hopes of good cod in the bay.

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

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

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

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

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

We are indebted for a primitive story of much interest, to Deborah Morris, of Philadelphia, a pious lady of the Society of Friends. She died about 30 years ago, at about the age of 65. She having fine affections for the relics and the incidents of the primitive settlers, made the codicil of her Will peculiar by some of the memo-

rials she there perpetuated, by connecting the history with the gifts which she there wills to her descendants. The facts are best told in her own simplicity of language and her habitual pious feelings,—to wit: “The large silver old fashioned salver, I give to my nephew, Thomas Morris, was given to my dear parents by my mother’s aunt, Elizabeth Hard, a worthy good woman, [she being the first orphan ever left in charge of George Fox’s Society of Friends in England] whose sweet innocent deportment used to give me high esteem and regard for the ancient people. She came from England with William Penn and other Friends. My grandfather and wife came two years before her, and settled in the Jerseys; but when she heard her sister designed to Philadelphia, they removed thither also, and just got settled in a cave on the bank of the river, where is now called the Crooked Billet wharf, [so named from an ancient tavern, on the wharf about 100 feet northward of Chesnut street, having a crooked billet of wood for its sign] when my dear aunt (Hard) arrived; which she esteemed a divine providence thus to find her sister, whom she had not seen for some years, thus ready to receive her in the cave. They there dwelt together until they could build. I remember, whilst writing, one passage among many others which she related, which I have often pleasingly thought of, as it has raised my hopes, increased my faith and dependance on that arm which never failed our worthy ancestors. It was with them supporting through all their difficulties, and many attended them in settling a new country. In hopes of its being as profitably remembered by my cousins as myself I’ll repeat it, to wit: All that came wanted a dwelling, and hasted to provide one. As they lovingly helped each other, the women set themselves to work they had not been used to before; for few of our first settlers were of the laborious class, and help of that sort was scarce. My good aunt (Hard) thought it expedient to help her husband at one end of the saw, and to fetch all such water to make mortar of as they then had to build their chimney.\*—At one time, being overwearied therewith, her husband desired her to forbear, saying, “thou, my dear, had better think of dinner;” on which, poor woman, she walked away, weeping as she went, and reflecting on herself for coming here, to be exposed to such hardships, and then not know where to get a dinner, for their provision was all spent, except a small quantity of biscuit and cheese, of which she had not informed her husband; but thought she would try which of her friends had any to spare. Thus she walked on towards her tent, (happy time when each one’s treasure lay safe therein,) but was a little too desponding in her mind, for which she felt herself closely reproved; and as if queried with,—“didst thou not come for liberty of conscience,—hast thou not got it,—also been provided for beyond thy expectation?”—Which so humbled her, she

\* In that manner Carter’s wife carried the hod for him when building his dwelling, on the south east corner of Fourth and Chesnut street, where is now Carey’s book store.

on her knees begged forgiveness and preservation in future, and never repined afterwards."

"When shea rose, and was going to seek for other food than what she had, her cat came into the tent, and had caught a fine large rabbit, which she thankfully received and dressed as an English hare. When her husband came in to dinner, being informed of the facts, they both wept with reverential joy, and ate their meal, which was thus seasonably provided for them, in singleness of heart. Many such providential cases did they partake of:—And thus did our worthy ancestors witness the arm of divine love extended for their support." [She lived to be 93 years of age.]

In memory of the foregoing moving recital, the said Deborah Morris wills to her beloved uncle, Luke Morris, a silver tureen, (once a sugar-box, and supplied with the addition of handles) marked A. M.—S. M.—D. M. which had once been his grandfather's; but made chiefly interesting to the present reader, by the additional fact, that it had engraved upon it the device of the cat seizing upon and bearing off the rabbit, according to the preceding recital. This silver tureen, deservedly so interesting for its association of good thoughts, after descending through her nephew, Samuel Morris, and thence to his son, Benjamin W. Morris, who, having moved away from Philadelphia, and from Philadelphia feelings it is presumed, so far lost sight of the words of the Will, (which said, "I hope and desire to keep them in the family;") that he has had it melted down to convert into some other vessels of more modern aspect! Should page of mine ever meet his eye, I could at least wish him to feel some portion of my regrets!

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

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

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

Robert Turner, in his letter to William Penn of the 3d of 6 mo. 1685, describing the progress of Philadelphia, speaks thus: "The

towne goes on in planting and building to admiration, both in front and backward, about 600 houses in three years time. Br are exceeding good, and cheaper than they were, say, at 16 shil per thousand, and brick houses are now as cheap to build as w Many brave brick houses are going up with good cellars. Humphrey Murray, [Mayor] from New York, has built a large timber house with brick chimnies." After naming several persons who have built, he adds, "all these have balconies; we build most houses with them."

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

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

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

In the early period of Philadelphia it was very common for the good livers to have malt-houses on their several premises for making home-made strong beer: there were such at J. Logans, at Pensbury, and at several others, even till 60 years ago.

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

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

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

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

He speaks of minks being sometimes found living in the docks and bridges at Philadelphia, and there destroying numbers of the rats. They were generally along the Delaware in the hollow trees.

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

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

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

There they remained till recovered; then he was conducted to the “Boatswain and Call tavern,” (in aforetime the celebrated “Blue Anchor inn”) at the Drawbridge, north west corner. In all this route he saw not one house, and the same character of wooden waste. At that time, he knew but of three or four houses between that place and the Swedes' church; and those houses were in small

“clearings” without enclosures. Northward from the Draw-bridge, as high up as High street, there were but two wharves then built: say, the one of Anthony Morris, and the other belonging to the Allen family in more modern times.

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

As this venerable old gentleman possessed his faculties to the last, he would have proved a treasure to one in my way of inquiry. It was indeed a mental fund to himself, to have had in his own person so much observation of the passing scenes he must have witnessed in such a changeful city; contrasting its infant growth with its rapid improvements as late as the year of his death! He was of course in his 15th year when he arrived,—just at an age when the imagination is lively, and the feelings are strongly disposed to observation.

Holmes’ “*Portraiture of Philadelphia*,” done in 1683–4, as a kind of city platform, shows the localities first chosen for buildings at that early time. It shows about 20 cabins constructed on the river bank. At the “*Society hill*,” from Pine street to above Union street, they had their houses and grounds extending up to Second street. At the little triangular “*square*,” at the south west corner of Second and Spruce streets, was the lot and residence of their President, Nicholas Moore. On the north west corner of Second and South streets, was a small house, on the lot of William Penn, jun’r.

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

Samuel Carpenter’s lot is from Front to Second street, and is the second lot above Walnut street, No. 16. Charles Pickering (the counterfeiter I presume) has his house on No. 22, midway from Chesnut street to High street. John Holme, (related to the Surveyor-general) who owns No. 32, at the north west corner of Arch and Front streets, has also the first house built on the Schuylkill, at the correspondent corner there. The chief of the first buildings marked, begin northward of Dock street, and continue up to Race street. Several are marked as built on Second street, but only between Chesnut and Walnut streets, and they all on the western side of the street. In truth, the eastern side of Second street was regarded for some time as the back lots, or ends of the Front street lots. Three houses are marked on Chesnut street above

Third street, and three on Mulberry street above Third street; on High street there are none. The map itself may be consulted on page 372 of my MS. Annals in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Among those who plotted the dethronement of king James, was Lord Peterborough. To conceal his purposes, he effected his voyage to Holland, by passing over to Pennsylvania with William Penn. What he says of his visit there is curious.\* "I took a trip with William Penn (says he) to his colony of Pennsylvania. There the laws are contained in a small volume, and are so extremely good that there has been no alteration wanted in any of them, ever since Sir William made them. They have no lawyers, but every one is to tell his own case, or some friend for him. They have five persons as judges on the bench; and after the case is fully laid down on all sides, all the five judges are to draw lots, and he on whom the lot falls, decides the question. It is a happy country, and the people are neither oppressed with poor rates, tythes, nor taxes." As no mention of this visit, *incog.* occurs in any cotemporaneous papers, the probability is that his rank and character was concealed from the colonists.

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

An ancient lady, relative of the present Coleman Fisher, Esqr. whose name was Rebecca Coleman, arrived at Philadelphia at the first settlement as a young child. At the door of her cave, when one day sitting there eating her milk porridge, was overheard to say again and again; "Now thee shan't again!" "Keep to thy part!" &c. Upon her friends looking to her for the cause, they found she was permitting a snake to participate with her out of the vessel resting on the ground! Happy simplicity and peacefulness!—reminding one strongly of the Bible promise, when "the weaned child should put its hand upon the cockatrice's den!" &c.

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



The said Rebecca Coleman died in 1770, aged 92 years; of course I have, even now, opportunities of conversing with several who were in her company and conversation! If she had been asked to chronicle all the changes and incidents she had witnessed, what a mass of curious facts she might have left for my present elucidation and use!

Mrs. D. Logan told me of her having been informed by the honourable Charles Thomson, that he often in his younger days used to see persons who had been cotemporary with William Penn. It was his pleasure to ask them many questions about the primitive settlement; but as he kept no record of them, many of them have no doubt been lost. He remembered, he said, conversing with a lady whose name was Mrs. Lyle. She had come out in the first expedition. She related to Mr. Thomson that after they had come to at Chester, the whole collection of vessels went on up to Burlington. The vessel she sailed in, being the dullest sailer, was left behind the others, so that at eventide, they had reached the present Philadelphia, and not being willing to proceed farther by night in an unknown channel, and finding there a bold shore, they made their vessel fast to a large limb of a tree, there to pass the night.\* The next morning their Captain went ashore to make his observations, and being pleased with the situation, pursued his walk and investigations until he reached the river Schuylkill. When he came back he spoke of the place with raptures, as a fine location for a town. This being reported to the colonists when they arrived at Burlington, several of the leading men, with William Penn at the head, made a visit to the place, and eventually it became Philadelphia.

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

An ancient MS. letter of the year 1693, in my possession, from S. Flower of London to his son, Henry Flower, settled at Philadelphia,† is strongly expressive of that religious excitement in Europe, which so powerfully conduced to supplying this country with population as a place of refuge from impending judgments. Among many other things, it says, "Here was a friend, a Quaker, came lately to London from the North, near Durham, with a message from an inward power or command, and has been to declare it in most or all the Quaker Meetings in London, that sword, famine and pestilence is at hand, and a dreadful earthquake to

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

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

come within many months, that will lay great part of the city and suburbs into rubbish and ruins! The Lord grant a repentance to prevent it: if not, to give us hearts to be prepared against the day of tribulation to come upon us." To many who fully confided in such messengers in England and Germany, it was but a natural consequence to sigh for an escape "from woful Europe" and for "peace and safety on our sylvan shore." Such could feelingly say,—

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

The original inequality of the surface of Philadelphia was once much greater than any present observer could imagine, and must have been regarded, even at the time of the location, as an objection to the scite. But we can believe that its fine elevation, combined with its proximity to the then important water of Schuylkill river, must have determined its choice where we now have it. The Delaware front must have been a bluff of 25 feet elevation, beginning at the Navy yard and extending up to Poole's bridge. If that was desirable, as it doubtless was, "to have it high and dry," besides the supposed conveniency of natural docks for vessels to be wintered from the ice at Dock swamp, Pegg's swamp, and Cohocinc mouth or swamp, we cannot but perceive that no place like it was to be found below it to the mouth of Schuylkill, and none above it, after passing Kensington, until you approach the Bake-house, near Poquesink creek; and there the water was too shallow. Therefore Philadelphia was chosen on the very best spot for a city, notwithstanding it had so irregular a surface then; evidences of which I have shown elsewhere. The probable debates of that day, which must have occupied the minds of those who determined the location, might now make a curious fancy work! The Penn ideas, (which we know) as compressed into few words, are strongly expressed, viz. "It seemed appointed for a town, because of its coves, docks, springs, and lofty land!"

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

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

She said, at the news of Penn's arrival in the province, she had gone down from Neshanny creek (where she then lived) with others to get to see him; the Indians and Swedes also went along. They met with him at or near the present Philadelphia. The Indians, as well as the whites, had severally prepared the best entertainment the place and circumstances could admit. William Penn made himself endeared to the Indians by his marked condescension and acquiescence in their wishes. He walked with them, sat with them on the ground, and ate with them of their roasted acorns and homony. At this they expressed their great delight, and soon began to show how they could hop and jump; at which exhibition William Penn, to cap the climax, sprang up and beat them all! We are not prepared to credit such light gaiety in a sage Governor and religious Chief; but we have the positive assertion of a woman of truth, who said she saw it. There may have been very wise policy in the measure as an act of conciliation, worth more than a regiment of sharpshooters. He was then sufficiently young for any agility; and we remember that one of the old journalists among the Friends speaks of him as having naturally an excess of levity of spirit for a grave minister. We give the fact, however, as we got it.\* It is by gathering up such facts of difficult belief, that we sometimes preserve the only means of unravelling at some later day, a still greater mystery. Sometimes an old song or legendary tale confirms the whole. "A peasant's song prolongs the dubious tale!"

The same Samuel Preston says of his grandmother, that she said Phineas Pemberton surveyed and laid out a town, intended to have been Philadelphia, up at Pennsbury, and that the people who went there were dissatisfied with the change. On my expressing doubts of this, thinking she may have confused the case of Chester removal, Mr. Preston then further declared, that having, nearly 40 years ago, occasion to hunt through the trunks of surveys of John Lukens, Surveyor General of Bucks county, he and Lukens then saw a ground plot for a city of Philadelphia, signed Phineas Pemberton, Surveyor General, that fully appeared to have been in Pennsbury manor; also another for the present town of Bristol,

\* See the account of the grace and polish of manners which he received in France, where his father had sent him to break his attachment to Quakerism, and the skill he acquired there in all polite exercises. His graceful and comely behaviour placed him on a footing with the highest; whilst his real philanthropy and benevolence made him deservedly popular with all mankind.

then called Buckingham. He also asserts, that from old titles which he has seen, there was a place called therein "Old Philadelphia," being on the bank of the river, next below Pottequessing creek, i. e. Poquesink creek, being the bank northward of the ancient "Bake-house," now Morgan's place. The same name, "Old Philadelphia," I have heard there from the old landholders.

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

1694.—3 mo. 24th.—A committee of eight members being appointed to inspect the aggrievances of the inhabitants of this government, report:
1st. That the person commissioned to be clerk of the market, hath committed several misdemeanors.

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

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

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

1695.—7 mo. 9th.—The house chose Edward Shippen, Speaker, whereupon it was moved, that three members should treat with Sarah Whitpan† for to hire her room to sit in.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* The original paper, by P. Robinson, concerning that affair, may be seen on page 514 of my MS. Annals in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

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

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

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

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

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

WILLIAM PENN.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Minutes of the City Council. from 1704 to 1776.

The original Minutes of Council, from which the following are extracts, were unexpectedly found about a year ago by William Meredith, Esq. in the garret part of his house, at the south-west corner of Tenth and Walnut streets. It had before been the residence of Edward Burd, Esq. Prothonotary, and they had probably been once in his possession, and lost sight of after his death. The whole were comprised in several small MS. books,—since bound together and placed in the office of the City Council. The whole extracts, as originally prepared for me by my friend J. J. S. may

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

be seen together in my volume of MS. Annals, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, with notes of elucidation, from pages 475 to 482. In what follows, only such facts are mentioned as are not elsewhere cited in other parts of this work.—to wit:

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

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

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

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

Richard Puce, John Till, Widow Bristow, Myles Godforth, Christopher Lobb, Philip Wallis, &c. persons who keep teems within the city, being sent for, now came and are admonished, (that mischief being lately committed by some of them) to take care how they drive their carts within this city, for that an ordinance will be immediately made for their regulation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Samuel Savage is admitted a freeman, and paid for the same 4l. 2s. 6d.

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

(Similar notices are of constant occurrence.)

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

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

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

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

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

1st October, 1706.—Alderman Story, refusing to accept of the office of Mayor, therefore, he is fined by this Common Council, the sum of Twenty pounds.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

25 Oct. 1714.—Geo. Rock, Mayor. Ordered that the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen and Common Council wait upon the Governour on Wed-

nesday next, at the houre of Twelve in the forenoon, in order to proclaim the King, and afterwards present the Mayor Elect to the Governour to be Qualified.

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

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

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

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

15 July 1719.—Edward Howel is appointed to Clear the Square at the front of the Court House, for which he is allowed forty shillings p. ann. to be paid quarterly.

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

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

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

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

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

Aug. 19, 1723.—J. Logan, Mayor. Ordered that Mary Whitaker be paid two shillings pr week for sweeping the Court House and Stalls

twice a week for ye time past, and such further time to come as she shall continue the same.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

pounds; and then the Board proceeded to a new election, and Alderman Hamilton was elected by a Majority of votes.

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

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

6 Oct. 1747. P. M.—W. A. Attwood, Mayor. Alderman Morris, the Mayor Elect, not being present, Charles Willing, and Saml. Rhoades were appointed to wait on him to acquaint him the Board had chosen him Mayor for the year ensuing.

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

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

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

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

the Board, and being approved of, it was ordered to be ingrossed and signed by the Mayor in order to be transmitted accordingly.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

31 Aug't. 1754.—C. Willing, Mayor. George Lee and Richard Davis petitioning this Board to remit the Fines imposed on them for assaulting the Watch, they not being of ability to pay the same. Order'd that the said Fines be remitted, provided they enter on board His Majesties Sloop of War, now in this Harbour, at the time of her sailing from here.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Nov. 23, 1763.—Paid the Expence of the said Entertainment—203.£. 50.£ is ordered to be paid for a lot at the No. East corner of the State house Square on which to erect “a City Hall.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mayors of the City of Philadelphia.

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

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

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

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

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

The natives of this country are supposed, by most people, to have been of the ten scattered tribes, for they resemble the Jews in the make of their persons, and tincture of their complexions; they observe new moons, they offer their first fruits to a Maneto, or supposed Deity, whereof they have two, one, as they fancies, above (good;) another below (bad;) and have a kind of feast of tabernacles, laying their altars upon twelve stones, observe a sort of mourning twelve months, customs of women, and many other rites.

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

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

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

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

Since that time, the industrious inhabitants have built a noble and

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

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

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

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

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

What is inhabited of this country, is divided into six counties, though there is not the twentieth part of it yet peopled by the Christians: it hath in it several navigable rivers for shipping to come in, besides the capital Delaware; there are also several other small rivers the names of them are, Hoorkill-river, alias Lewis-river, which runs up to Lewis-town, the chiefest in Sussex county; Cedar-river, Muskmellon-river, all taking their names from the great plenty of these things growing thereabouts;

* Meaning in old style.

Mother-kill alias Dover-river, St. Jones's alias Cranbrook-river, where one John Curtice lives, who hath three hundred head of neat beasts, besides great numbers of hogs, horses, and sheep; Great Duck-river, Little Duck-river, Blackbird-river, these also took there original names from the great numbers of those fowls which are found there in vast quantities; Apequinemy-river, where their goods come to be carted over to Maryland; St. George's river, Christeen river, Brandy-wine-river, Upland alias Chester-river, which runs by Chester-town, being the shire or county-town, Schoolkill-river, Frankford-river, near which, Arthur Cook hath a most stately brick-house; and Nishamany-river, where judge Growden hath a very noble and fine house, very pleasantly situated, and likewise a famous orchard adjoining to it, wherein are contained above a thousand apple trees of various sorts; likewise there is the famous Derby-river, which comes down from the Cumbry by Derby-town, wherein are several fulling-mills, corn-mills, &c.

There is curious building-stone and paving-stone; also tile-stone, with which latter, governour Penn covered his great and stately pile, which he called Pennsbury-house; there is likewise iron-stone or oar, (lately found) which far exceeds that in England, being richer and less drossy; some preparations have been made to carry on an iron-work: there is also very good lime-stone in great plenty, and cheap, of great use in buildings, and also in manuring land, (if there were occasion) but nature has made that of itself sufficiently fruitful; besides here are load-stones, ising-glass, and (that wonder of stones) the Salamander-stone, found near Brandy-wine-river, having cotton in veins within it, which will not consume in the fire, though held there a long time.*

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

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

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

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

* The Asbestos.

† Springs—mineral.

berries, raspberries, strawberries, cranberries, plumbs and many other wild fruits, in great plenty, which are common and free for any to gather.

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

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

And now for their lots and lands in city and countrey, since they were first laid out, which was within the compass of about twelve years: that which might have been bought for fifteen or eighteen shillings, is now sold for fourscore pounds in ready silver; and some other lots, that might have been then purchased for three pounds, within the space of two years, were sold for a hundred pounds a piece, and likewise some land that lies near the city, that sixteen years ago might have been purchased for six or eight pounds the hundred acres, cannot now be bought under one hundred and fifty, or two hundred pounds.

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

Great encouragements are given to tradesmen and others. I shall instance a few—carpenters, both house and ship, brick-layers, and masons will get between five and six shillings per day constantly. As to journeymen shoos-makers, they have two shillings per pair both for men and womens shoes: and journeymen taylors have twelve shillings per week and their diet. And weavers, have ten or twelve pence the yard for weaving: wool-combers, have for combing twelve pence per pound. Potters have sixteen pence for an earthen pot which may be bought in England for four pence. Tanners, may buy their green hides for three half pence per pound, and sell their leather for twelve pence per pound. And carriers have three shillings and four pence per hide for dressing; they buy their oyl at twenty pence per gallon. Brick-makers have twenty shillings per thousand for their bricks at the kiln. Felt-makers will have for their hats seven shillings a piece, such as may be bought in England for two shillings a piece; yet they buy their wool commonly for twelve or fifteen pence per pound. And as to the glaziers they will have five pence a quarry for their glass. The butchers, for killing a beast, have five shillings and their diet; and they may buy a good fat large

cow for three pounds, or thereabouts. The brewers sell such beer as is equal in strength to that in London, half ale and half stout, for fifteen shillings per barrel; and their beer hath a better name, *that is*, is in more esteem than English beer in Barbadoes, and is sold for a higher price there. And for silver-smiths, they have between half a crown and three shillings an ounce for working their silver, and for gold equivalent. Plasterers have commonly eighteen pence per yard for plastering. Last-makers have sixteen shillings per dozen for their lasts. And heel-makers have two shillings a dozen for their heels. Wheel and mill-wrights, joiners, braziers, pewterers, dyers, fullers, comb-makers, wyc-drawers, cage-makers, card-makers, painters, cutlers, rope-makers, carvers, block-makers, turners, coopers, bakers, button-makers, hair and wood sieve-makers, bodics-makers, black-smiths, gun-smiths, lock-smiths, nailers, file-cutters, skimmers, furriers, glovers, patten-makers, watch-makers, clock-makers, sadlers, collar-makers, barbers, printers, book-binders and all other trades-men, their gains and wages are about the same proportion as the fore-mentioned trades.

Of lawyers and physicians I shall say nothing, because this countrey is very peaceable and healthy; labouring-men have commonly here, between fourteen and fifteen pounds a year, and their meat, drink, washing and lodging; and by the day their wages is generally between eighteen pence and half a crown, and diet also; but in harvest they have usually between three and four shillings each day, and diet. The maid servants wages are commonly betwixt six and ten pounds per annum, with very good accommodation.

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

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

The laws of this countrey, are the same with those in England; our

* Thirty miles from Smyrna.

constitution being on the same foot; many disputes and differences are determined and composed by arbitration; and all causes are decided with great care and expedition, being concluded at furthest at the second court, unless they happen to be very nice and difficult cases. Under forty shillings any one justice of the peace has power to try the cause. Thieves, of all sorts, are obliged to restore four-fold after they have been whipt and imprisoned according to the nature of their crime; and if they be not of ability to restore four-fold, they must be in servitude till it is satisfied. They have curious wharfs, as also large and fine timber yards both at Philadelphia and New-castle, especially at the metropolis, before Robert Turner's great and famous house, where are built ships of considerable burthen; they cart their goods from that wharf into the city of Philadelphia, under an arch, over which part of the street is built, which is called Chesnut-street* wharf, besides other wharfs, as High-street wharf, Mulberry-street wharf, and Vine-street wharf, and all those are common wharfs; and likewise there are very pleasant stairs, as Trus and Carpenter-stairs, besides several others. There are above thirty carts belonging to that city, four or five horses to each. There is likewise a very convenient wharf called Carpenter's wharf, which hath a fine necessary crain belonging to it, with suitable granaries, and store-houses. And there are other wharfs which front the city all along the river, as also a curious and commodious dock with a drawbridge to it, for the convenient reception of vessels. In this famous city of Philadelphia there are several rope-makers, who have large and curious ropewalks, especially one Joseph Wilcox;† also three or four spacious malt-houses, as many large brew-houses, and many handsome bake-houses for publick use.

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

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

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

There are very fine and delightful gardens and orchards in most parts of this country; but Edward Shippey (who lives near the capital city) has an orchard and gardens adjoining to his great house that equalizes any I have ever seen, having a very famous and pleasant summer-house

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

† He was Mayor in 1706.

erected in the middle of his garden, abounding with tulips, pinks, carnations, roses, (of several sorts) lilies, not to mention those that grow wild in the fields.

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

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

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

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

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

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

"These hints (says he) appear not only abrupt but imperfect, for want of proper helps therein, and the matters relating to government, and

* Now implies that he wrote this in 1697.

the settlers, and the settlements may appear too much intermixed; yet it is hoped that all matters of fact are truly and briefly related. It is to be wished that some person or persons of skill would think it worth their while, care, and pains, from sufficient proofs that may still be procured, to form a just historical account of the low beginning, and great increase of this province; and above all, (to show) how God, by his divine providence, in and through the whole, has most miraculously preserved and blessed the inhabitants with peace and plenty to this day.

Such a history doubtless would not only be very serviceable, but delightful and pleasant to succeeding generations. [So the present transcriber also has thought!] Some ancient men of the first settlers, who are now deceased, had this much at heart, and some essays have been made thereof, [How happy we should be to see them!] and, it is a great pity that such an undertaking should be either delayed or declined. [And yet no professed historian arose till Proud gave us his volumes!]* The English have a great advantage over the present Indians, who can only communicate by traditional speeches; whilst we can communicate and recommend any past occurrences to future generations by writing! ["The preserving art of all arts!"]

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

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

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

Want of proper conveniencies and necessaries, at first view, must of course strike a great damp upon them, who had known and left good habitations, &c. (for most of those, who had first come over, were not

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

† In 1677, William Edmundson, a public Friend, travelling southward from New York, says he travelled all day with a *Fin* from the Falls of Delaware, (southward) without seeing a soul; and from Middletown Point coming to Delaware river, although with an Indian, they could not find the way all day, and were obliged to go back, so as to find the Raritan river at any point, and thence to follow its margin until they could find a small landing "from New York," and thence to follow a small path to Delaware Falls, and by this means only, they found their way. He says, "We saw no tame animals in all the way."

people of low circumstances, but substantial livers) notwithstanding which, being animated with their first good design and intention of promoting religion, far beyond any worldly gain or profit, they unanimously fell to an honest industry to provide for themselves the best they could, (which ought never to be forgot!) and they made caves in the bank of Delaware, where the city is now laid out, and cut down timber, to make huts and conveniencies to live in; depending on providence for other necessaries, which for some time proved hard to get, (the western division of New Jersey near them being then but thin settled) however, some of the neighbouring colonies hearing of a people come to settle, came with such necessaries as they could spare, which was very scanty for the number of persons, which wanted them, and they took money for them; for they were not empty handed.

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

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

Thus providence caused the country to increase in wealth, peace and plenty from year to year; so that the first 40 years it was the admiration of all people, who saw or heard of its flourishing condition, in lands, improvements in building houses and shipping, manufactures of many kinds, increase in plenty, commerce and trade, the great number of inhabitants, the soil producing plentifully with their industry. [What a

time to make fortunes, when lands and lots were cheap, and money abounded! and therefore we have seen all the original industrious and frugal inhabitants become in fact the nobility of the country. If they then admired to see their progress so sudden and so great; we also have had a time, even now, of admiring at our eclipsing of late years all that they thus did!]

Considerable numbers of shipping came yearly, besides vessels built not only for the inhabitants, but many others in remote parts, who readily disposed of their cargoes and procured their full loading of the produce of this province, which was transported to the English plantations, and other foreign nations, by which means, all useful necessaries they had occasion for, were imported amongst them; and in every sense, the country still increasing more in settlements and improvements; many thousands of foreigners and others came hither and settled, whereby the produce of almost all kinds were much more increased, as well as commerce and trade both at home and abroad; and much good harmony continued amongst the inhabitants considering what a large number of mixed people were got together.

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

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

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

These complaints and troubles, not only proving very fatiguing but expensive, gave him such uncasiness, that in the reign of queen Anne

he proposed to sell his right of Pennsylvania to the crown, on terms securing the people's rights. Yet, some would insinuate he had not regarded the people therein, which would be doing that worthy man's memory and integrity great injustice!

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

Astrological Signs of Philadelphia at its Birth.

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

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

Numerous other facts illustrative of the early history of Philadelphia could have been connected with the present article, but as they had also some direct bearings on places, characters, &c. intended to be specially described under their appropriate heads, they are less necessary in this place.

THE
Penn Family,

(PRIMITIVE RACE.)

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“Proud of thy rule, we boast th’ auspicious year—  
Struck with thy ills, we shed a gen’rous tear.”

*Business Concerns of William Penn.*

THESE facts concerning William Penn were derived from the perusal of his letters, from 1684 to 1687, to his chief steward or agent, J. Harrison, at Pennsbury, to wit :

In 1684, he says he “hopes the Lord will open his way this fall. I should be sorry to think of staying till next spring.”

1685,—he says, “I am sorry my 40 or 50£. charge of the sloop is flung away upon oyster shells. I hope it will not continue to be so spoiled.” He also says, “Captain East charges you all with letting the ship lay three or four months by the wall, to his and my detriment; and he protested, and made a profitable voyage of it truly. I have no prospect yet of returning, but as soon as I can I will; for I should rejoice to see you face to face again. I’m sorry you have drawn upon me here, when I am here upon their errand, and had rather have lost 1000£. than have stirred from Pennsylvania. The reproaches I hear daily of the conduct of things bear hard upon my spirits. I wonder you had no wampum of mine, for I left about 20 or 25£. worth that came from New York, as part of the goods I paid so dear for there. I hear my sloop has been ill-used by captain Dore, and is now laid up in the Schuylkill. I have disposed of her to Richard Song, the bearer. If she be not fit, then hire him a sloop for his turn. I send rigging by him, which preserve if not wanted for him. He is to be loaded with pipe staves on my account, or any others that will freight to Barbadoes. Let him have one of the blacks of Allen,—two of which are as good as bought,—such a one as is most used to sea; and if George Emlen will go with him hire him. He will return to thee, by way of Saltitudoes. If George Emlen be settled, [he was wanted as mate] pick out an honest, true man to go with Richard Song. I have sold the Gulielmina for 40£.—so great is my loss. I have lost 500£. by that vessel. The trees I sent are choice and costly things, and if I live, and my poor children, I shall have want enough to transplant to other plantations. Receive 40£. of the bearer for a lady in England that intends to go over soon with her family; and many considerable persons are like to follow. She has bought

5,500 acres, and her first 300 must be chosen on the river, next (above) to Arthur Cooks. She wants a house of brick, like Hannah Psalter's in Burlington, and she will give 40£. sterling in money, and as much more in goods. Francis Collins or T. Matlack may build it. It must have four rooms below, about 36 by 18 feet large,—the rooms 9 feet high, and of two stories height." In another letter he calls her a relative, and says he sends money from Plymouth by Francis Rawle on the 24th of 2 mo. 1686. [Such facts may be deemed too minute for preservation, but who can foresee that even such facts may not be requisite to illustrate other needed points of information:—For instance, in the above the price and value of buildings then are given,—the names of two respectable families now are given as first settlers at Burlington,—and the ancestors of the Rawle family is given, and the date of his emigration. It is by such incidental facts that more important ones are sometimes explained.]

He writes from London, 1686, saying, he sends for his family (to go to Pennsylvania) twenty-five barrels of beef, some hundred pounds of butter and candles from Ireland, and 30£. for my coming over,—meaning as a preparative for such a visit. In meantime, cheer the people; my heart is with you; expect a net by first ship, and some powder and shot. The king is now courteous to Friends before imprisoned, but pinching to the Church of England; and several Roman Catholics get into places. To you I say, be wise, close and respectful to superiors.

In another letter he says, "The Lord has given me great entrance with the king, though not so much as is said. Pray stop those scurvy quarrels that break out to the disgrace of the province. All good is said of the place and but little good of the people. These bickerings keep back hundreds,—10,000£. out of my way, and 100,000£. out of the country." In 1687, he says, "I expect to see you this summer, though preferment I may have. I choose my lot among an unthankful people."

#### *Penn, the Founder.*

Penn, the founder, was once, in the province, called *Lord Penn*, and it was ordered to be discontinued by an act of the Council at Philadelphia. From its minutes we learn, that on the 9th of 11 mo. 1685, the Secretary reported to the Council, that in "the chronologie of the Almanack sett forth by Samuel Atkins of Philadelphia, and printed by William Bradford of the same place," there were these offensive words, to wit: "the beginning of government here by *Lord Penn*." The words "*Lord Penn*" were ordered to be struck out, and the Printer was charged not again to print any thing which had not the "lycence of the Council." This fact of course indicates an Almanack of two years earlier date than the one of 1687, which I have preserved.

*Character of the Penn Family.*

The following are personal notices and facts concerning some of the members of that family, as they were found incidentally mentioned in the pages of Mrs. Logan's MS. selections,—kindly lent to me for gleaning what I might deem pertinent to the present work, to wit :

Isaac Norris, sen'r. in 1701, thus writes respecting it, saying, "The Governour is our *pater patriæ*, and his worth is no new thing to us. We value him highly, and hope his life will be preserved till all things are settled here to his peace and comfort and the people's ease and quiet. His excellent wife,—and she is beloved by all—by all in its fullest extent.—makes her leaving us heavy, and of real sorrow to her friends,—being of an excellent spirit, it adds lustre to her character. She has carried under and through all with a wonderful evenness, humility, and freedom. Her sweetness and goodness has become her character and is indeed extraordinary : In short, we love her, and she deserves it. Their little son (John) is a lovely babe." [The "conduct" of Mrs. Penn refers "to the unhappy misunderstanding in some and unwarrantable opposition in others."]

*William Penn's Second Arrival,—1699.*

James Logan writes, in 1700, to William Penn, jun'r. and says, "The highest terms I could use would hardly give you an idea of the expectation and welcome that thy father received from the most honest party here. Friends' love to the Governour was great and sincere. They had long mourned his absence and passionately desired his return. Directly from the wharf the Governour went to his deputy, paid him a short formal visit, and from thence, with a crowd attending, to Meeting, it being about 3 o'clock on First-day afternoon, where he spoke to the people, and praying concluded it ; from thence to Edward Shippen's, where we lodged for about a month."

*Causes of William Penn's Return Home, in 1701.*

William Penn, in writing to James Logan, in July, 1701, says, "I cannot prevail on my wife to stay, and still less with *Tishe*. I know not what to do. Samuel Carpenter seems to excuse her in it, but to all that speak of it, say, I shall have no need to stay (in England) and a great interest to return. All that I have to dispose of in this world is here for daughter and son, and all the issue which this wife is like to bring me ; and having no more gains by government to trust to for bread, I must come (back) to sell, pay debts, and live and lay up for this posterity, as well as that they may see that my inclinations run strongly to a country and proprietary life, which then I shall be at liberty to follow, together with

her promise (his wife's) to return whenever I am ready." A little time before the above letter he said, "No man living can defend us or bargain for us better than myself." He calls it also "the necessity of going."

*Penn's Design in Founding his Colony.*

In 1704-5. Penn thus expresses his noble design to Judge Mompesson, a gentleman then resident here, saying, "I went thither to lay the foundation of a free colony for all mankind, more especially those of my own profession; not that I would lessen the civil liberties of others because of their persuasion, but screen and defend our own from any infringement on that account. The charter I granted was intended to shelter them against a violent or arbitrary government imposed upon us; but that they should turn it against me, that intended their security thereby, has something very unworthy and provoking in it. But as a father does not use to knock his children on the head when they do amiss, so I had rather they were corrected without due rigour."

*Causes of Penn's Pecuniary Embarrassments.*

In the year 1705, he says, "I too mournfully remember how noble a law I had of exports and imports, when I was first in America, that had been worth by this time some thousands a year; which I suspended receiving for a year or two, and that not without a consideration engaged by several merchants. But Thomas Lloyd, very unhappily for me, my family, and himself, complimented some selfish spirits with the repeal thereof, without my final consent, which his commission required; and that has been the source of all my loads and inabilities to support myself under the troubles that have occurred to me on account of settling and maintaining the colony. I spent upon it 10,000*l.* the first two years. My deputy governors cost me much,—and vast sums I have melted away here in London to hinder much mischief against us, if not to do us much good. I can say that Lord Baltimore's revenue is far transcending what I can hope for, although he never took him one hundredth of my concern."

*Penn's Mal-treatment from the Fords.*

Philip Ford of London, a merchant, holding the profession of a Friend, had been Penn's steward and general agent there, and proved deeply treacherous to him, by trumping up an enormous account. Penn, in a moment of want and of misplaced confidence, gave him, unknown to all his friends, a deed of sale in absolute form, for all his province of Pennsylvania, taking thereon from Ford a lease of three years. In process of time Ford received 17,000*l.* and paid out but 16,000*l.* yet claimed a balance of Penn

of 10,500£. produced by a compound interest account and excessive commissions, &c. Ford died, and his son, stimulated by his mother Bridget, although a bed-ridden woman, and a professed Friend, would come to no compromise, but on the contrary, in the 11 mo. 1707-8, actually arrested William Penn, while at the Friend's Meeting! Penn, to baffle their extortion, by the advice of all his friends, preferred to go to the Fleet prison, where he was sure to negotiate better terms for himself. The case came up before the Lords in Chancery and in Parliament, &c. but nothing was settled till Penn's friends resolved to help him out of his difficulties, by making terms with the Fords. They gave about 5000£. Penn's friends in London raised by subscriptions 3000£. in Bristol 2000£. and in Ireland 2000£. more, taking securities on his estates to repay themselves. While at the prison, Penn was much visited by Friends, with whom he held Meetings. Isaac Norris who visited him there, says his lodgings were commodious and comfortable at the Old Baily, and himself well and cheery.

The Fords, while he was there, had the presumption to petition queen Anne to put them in possession of Pennsylvania!—Preposterous claim for a debt less than 2000£! It was of course disregarded. Penn, while thus "in durance vile" for a few months, conducted his correspondence &c. as usual. His mind was still free.—"The oppressor holds the body bound, but knows not what a flight the spirit takes!" Isaac Norris writes of him, that "he seems of a spirit fit to bear and rub through difficulties, and his foundation (in truth) still remains. He verifies the palm in the fable,—"The more he is pressed the more he rises!"\*

#### Penn's Letters.

Penn's letters to James Logan (especially from Pennsbury) are often diverting,—they are so intermixed with civil business and domestic affairs, or sometimes with a little religion.† Potts, kettles, candles, or two or three lbs. of coffee-berries, if to be sold in the town! or, proclamations of "nervous force," assemblies, sheriffs, and customs,—all abruptly jumbled together! In his manifold affairs James Logan became his necessary *fac-totum*. One cannot but be surprised at the large proportion of civil affairs of all kinds which he has to notice. It seems so incompatible with his known diligence and much time consumed in his religious public engagements. He perhaps explains this matter incidentally in some expressions to James Logan, saying, as advice to him, that

\* Isaac Norris says, the Fords offered to sell him the country for 8000 sterling! Philip Ford the elder, was then dead; his widow Bridget Ford and his son Philip were his Executors. James Logan regretted that his patron had so long kept him a stranger to his embarrassments with this ungrateful and extortionate family.

† This necessarily happened from the situation of the infant colony, with every thing to attend to as well as affairs of government. Only take a momentary view of the multitudinous subjects which must have occupied the mind of William Penn at this time, and then you will not wonder that he rapidly passed from one to the other.

“Religion, while in its growth, fits and helps us above all other things, even in things of this world, clearing our heads, quickening our spirits, and giving us faith and courage to perform.”

Penn's letters are vigorous in thought and sententious in expression:—so much so, that the frequent clyptical form of his sentences make them quite equivocal to modern ears. Some of them by changing the punctuation could be made now to contradict themselves. He wrote rapidly, and with a ready command of words. His wife Hannah too, wrote very like him in business style. The correspondence, as preserved by Mrs. Logan, between James Logan and William Penn, is very well adapted to display the mind and characters of the writers.

*William Penn's illness and death.*

Governor Penn's illness began in the summer of 1712, at London. It began in the form of a “lethargic fit,” and at six months afterwards he had a second fit at Bristol. Just before the latter he began and left unfinished his last letter to James Logan. It was sent as it was, and is now at Stenton, in almost illegible characters. After this he left Bristol, intending to go to London “to settle some affairs, and to get some laws passed for the province, but finding himself unable to bear the fatigue of the journey he just reached Ruscumbe,\* when he was again seized with his two former indispositions,” &c. After this, at times, fond hopes were entertained of his partial recovery; but they eventually proved but the delusions of fond hope. At intervals, “when a little easy, he had returning thoughts still alive in him of Pennsylvania,” &c. In the next year (1713) he had “recovered a great degree of health and strength, but not his wonted strength in expression, nor was he able to engage in business as formerly,” yet he could sometimes go out to Meeting at Reading, “which he bore very comfortably, and expressed his refreshment and satisfaction in being there:” indeed, “he frequently expressed his enjoyment in the Lord's goodness to him in his private retirements, and frequently expressed his loving concern for the good of his province,” although not so well as to digest and answer particulars in letters relating to business in Pennsylvania.

In 1714, his wife further speaks of his having had two or three little returns of his paralytic disorder, but that “they left him in pretty good health,—not worse in his speech than for some months before,” and when she “keeps the thoughts of business from him he was very sweet, comfortable and easy, and cheerfully resigned, and takes delight in his children, his friends, and domestic comforts.” His state then, says she, is a kind of translation! The company of his wife became an essential part of his comforts; so

\* At this place he remained till he died. Why do none of our travelling Pennsylvanians never visit and describe the remains of his mansion!





WILLIAM PENN.



much so, that "he is scarce ever easy with or without company, unless she was at his elbow," and if she then took occasion "to write about his affairs in his sight, it so renewed his cares therein, and made him so uneasy and unwell, that she was obliged to write by stealth," &c. Sometimes, "he desired to write on his former business, but his writing being as imperfect as his speech" made his wife interfere to prevent it.

In 1715, he is spoken of as still going to Reading to Meetings, and as walking about his gardens and commons daily. He continued thus for the two succeeding years, "enjoying much serenity of mind [a thing so unusual when in his perplexities and full health!] and continued incomes of the love of God,"—a virtual "translation" to him!

On another occasion (in 1717) she says, "he has all along delighted in walking and taking the air, when the weather allows, and when unfit, diverts himself from room to room, which is one reason for retaining so large a house at an inconvenient expense."

In the succeeding year, 1718, this great and good man yielded to his infirmities, and went to join that holy society of "just men made perfect," with which it was his delight while on earth to occupy his thoughts. At the annunciation of his death in Pennsylvania, it pleased the Governor, (Keith) incongruously enough, "to set it forth according to a military performance!" But his wife more appropriately solemnizes it in a feeling letter to James Logan, saying, "the full satisfaction I have in that loss, is the great and unspeakable gain of him, who was dearer to me than life itself. The loss itself has brought upon me a vast load of care, toil of mind, and sorrow."

So closed the eventful life of the christian and the sage!—

"With equal goodness, sound integrity  
A firm, unshaken, uncorrupted soul  
Amid a sliding age, and burning strong,  
Not vainly blazing, for his country's weal!"

#### *William Penn's Portrait.*

The original and true likeness of William Penn, or the best and only one existing as such, is a bust in the Loganian library, which was first taken by Sylvanus Bevan, acknowledged by the best judges to be a very capable and extraordinary hand in that line, to whom, in his young years, William Penn was a familiar acquaintance, friend and patron.

A note of Robert Proud's\* says, "The likeness is a real and true one, as I have been informed, not only by himself, (S. B.) but also by other old men in England, of the first character in the Society of Friends, who knew him in their youth."

\* In the year 1750, Robert Proud dwelt with Sylvanus Bevan in London; of course he had there good opportunities to hear of the likeness. The portrait given in this work is copied from the bust.

This lady was not less extraordinary for her endowments of mind as a woman, than was her husband's among men. She was a true wife, in that she was "an help-mete" for such a man as Penn. During her husband's long illness, and for some time after his death, she conducted the correspondence with the colony in her own proper hand; and with such ability of style as to be so far the representative of her husband, that her letters might readily be read as his own.

While she modestly speaks of herself as a "poor helpless woman having her hands overfull of family affairs and troubles," we find her "stepping up to London for the relief of the colony, and there conferring with men of competent judgments to enable her the better to make the choice of a new Governor; for she would have gladly consented to the present Governor's continuance had his conduct been answerable to his trust."

In short, her numerous letters in the Logan collection manifest a mind strangely competent to write with much good sense and fitness of style on every branch of the colonial government to which her husband's attention (if well) would have been required. Such a modest, unassuming, and disinterested female, conducting such a national concern in the midst of her proper household avocations, with such complete but unpretending ability, is probably without a parallel. Let good wives read them, that they may instruct themselves and teach their daughters to emulate her usefulness in like cases of family bereavements or extremities.

"From the force of bright example bold  
Rival her worth, and be what they behold!"

Let husbands too, from her example learn that good wives can often profitably assist them in their common concerns if duly intrusted with the charge!

Mrs. Logan well remembers to have seen in her youth a portrait of Hannah Penn at the mansion of James Hamilton, at Bush-hill. Where is it now?

*William Penn, jun'r.*

As this son was regarded in the colony as the probable heir of the founder, he being the only son by the first wife, it will afford additional interest to glean such notices of his character, as may serve to exhibit the habits of his mind and the causes which prevented his being looked to as a future acceptable Governor. I notice the following intimations respecting him in the correspondence between the father and James Logan, &c.

In 1701, William Penn intending to send him out to the colony thus describes him, saying, "He has witt. pretends much to honour, has kept the top company, is over-generous by half, and yet sharp

enough to get to spend. Handle him with love and wisdom. He is conquered that way." He was named also as to bring with him two or three couple of hounds; some of them for the chase of wolves.

In 1703, the father thus directs respecting him on his arrival, saying, "Immediately take him away to Pennsbury, and there give him the true state of things, and weigh down his levities as well as temper his resentments, and inform his understanding since all depends upon it, as well for his future happiness as in measure the poor country's. I propose the best and most sensible for his conversation. Watch him, out-witt him, and honestly over-reach him.—for his good."—[Even as did St. Paul himself, "who, being artful, caught them with guile; if by any means he might win some."]

On another occasion the father writes, saying, his son goes out "to see how he likes the place, and if so, to return and fetch his family. He aims to improve his study this winter with thee, as well as to know the laws and people. Use thy utmost influence upon him to make him happy in himself and me in him. Qualify his heats, inform his judgment, increase his knowledge, advise him to proper company, he being naturally too open. In short, keep him inoffensively employed at those times that he is not profitably concerned.\* Entreat our friends to gain him all they can, and never speak or report any thing to his disparagement behind his back, but tell him of it, and he has that reasonableness and temper to take it kindly. Be as much as possible in his company for that reason, and suffer him not to be in any public house after the allowed hours."

The preceding may be deemed a remarkable premonition, considering how very soon after his arrival he fell into an affray, in such a snare! The facts will presently be told; and as they will be found to drive him from friends and to make the after members of Penn's family churchmen, it may well be said of him in the present case,—“There are moments in the progress of time, which are the counters of whole ages!”

It may be remarked too, that friends did not seem to get much influence over his conduct; for one of them writes, that “he goes to no worship, and sometimes comes to Meetings. He is good natured and loves company,—but that of friends is too dull!”

James Logan in speaking of him to the father says, “I hope his voyage hither will prove to the satisfaction of all. It is a great stock of good nature that has led him out into his youthful sallies when too easily prevailed on; and the same I hope, when seasoned with the influence of his prevailing better judgment, with which he is well stored, will happily conduct him into the channel of his duty to God, himself and thee.”

\* All this good conduct to proceed from James Logan, himself but a young and single man, shows the great confidence that was reposed in his exemplary morals and good sense.

It would seem that young Penn himself had had some intimation before his coming to Philadelphia, that his habits were not well spoken of there; for, in his letter to James Logan of 28th Feb. 1703, he says, "Villanous reports I know have been industriously by some brought over (to you) against me. The Lord forgive them as I do. In the fall, if I am well, I will be with you. I give myself a great deal of satisfaction every day in considering of the pleasures of Pennsylvania and the benefit I shall reap in your conversations and in the books I design to bring over with me, &c." Perhaps you may think I write too gravely to be sincere, unless you know me well enough to believe that hypocrisie was never my talent." He also says, "I'm told the church party are very desirous of my coming over, as not doubting but to make me their property, but they will find themselves as much mistaken as others have been that have thought me a churchman, which, I thank God, I'm as far from as you can wish or desire."

In the year 1704, while he was in Philadelphia, he took such offence against some Friends as to declare himself virtually absolved from all connection with the Society. Although he was then a married man he appears to have been lavish of expense and fond of display and good living. For instance, J. Logan says he much exceeded his father's limit in expenses, kept his kennel of hounds, and, because "the whole town did not afford a suitable accommodation for the Governor's son, as a boarder," James Logan took William Clarke's great house; (afterwards Pemberton's in Chesnut street) where James Logan, William Penn, jun'r. Judge Mompesson, Governor Evans, &c. kept house *en famille*,—none of them having wives there. It was even supposed that he had become too free with a Miss —, in Bucks county: so much so, that James Logan writes, "'Tis a pity his wife came not with him, for her presence would have confined him within bounds he was not too regular in observing."

With such dispositions he got into a fray one night at Enoch Story's inn, in Coombe's alley, quarrelling with the watch there (respectable citizens then serving in their turns) about the militia, then newly organized in three counties as volunteers. The affair was presented by the Grand Jury, and came into court to the intended exposure of the young Governor!

In 1704, 7 mo. the Grand Jury present them for an assault on James Wood, constable, and James Dough, watch; the names presented were William Penn, jun'r. John Finny, sheriff, Thomas Gray, scrivener, and Joseph Ralph, quondam friend of Franklin. As the fracas progressed, other persons presented.—Penn called for pistols to pistol them, but the lights being put out one fell upon young Penn and gave him a severe beating. Cross actions were brought by several of the parties. Governor Evans, who was himself a gay fellow, so much favoured the escape of Enoch Story, the host, who joined Penn's party at the time, he reversed the proceed-

ings of the court against him. In the Logan MS. at Stenton, there is some correspondence between Evans, Penn, and Logan, concerning the affair.

James Logan seems to have regarded this as incensing and derogatory in the Grand Jury, and therefore palliates him, saying, "The indignity put upon the son of the founder is looked upon by most moderate men to be very base, [they besides gave him some hearty knocks!] and by himself and those concerned in the government is deeply resented; thy son therefore holds himself no longer obliged to keep up appearances, and throws off all of the Quaker, altho' he still professes a tender regard to his father's profession, but he has resolved to leave us and go home in the Jersey man of war from New York." Probably, however, the explanation offered by Isaac Norris, sen'r. at that time, is nearer the truth, to wit: "William Penn, jun'r. is quite gone off from Friends; he, being with some extravagants that beat the watch, was presented with them; which unmannerly, disrespectful act, as he takes it, gives him great disgust, and seems a waited for occasion; I wish things had been better, or he had never come."

It is probable from the influence of this first-born son of the founder, that the subsequent race of the Penns have been led off from Friends; a circumstance, which one, although no Friend, may regret, because it entirely destroys their identities and even sympathies with their much honoured progenitor!

William Penn, speaking of that affair, says, "See how much more easily bad Friend's treatment of him stumbled him from the truth than those he acknowledges to be good ones could prevail to keep him in possession of it, from the prevailing ground in himself to what is levity more than to what is retired, circumspect and virtuous; I justify not his folly and still less their provocation."

"Their provocation" probably alludes to such acts as these, among others, to wit: David Lloyd, the speaker, who, although a Friend, was inimical to the father, expressed himself thus offensively, saying, "This poor province is brought to poor condition by the revels and disorders which young Penn and his gang of loose fellows are found in here, to the great grief of Friends and others here."

The better to enable him to return home and pay debts here he sold out the manor, since Norrington, to Isaac Norris and William Trent for 800*l*.

When in England he much added to his father's expenditures by free living; the father, thus expressing his regrets thereat, saying, his "son with his young wife of united sentiment in expensive living beyond their means, they are much expense and grief to him for many years and many ways." He writes also, "he intends going into the army or navy." Afterwards he is spoken of as putting up for Parliament, and losing it, as was suspected, by

bribery; wherefore his father "wishes he would turn his face to privacy and good husbandry."

After this we hear nothing of this head-strong son, save his joining himself to the communion of the church of England, until after the death of his honored father. He then, in opposition to his mother who was executrix, affected to assume the government of the province and to re-commission governor Keith, the council, &c. in his own name,\* saying, "I am, as his heir, become your proprietor and Governor, and I take this occasion to declare to you my intentions of strictly adhering to the interests of Pennsylvania. I intend to be of no party, but am resolved to shake hands with all honest men. Although I am of the church of England, and trust I shall die in his communion. I solemnly promise the Quakers that I will on all occasions give them marks of my friendship." &c.

But alas, poor man! he had for some four or five years before this event given himself too much to intemperance: for, about the time his affectionate and anxious father had lost his ability to govern, (by his sickness,) his son, who should have stood in his stead, proved himself an unworthy scion of the parent stock, and could not be intrusted. He wandered abroad and left his wife and children with the parent family at Ruscombe. He died in 1720, (two years after his father) at Calais or Leige in France, of a deep consumption induced by his own indiscreet living, and deeply "regretting the wrongs he had done!" "The way of the transgressor is hard!"

He left three children, viz. Springett, Gulielma Maria, and William.—The latter when he grew up was offered 10,000 acres of land near the forks of the Delaware as a present from the Indians, who, in love of his grandfather, desired him to come over and live in the country. None of them however came to the country. One daughter, Gulielma, married Charles Fell, Esq. as her second husband. Springett died young; and the Irish estate passed through the daughter of William, who married Gaskill in 1761, to the present Philadelphian family of that name.

#### *John Penn.*

This was the eldest son by the second marriage. He was quite an amiable man, and in the esteem of James Logan his favorite of all the proprietor's children. He was besides born in Philadelphia, and was called therefore "the American;"—he was born in 1699, and died in 1746, unmarried. He had been brought up in Bristol in England with a cousin as a merchant in the linen trade,—a situation in which "he gave his parents much satisfaction." He visited Pennsylvania in 1734; he was a churchman; but I have observed

\* As this appointment so made was without the consent of the crown, the question was made by Keith to the Lords Justices, which brought out an order from the Lords of trade of 21 July, 1719, availing themselves of the pretext of that informality to claim back the province under the half formed sale of surrender.

he wrote to James Logan as late as 1719-20, in the style of a Friend: so also did Thomas Penn as late as 1726. The service of plate bestowed by John Penn to the church at Lewistown is still there.

*William Aubrey and Lætitia his wife.*

He appears to have been a pressing man of business as a merchant,—pretty roughly quarrelling both with William Penn and James Logan about his wife's portion, in an unreasonable manner. It appears that he would have come over to Pennsylvania, but that "his wife's regards for the country was at low ebb." They never had any children.

I have seen a copy of the certificate, granted by the female part of the Friends' Meeting in Philadelphia to Lætitia Penn, dated the 27th of 7 mo. 1701. which reads in part thus, to wit:

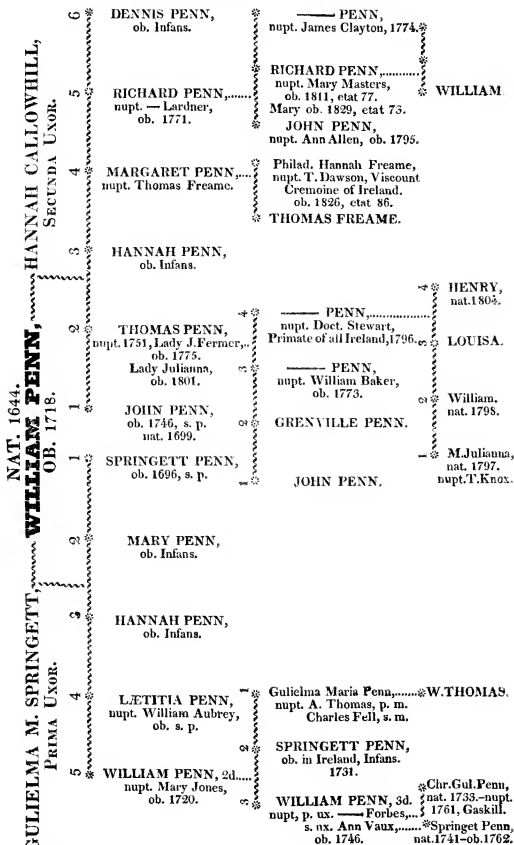
"These may certify that Lætitia Penn, &c. has for good order sake desired a certificate from us, and we can freely certify to all whom it may concern that she hath well behaved herself here, very soberly and according to the good instructions which she hath received in the way of truth, being well inclined, courteously carried, and sweetly tempered in her conversation amongst us, and also a diligent comer to Meetings, and hope, hath plentifully received of the dew which hath fallen upon God's people to her settlement and establishment in the same." It also set forth that she was under no marriage engagements to the best of their knowledge and belief.\*

The natural disposition of Lætitia was gay and sportive. As an instance of her girlish spirits, when she was with her father at Evans' place at Gwynned, seeing the men at threshing, she desired to try her hand at the use of the flail, which, to her great surprise, brought such a racket about her head and shoulders, she was obliged to run into the house in tears and expose her playful freak to her father.

She lived a widow several years after the death of Mr. Aubrey, and had often occasion to correspond with James Logan, upon her landed concerns remaining in this country.

\*Lætitia, while a girl in Philadelphia, was claimed as pledged to him by William Masters;—it was denied; but in time afterwards, it occurred that a governor Penn married a Miss Masters, a descendant.

## Penn Genealogy, by J. P. Norris, Esq.



Note—Ann Penn survived her husband, and married Alexander Durdin,—1767. In William 3d the male branch by his first wife became extinct.



*The Penn Family of the Royal Tudor-Race.*

As a sequel to the foregoing genealogical table I here annex some facts, derived from Hugh David, an early emigrant, which go to show that William Penn said his house was descended of that royal race.

Hugh David came into this country with William Penn about the year 1700, and lived in Gwynned, a place settled principally by emigrants from Wales; he related an anecdote of the Penn family, perhaps known only to few, as follows:

They, being both on board the same ship, often conversed together. William Penn, observing a goat knawing a broom which was laying on the ship's deck, called out: Hugh, dost thou observe the goat? see, what hardy fellows the Welsh are, how they can feed on a broom; however, Hugh, I am a Welshman myself, and will relate by how strange a circumstance our family lost their name: My grandfather\* was named John Tudor, and lived upon the top of a hill or mountain in Wales; he was generally called John Penmunith, which in English is *John on the top of the hill*: he removed from Wales into Ireland, where he acquired considerable property. Upon his return into his own country he was addressed by his old friends and neighbours, not in their former way, but by the name of Mr. Penn. He afterwards removed to London, where he continued to reside, under the name of John Penn; which has since been the family name.

These relations of Hugh David were told by him to a respectable Friend, who gave them in MS. to Robert Proud; and withal they are confirmed by the fact of Mr. David's declaring it again in some MS. lines of poetry prepared as a compliment to Thomas Penn on his arrival in 1732, and now preserved in my MS. Annals in the City Library, page 187, with some elucidatory remarks.

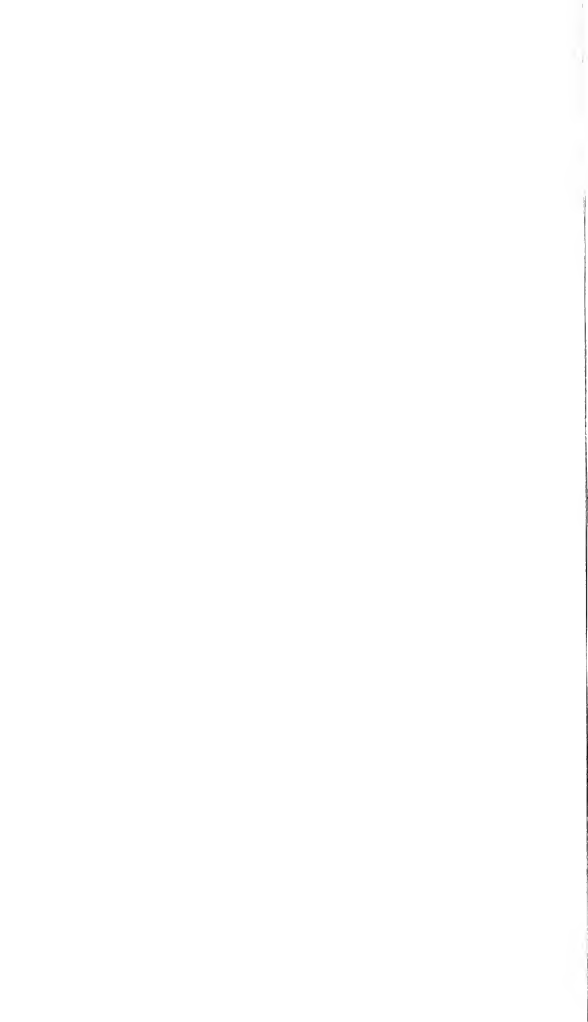
*Hugh David's verses addressed to Thomas Penn.*

For the love of him that now deceased be  
I salute his loyal one of three,  
That ruleth here in glory so serene—  
A branch of Tudor, alias Thomas Penn.

From Anglesie, an Isle in rich array,  
There did a prince the English sceptre sway;  
Out of that stem, I do believe no less,  
There sprung a branch to rule this wilderness.

May Sion's King rule thy heart,—amen!  
So I wish to all the race of Penn,  
That they may never of his favour miss  
Who is the door to everlasting bliss.

\* Robert Proud, in MS. says it was probably his great grandfather, for his grandfather's name appears to have been Giles Penn.



## PENN'S DESCENDANTS.



THE following facts concerning several individuals of the Penn family, descended of the founder, are such as I occasionally met with in various readings,—to wit:

1724—Mrs. Gulielma Maria Fell, granddaughter of the famous Quaker, *Sir William Penn*, was publicly baptised in the parish church of St. Paul, Covent Garden, in October last.—*London Gazette*.

1732—This year one of the proprietaries, Thomas Penn, made his visit to Pennsylvania, and was received with much pomp and state,—probably in such manner as to give him some personal embarrassment. His former habits, for some years, had not been accustomed to ride aloft amidst the bozanna's of the people: for both he and his brother, after the death of their father, and the difficulties of their mother, had been placed with a kinsman, a linen draper, in Bristol.

I found the following description of his arrival and reception in 1732, in the "*Caribbeana*," a Barbadoes publication of Kreimer's. It purports to be a letter from a young lady to her father in Barbadoes. I have extracted as follows, viz:

"He landed at Chester, when our Governor, having notice of it, went to meet him, and carried so many gentlemen with him, and so many joined them on the road, that they made a body of 300 horse. They paid him their compliments and staid till he was ready to set out."

"The poor man, who had never been treated but as a private man in England, and, far from expecting such a reception, was so surprised at it, that he was entirely at a loss how to behave; and I was told, when he took a glass of wine in his hand he trembled so, he was scarcely able to hold it. At length he recovered himself and returned their compliments. He reached here at four o'clock in the afternoon. The windows and balconies [mark, the houses then had them,] were filled with ladies, and the streets with the mob, to see him pass. Before he arrived a boy came running and cried the proprietor was coming on horseback, and a sceptre was carried before him in the Governor's coach! [It was a crutch of a lame man therein; and the person on horseback was probably the servant behind the coach!] When arrived, he was entertained at the Governor's house, where he stays ever

since. The ships at the wharf kept firing, and the bells ringing, all the afternoon. At the night bonfires were lighted."

"The Assembly and Corporation feasted him afterwards; the Chiefs of the five nations being present, rejoiced to see him, and, to renew treaties. The fire engines played all the afternoon and diverted the Chieftains greatly."

From the minutes of the city council of the 18th of August, 1732, it appears that the Mayor acquainted the board that the honourable Thomas Penn, Esq. being lately arrived in this city, he thought it the duty of this board to give him a handsome welcome by providing a decent collation at the expense of the Corporation: to which the board unanimously agreed, and fixed the time for Monday next, at the court house, &c.

Mrs. Nancarro told me she well remembered hearing her father, Owen Jones, the colonial treasurer, describe the arrival of Thomas Penn as Governor, in 1732. That it gave great joy to the people, to have once more a Penn among them. The people were of course very anxious to behold him: and although he had shown himself from the balcony of the old court house, they urged him to another exhibition, at the vestibule of the "old Governor's house," so called, in south Second street below the present custom house. He, however, soon became unpopular, and when he retired from us, (on his return,) some of the grosser or more malignant part of the people actually raised a gallows over a narrow pass in the woods by which he had to pass. It was not, however, countenanced by any of the better part of society.

Hugh David who was a respectable Welshman, that had come over with William Penn, in his second visit in 1700, came from his home at Gwynned in 1732, to make his visit of respect to Thomas Penn, then lately arrived; for that purpose he had prepared some verses to present him, complimentary to him as descended of William Penn, who was himself before descended of the royal house of Tudor,—“a branch of Tudor, alias Thomas Penn.” The intended verses were however withheld, and have fallen since into my hands, occasioned by the cold and formal deportment of the Governor; for, as Hugh David informed Jonathan Jones, of Merion, in whose family I got the story and the poetry, he spoke to him but three sentences, which were,—“How dost do?”—“Farewell,”—“The other door.”

It would seem, however, he was sufficiently susceptible of softer and warmer emotions, he having, as it was said, brought with him to this country, as an occasional companion, a person of much show and display, called “Lady Jenks,” who passed her time “remote from city,” in the then wilds of Bucks county; but her beauty, accomplishments and expert horsemanship made her soon of notoriety enough, to make every woman, old and young, in the country, her chronicle: they said she rode with him at fox-huntings and at the famous “Indian Walk,” in men's clothes, (meaning

without doubt, their simple conceptions of the masculine appearance of her riding habit array) garbed, like a man in petticoats.

Old Samuel Preston, Esq. to whom I am chiefly indebted for facts concerning her, (often, however, confirmed by others) tells me it was well understood there, that she was the mother of Thomas Jenks, Esq.\* a member of Friends,—a very handsome, highly esteemed, and useful citizen, who lived to about the year 1810, and received his education and support through the means supplied by his father, Thomas Penn. Indeed, Thomas Penn was so much in the style of an “English gentleman,” says my informant, that “he had two other natural sons by other women, which he also provided for, and they also raised respectable families.” From the great age at which Thomas Jenks died, (said to have been near 100 years) I presume he was born in England, and from his bearing the name of his mother, she must have first arrived as the widow Jenks and son. When E. Marshall, who performed the extraordinary Indian walk, became offended with his reward, “he d—d Penn and his half-wife” to their faces.

In 1734, October, John Penn, (called the “American,” because the only one of Penn’s children born here,) made his landing at New Castle, and came on to Philadelphia by land. At his crossing the Schuylkill he was met and escorted into the city, and “the guns on Society Hill” and the ships fired salutes. It states, the escort consisted of a train of several coaches and chaises. The Governor and suite alighted at his brother Thomas’ house, where an elegant entertainment was given. Their sister, Mrs. Margaret Freame, and husband, also arrived with him. This of course brought over all the then living children of Penn, save his son Richard, then youngest.

In 1751, November, Thomas Penn, aforementioned, was announced as marrying Lady J. Fermer, daughter of the Earl of Pomfret. He died in 1775, and she lived to the year 1801.

In Weems’ Life of Penn, he is extremely severe on the cupidity and extortion of the Penn family. I am not able to say where he finds his pretexts. Complaints were made about the year 1755–6 by Tedeuscung, at the head of the Delaware Indians, that they had been cheated in their lands, bought on one and a half day’s walk along the Neshamina and forks of Delaware, back 47 miles to the mountains; and I have seen the whole repelled in a long MS. report to governor Dennie, by the committee of Council, in which all the history of all the Indian treaties are given, and wherein they declare that till that time (1757) the Penn proprietaries had more than fulfilled all their obligations by treaties, &c.—paying for some purchases, to different and subsequent nations, over and over again. The paper contained much reasoning and arguments to justify the then Penns. If they indeed, “bought low, and sold

\* His son, Thomas Jenks, was a Senator at the time of the formation of the State Constitution,—a very smart man.

high," who, without ~~say~~ in this way, "may cast the first stone!" In the statute sense, the land was theirs before they bought it. It was their ancestor's by grant of the Sovereign, and as good as the Baronies of England by the grant of the Conqueror. Yet I plead not for such assumptions.—I relate the facts.

Having had the perusal of several letters, written by Thomas Penn in England to his Secretary, Richard Peters, dated from 1754 to 1767, I was constrained to the impression that they were honourable to the proprietaries, as showing a frank and generous spirit, both in relation to sales and collections for lands. They were mild too, in remarking upon unkindness to themselves from political parties and enemies. They, in short, (and in truth,) breathed a spirit very free from selfishness or bitterness. In them, Thomas Penn showed great affection for church principles—offering 50*l.* per annum, out of his own funds, to continue Mr. Barton as a missionary at New Castle. &c. In 1755, he proposes to allow any disappointed lot holders upon Schuylkill a privilege to exchange them for Delaware lots near the Centre Square. In 1760, he is very solicitous to have John Watson of Bucks county, (whom Logan also commends,) to be induced to accept the office of Surveyor General. He speaks of an intention to write to Hannah Watson, whom he knew when a little boy.

It is sufficiently known, however, that Thomas and Richard Penn rendered themselves quite unpopular, by instructing their Governors not to assent to any laws taxing their estates in common with the people. This induced Franklin to write the Historical Review of Pennsylvania, as published in 1759, he estimating their estates then as worth 10 millions sterling.

One of Thomas Penn's letters, of 1767, speaks of the government manifesting an inclination to buy him out as proprietary, saying, "It is the ill-natured project of Benjamin Franklin," then in London as agent for the colony. "They would agree (says he) to give us, by the hints of the minister, ten times the money they offered our father. I have declined, and intimated we are not to be forced to it, as Mr. Franklin would wish it."

1763, November, John Penn and Richard Penn, brothers, and sons of Richard, before named, are announced as arrived in the province—the former, being the eldest, is called the Lieutenant Governor. His commission as Lieutenant Governor is read from the balcony of the old court house as usual. Their father, Richard, was then alive in England, having lived till 1771.

Owen Jones, Esq. told me he remembered to have seen Richard Penn land at Judge Allen's house, in Water street below High street, corner of Beck's alley, and thence go in procession to the old court house, and, standing out on the balcony there, made an address to the people in the street.

The present aged Mrs. Speakman tells me that when John Penn landed at High street, there was a strong earthquake, as he stepped

ashore; when he went home, a dreadful thunder-storm arose; and when he next returned as proprietary, a fierce hurricane occurred!

In 1767, died in London, Springett Penn, grandson of William Penn by his first wife,—being, as the Gazette stated, the last male issue by that lady.

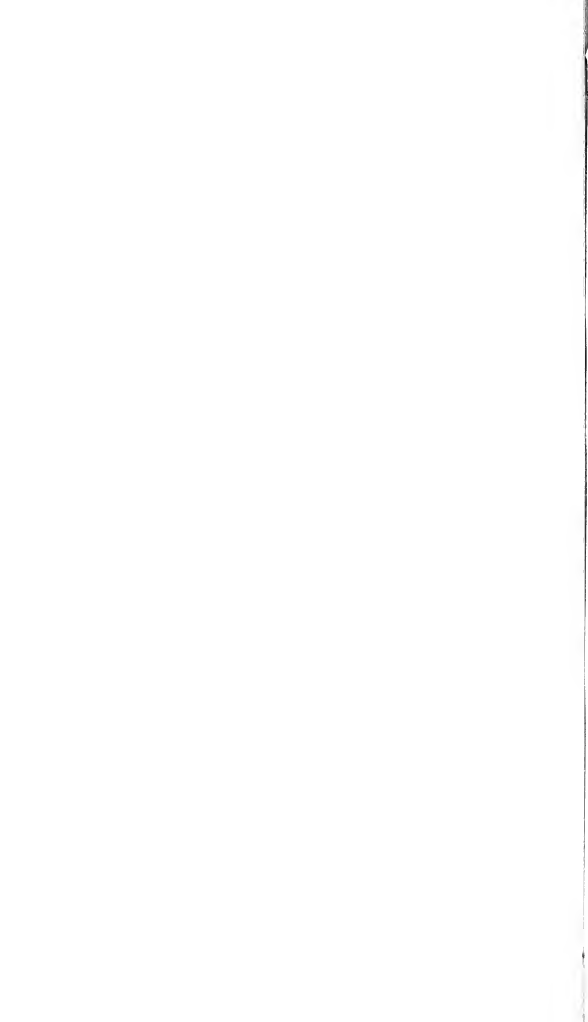
My friend J. P. N. describes those gentlemen thus, viz: John Penn, son of Richard, owner of one third of the province, was twice or thrice Governor; he married a daughter of Judge Allen, of Philadelphia,—was in person of the middle size, reserved in his manners, and very near-sighted. He was not popular,—died in Bucks county in 1795, aged 67 years. He was buried in Christ church ground, and afterwards was taken up and carried to England; thus adding to the strange aversions which the members of the Penn family generally showed to remaining among us, either living or dead. He built here the place called Landsdown House.

Richard Penn, his brother, was Governor a little prior to the Revolution.—a fine portly looking man—a bon vivant, very popular,—married our Miss Polly Masters,—died in England in 1811, at the age of 77 years, and left several children. His wife died August, 1829, aged 73 years.

John Penn, the eldest son of Thomas, and who had two thirds of the province, was in Philadelphia after the Revolution. He had a particular nervous affection about him, such as was sometimes distressing to himself and others; he was besides near-sighted. He built the place called Solitude, over Schuylkill. He is still alive, and has written to me on Philadelphia subjects occasionally. He has in his possession a great collection of his grandfather's, (William Penn) papers. These will some day be brought to light to elucidate family and civil history. He is now the wealthy proprietor and resident of Stoke Pogis park in the country, and of the mansion house at Spring Garden, London.

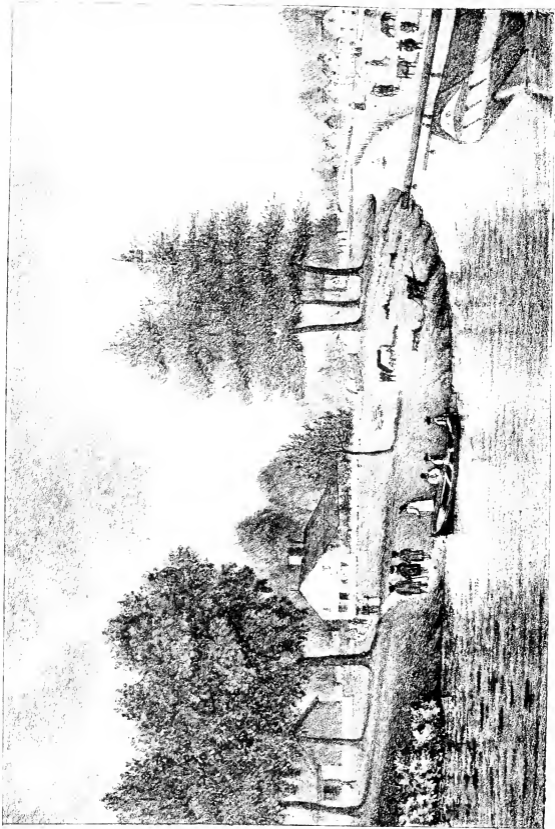
When J. R. Coates, Esq. was lately in England, in 1826, as he informed me, he there saw that all the cabinet of original papers of the founder were in fine preservation, all regularly filed and endorsed. Some branches of the family had applied, it is understood, to John Penn to have their use, to form some history from them; but the proprietor declined to give them, alleging he purposed some day to use them for a similar purpose himself. It is gratifying thus to know that there are still existing such MS. materials for our early history. His letter to me of 1825 says, he would very freely communicate to me any thing among them in my way, as he may come across them.

John Penn Gaskill, of Philadelphia county, who married in Montgomery county in 1825, became in 1824 the rich proprietor of the Penn Irish estate. On his visit to that country, to see it, and to possess it, he was received with all the pomp and circumstances of Lordship, which a numerous tribe of tenants and mansion house menials could confer.









*Boat Landing at Eber House Chester*

## THE LANDING OF PENN AT CHESTER.

[ILLUSTRATED BY A PLATE.]

THERE are several facts of interest connected with the ancient town of Chester ; none more so, than the landing there of William Penn, and the hospitable reception himself and friends received at the "Essex house," then the residence of Robert Wade. His house, at which the scene of the landing is laid, stood about two hundred yards from Chester creek, near the margin of the Delaware, and on a plain of about fifteen feet above tide water. Near the house by the river side stood several lofty white pines, three of which remain at the present day, and thence ranging down the Delaware stood a large row of lofty walnut trees, of which a few still survive.

Essex house had its south-east gable end fronting to the river Delaware, and its south-west front upon Essex street ; its back piazza ranged in a line with Chester creek, which separated the house and farm from the town of Chester ; all vestiges of the house are now gone, but the facts of its location and position have been told to me by some aged persons who had once seen it. The iron vane once upon it was preserved several years, with the design of replacing it upon a renewed building once intended there.

Robert Wade owned all the land on the side of the creek opposite to Chester, extending back some distance up that creek ; the Chester side was originally owned wholly by James Sanderland, a wealthy Swedish proprietor, and extending back into the country a considerable distance ; he appears to have been an eminent Episcopalian, and probably the chief founder of the old Episcopal church there of St. Paul, as I find his memory peculiarly distinguished in that church by a large and conspicuous mural monument of remarkably fine sculpture for that early day ; the figures in fine relief upon it is a real curiosity, it represents him as dying in the year 1692, in the 56th year of his age. None of the family name now remain there.

On the same premises is a head stone of some peculiarity, "in memory of Francis Brooks, who died August 19, 1704," and inscribed thus :

"In barbarian bondage and cruel tyranny  
Fourteen years together I served in slavery.  
After this, mercy brought me to my country fair ;  
At last, I drowned was in river Delaware."

In the same ground stands a marble, commemorative of the first A. M. of Pennsylvania, to wit:

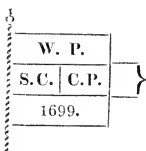
Here lieth Paul Jackson, A. M.

He was the first who received a degree in the college of Philadelphia,—a man of virtue, worth and knowledge.”—Died, 1767, aged 38 years.

I might add respecting him, that he was the ancestor of the present Dr. Samuel Jackson of Philadelphia, had been a surgeon in the Braddock expedition, was a brother-in-law of the honourable Charles Thomson, and one of the best classical scholars of his time.

The brick house is still standing, now a cooper's shop, owned by John Hart, in which, it is said, was held the first Assembly of Pennsylvania. It is a one and a half story structure of middle size, close by the side of the creek. The oaken chair, in which William Penn sat as chief in that Assembly, is said to be now in the possession of the aged and respectable widow of colonel Frazer,—a chair to be prized by us with some of that veneration bestowed on the celebrated chair in Westminster Abbey, brought from Scone to help in the investiture of royal power.

At the mill-seat up the creek, now belonging to Richard Flowers, was originally located, near thereto, the first mill in the county: the same noticed in Proud's history as erected by Richard Townsend, who brought out the chief of the materials from England. The original mill is all gone; but the log platform under water still remains at the place where the original road to Philadelphia once passed. The iron vane of that mill, curiously wrought into letters and dates, is still on the premises, and is marked thus:



The initials express the original partners, to wit: William Penn, Samuel Carpenter, and Caleb Pusey.

Close by the race stands the original dwelling house, in which it is understood that Richard Townsend once dwelt, and where he was often visited by the other partners: it is a very lowly stone building of the rudest finish inside, and of only one story in height. Such was their primitive rough fare and rude simplicity; yet small as was this establishment at the head of tide water, it was of much importance to the inhabitants of that day.

Not far from this at Ridly creek mills is a curious relic—an engraving upon a rock of “I. S. 1682,” which marks the spot

against which John Sharpless, the original settler there, erected his temporary hut, immediately after his arrival in that year.

The Yates' house, now Logan's, built about the year 1700, was made remarkable in the year 1740-1, (the season of the "cold winter,") for having been visited in the night by a large black bear, which came into the yard and quarrelled with the dog. It was killed the next day near the town.

There is in the Logan collection at Stenton a large folio volume of manuscript court proceedings at Upland, chiefly respecting lands along the Delaware, at Shackamaxon, &c. while under the Duke of York's patent, and subject to the New York Governors.

The original expectations of Chester were once much greater than since; they once thought it might grow into a shipping port. In an original petition of the inhabitants of Chester of the year 1700, now among the Logan collection, they pray, that "Whereas Chester is daily improving, and in time may be a good place, that the Queen's road may be laid out as direct as possible from Darby to the bridge on Chester creek." This paper was signed by ninety inhabitants, all writing good hands. Vide the original in my MS. Annals in the City Library.

Besides this, Jasper Yates, who married Sanderland's daughter, erected, about the year 1700, the present great granary there, having the upper chambers for grain and the basement story for an extensive biscuit bakery. For some time it had an extensive business, by having much of the grain from the fruitful fields of Lancaster and Chester counties; but the business has been long since discontinued.

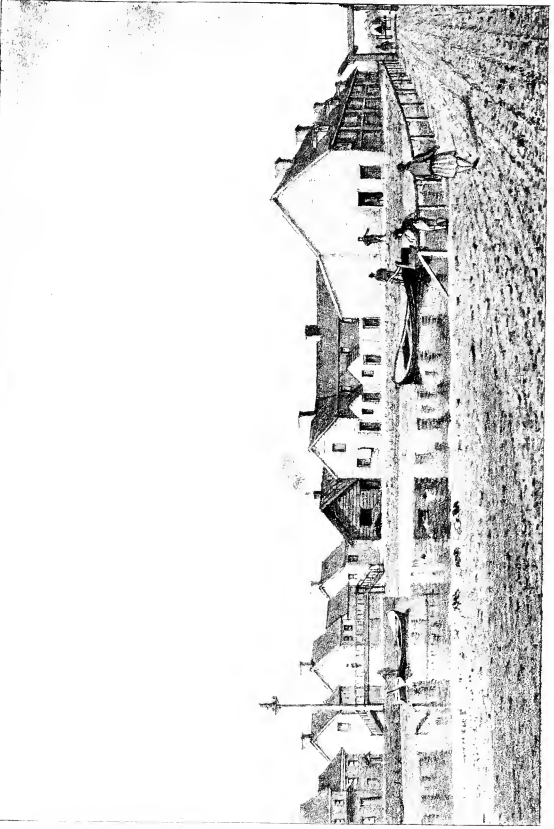
When the first colonists, (arrived by the Factor) were frozen up at Chester, in December, 1681, and these being followed by several ships in the spring of 1682, before the city of Philadelphia was chosen and located, they must have given an air of city life to the Upland village, which may have well excited an original expectation and wish of locating there the city of brotherly love. It was all in unison with the generous hospitality afforded at Wade's house and among all the families of Friends previously settled there from Jersey: but Chester creek could not compete with Schuylkill river, and Chester was rivalled by Philadelphia; "so that it seemed appointed, by its two rivers and other conveniences, for a town."

At this late day it is grateful to look back with "recollected tenderness, on the state of society once possessing Chester. My friend Mrs. Logan, who once lived there, thus expressed it to me, saying, she had pleasure in her older years of contemplating its society as pictured to her by her honoured mother, a native of the place. Most of the inhabitants, being descendants of the English, spoke with the broad dialect of the North. They were a simple hearted, affectionate people, always appearing such in the visits

\* The road below Chester was called the King's road.

she made with her mother to the place. Little distinction of rank was known, but all were honest and kind, and all entitled to and received the friendly attentions and kindness of their neighbours in cases of sickness or distress. Scandal and detraction, usual village pests, were to them unknown. Their principles and feelings were too good and simple, and the state of the whole was at least "a silver age."





*Doverbridge & Blue Anchor Inn*



## THE LANDING OF PENN

AT THE

**Blue Anchor Tavern.**

[ILLUSTRATED BY A PLATE.]

Here memory's spell wakes up the throng  
Of past affection—here our father's trod!

THE general voice of mankind has ever favoured the consecration of places hallowed by the presence of personages originating great epochs in history, or by events giving renown to nations. The landing place of Columbus in our western world is consecrated and honoured in Havanna; and the landing of the pilgrims at Plymouth is commemorated by festivals. We should not be less disposed to emblazon with its just renown the place where Penn, our honoured founder, first set his foot on the soil of our beloved city. The site and all its environs were abundantly picturesque, and facts enough of the primitive scene have descended to us,

“—————e'en to replace agen  
The features as they knew them then.”

Facts still live, to revive numerous local impressions, and to connect the heart and the imagination with the past,—to lead out the mind in vivid conceptions of

“How the place look'd when 'twas fresh and young.”

Penn and his immediate friends came up in an open boat or barge from Chester; and because of the then peculiar fitness, as “a landing place,” of the “low and sandy beach,” at the *debouche* of the once beautiful and rural Dock creek, they there came to the shore by the side of Guest's new house, then in a state of building, the same known in the primitive annals as “the Blue Anchor tavern.”

The whole scene was active, animating and cheering. On the shore were gathered, to cheer his arrival, most of the few inhabitants who had preceded him. The busy builders who had been occupied at the construction of Guest's house, and at the connecting line of “Budd's long row,” all forsook their labours to join in the general greetings. The Indians too, aware by previous signals

of his approach, were seen in the throng, or some, more reservedly apart, waited the salutation of the guest, while others, hastening to the scene, could be seen paddling their canoes down the smooth waters of the creek.

Where the houses were erecting, on the line of Front street, was the low sandy beach; directly south of it, on the opposite side of the creek, was the grassy and wet soil, fruitful in whortleberries; beyond it was the "Society Hill," having its summit on Pine street, and rising in graceful grandeur from the precincts of Spruce street—all then robed in the vesture with which nature most charms. Turning our eyes and looking northward, we see similar rising ground, presenting its summit above Walnut street. Looking across the Dock creek westward, we see all the margin of the creek adorned with every grace of shrubbery and foliage, and beyond it, a gently sloping descent from the line of Second street, whereon were hatted a few of the native's wigwams intermixed among the shadowy trees. A bower near there, and a line of deeper verdure on the ground, marked "the spring," where "the Naiad weeps her emptying urn." Up the stream, meandering through "prolixity of shade," where "willows dipt their pendent boughs, stooping as if to drink," we perceive, where it traverses Second street, the lowly shelter of Drinker, the anterior lord of Dock creek; and beyond him, the creek disappears in intervening trees, or in mysterious windings.

That scenes like these are not fanciful reveries, indulged without their sufficient warrant, we shall now endeavour to show from sober facts, deduced from various items of information, to wit:

Mr. Samuel Richards, a Friend, who died in 1827, at about the age of 59, being himself born and residing all his days next door to the Blue Anchor tavern, was very competent to judge of the verity of the tradition concerning the landing. He fully confided in it; he had often heard of it from the aged, and never heard it opposed by any. His father before him, who had dwelt on the same premises, assured him it was so, and that he had heard it direct through the preceding occupants of the inn. All the earliest keepers of the inn were Friends: such was Guest, who was also in the first Assembly; he was succeeded by Reese Price, Peter Howard, and Benjamin Humphries, severally Friends. All these in succession kept alive the tradition that "when Penn first came to the city he came in a boat from Chester, and landed near their door." It was then, no doubt, the readiest means of transportation, and would have been a highly probable measure, even if we had never heard of the above facts to confirm it.

The aged Mrs. Preston, who was present on that occasion, used to say, she admired the affability and condescension of the Governor, especially his manner of entering into the spirit and feeling of the Indians; he walked with them, sat down on the ground with them, ate with them of their roasted acorns and homony. When

they got up to exercise and express their joy by hopping and jumping, he finally sprung up, and beat them all. I will not pretend to vouch for this story; we give it as we received it from honest informants, who certainly believed it themselves. It was a measure harmless in the abstract; and as a courtesy to the Indians may have been a fine stroke of policy in winning their regard. He was young enough to have been gay; being then only 38 years of age. And one of the old Journalists has left on record, that he was naturally too prone to cheerfulness for a grave public Friend, especially in the eye of those of them who held "religion harsh, intolerant, austere."

Penn was so pleased with the site of "the low sandy beach," as a landing place, (the rest of the river side being high precipitous banks) that he made it a public landing place for ever in his original city charter; and the little haven at the creek's mouth so pleased him, as a fit place for a harbour for vessels in the winter, and a security from the driving ice, that he also appropriated so much of it as lay eastward of the Little Dock creek to be a great dock for ever, to be deepened by digging when needful. The waters there were much deeper at first than after years, as the place got filled up by the negligence of the citizens. Charles Thomson, Esq. told me of his often seeing such vessels as sloops and schooners lading their flour for the West Indies on the sides of the Dock creek near to Second street; and a very aged informant (Mrs. Powell) had seen a schooner once as high as Girard's bank. Charles Thomson also told me of one family of the first settlers whose vessel wintered at the mouth of the creek.

This original tavern, from its location, was at first of first-rate consequence as a place of business. It was the proper key of the city, to which all new-comers resorted, and where all small vessels, coming with building-timber from Jersey, &c. or with traffic from New England, made their ready landing. The house was also used as a public ferry, whence people were to cross over Dock creek to Society Hill, before the cause-way and bridge over Front street were formed, and also to convey persons over to Windmill island, where was a windmill for grinding their grain, or to cross persons and horses over to Jersey. It was, in short, the busy mart for a few years of almost all the business the little town required.

This landing house, called the Blue Anchor, was the southern-most of ten houses of like dimensions began about the same time, and called "Budd's long row." They had to the eye the appearance of brick houses, although they were actually framed with wood, and filled in with small bricks, bearing the appearance of having been imported. J. P. Norris, Esq. has told me that he always understood from his ancestors and others that parts of the buildings, of most labour and most convenient transportation, were brought out in the first vessels, so as to insure greater despatch in finishing a few houses at least for indispensable purposes. Proud's history

informs us, that the house of Guest was the most finished house in the city when Penn arrived; and all tradition has designated the Blue Anchor as the first built house in Philadelphia: from this cause, when it was "pulled down to build greater," I preserved some of its timber as appropriate relic-wood. This little house, although sufficiently large in its day, was but about twelve feet front on Front street, and about twenty-two feet on Dock street, having a ceiling of about eight and a half feet in height.

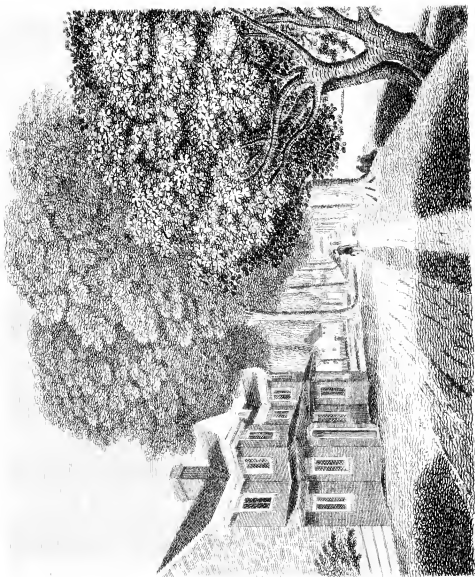
"The spring," in a line due north from this house, on the opposite bank of the creek, was long after a great resort for taking in water for vessels going to sea, and had been seen in actual use by some aged persons still alive in my time, who described it as a place of great rural beauty shaded with shrubbery and surrounded with rude sylvan seats.

Little Dock creek, diverging to the south east, had an open passage for canoes and bateaux as high as St. Peter's church, through a region long laying in commons, natural shrubbery, and occasional forest trees, left so standing, long after the city, northward of Dock creek, was in a state of improvement.

The cottage of the Drinker family, seen up the main or north-western Dock creek, located near the south west corner of Walnut and Second street, was the real primitive house of Philadelphia. The father of the celebrated aged Edward Drinker had settled there some years before Penn's colonists came, and Edward himself was born there two years before that time: he lived till after the war of Independence, and used to delight himself often in referring to localities where Swedes and Indians occasionally hunted, and also where Penn and his friends remained at their first landing.

It fully accords with my theories, from observations on the case that the creek water once overflowed the whole of Spruce street, from Second street to the river, and that its outlet extended in a south-eastwardly direction along the base of Society Hill, till its southernmost extremity joined the Delaware nearly as far south as Union street. I think these ideas are supported by the fact, which I have ascertained, that all the houses on the southern side of Spruce street have occasionally water in their cellars, and also those on the east side of Front street some distance below Spruce street. Mr. Samuel Richards told me it was the tradition of his father and other aged persons about the Blue Anchor tavern, that the creek water inclined originally much farther southward than Spruce street. There was doubtless much width of watery surface once there, as it gave the idea to Penn of making it a great winter dock for vessels. We know indeed, that captain Loxley, many years ago, was allowed to use the public square, now on the site of the intended dock, in consideration of his filling up the whortleberry swamp, before there.





THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

THE  
**Treaty Tree,**  
 AND  
**FAIRMAN'S MANSION.**

[ILLUSTRATED BY A PLATE.]

~~~~~

“ But thou, broad Elm ! Canst thou tell us nought
 Of forest Chieftains, and their vanish'd tribes ?
 ————— Hast thou no record left
 Of perish'd generations, o'er whose head
 Thy foliage droop'd ?—those who shadowed once
 The rever'd Founders of our honour'd State.”

THE site of this venerable tree is filled with local impressions. The tree itself, of great magnitude and great age, was of most impressive grandeur. Other cities of our Union have had their consecrated trees; and history abounds with those which spread in arborescent glory, and claimed their renown both from the pencil and the historic muse. Such have been “the royal oak,” Shakspeare’s “mulberry tree,” &c.

“ From his touch-wood trunk the mulberry tree
 Supplied such relics as devotion holds
 Still sacred and preserves with pious care.”

In their state of lofty and silent grandeur they impress a soothing influence on the soul, and lead out the meditative mind to enlargement of conception and thought. On such a spot, Penn, with appropriate accumen, selected his treaty ground. There long stood the stately witness of the solemn covenant—a lasting emblem of the unbroken faith, “pledged without an oath, and never broken!”

Nothing could surpass the amenity of the whole scene as it once stood, before “improvement,” that effacive name of every thing rural or picturesque, destroyed its former charms, cut down its sloping verdant bank, razed the tasteful Fairman mansion, and turned all into the levelled uniformity of a city street. Once remote from city bustle, and blest in its own silent shades amid many lofty trees, it looked out upon the distant city, “saw the stir of the great Babel, nor felt the crowd;” long therefore it was the favorite walk of the citizen. There he sought his seat and rest. Beneath the wide spread branches of the impending Elm gathered

in summer whole congregations to hymn their anthems and to hearken to the preacher, beseeching them "in Christ's stead to be reconciled unto God." Those days are gone, "but sweet's their memory still!"

Not to further dilate on the picture which the imagination fondly draws of scenes no longer there, we shall proceed to state such facts as the former history of the place affords, to wit:

The fact of the treaty being held under the Elm, depends more upon the general tenor of tradition, than upon any direct facts now in our possession. When all men knew it to be so, they felt little occasion to lay up evidences for posterity. Least any should hereafter doubt it, the following corroborative facts are furnished, to wit:

The late aged Judge Peters said he had no doubt of its being the place of the treaty. He and David H. Conyngham (still alive) had been familiar with the place from their youth as their swimming place, and both had always heard and always believed it designated the treaty ground. Judge Peters remarked too, that Benjamin Lay, the hermit, who came to this country in 1731, used to visit it and speak of it as the place of the treaty; of course he had his opinion from those who preceded him. Mr. Thomas Hopkins, who died lately at the age of 93, had lived there upwards of fifty years, and told me he never heard the subject questioned in his time. James Read, Esq. a nephew of James Logan's wife, who died in 1793, at the age of 71, (a great observer of passing events) used to say of West's painting of the treaty, that the English characters severally present were all intended to be resemblances, and were so far true, that he (Mr. Reed) could name them all. He fully believed the treaty was held at the Elm; and Mrs. Logan has heard him express his regret (in which others will join him) that Sir Benjamin West should have neglected truth so far as to have omitted the river scenery.

Proud says, "the proprietary being now returned from Maryland to Coaquannock, the place so called by the Indians, where Philadelphia now stands, began to purchase lands of the natives. It was at this time (says he) when William Penn first entered personally into that lasting friendship with the Indians, [meaning the treaty, it is presumed,] which ever after continued between them."

Clarkson, who had access to all the Penn papers in England, and who had possession of the blue sash of silk with which Penn was girt at the aforesaid famous treaty, gives the following facts, strongly coincident with the fact of the locality of the treaty tree,—saying, "It appears [meaning, I presume, it was in evidence, as he was too remote to be led to the inference by our traditions,] that though the parties were to assemble at Coaquannock, the treaty was made a little higher up at Shackamaxon." We can readily assign a good reason for the change of place; the latter had a kind of village

near there of Friends, and it had been besides the residence of Indians, and probably had some remains of their families still there.

Sir Benjamin West, who lived here sufficiently early to have heard the direct traditions in favour of the treaty, has left us his deep sense of that historical fact by giving it the best efforts of his pencil, and has therein drawn the portrait of his grandfather as one of the group of Friends attendant on Penn in that early national act. His picture, indeed, has given no appearance of that tree, but this is of no weight; as painters, like poets, are indulged to make their own drapery and effect. Nothing can be said against the absence of the tree, which may not be equally urged against the character and position of the range of houses in his back ground, which were certainly never exactly found either at Shackamaxon, Coaquamock, or Upland. But we may rest assured that Sir Benjamin, although he did not use the image of the treaty tree as any part of his picture,* he nevertheless regarded it as the true locality; because he has left a fact from his own pen to countenance it. This he did in relating what he learnt from colonel Simcoe respecting his protection of that tree, during the time of the stay of the British army at and near Philadelphia. It shows so much generous and good feeling from all the parties concerned, that Sir Benjamin's words may be worthy of preservation in this connexion, to wit: "This tree, which was held in the highest veneration by the original inhabitants of my native country, by the first settlers, and by their descendants, and to which I well remember, about the year 1755, when a boy, often resorting with my school-fellows, was in some danger during the American war, when the British possessed the country, from parties sent out in search of wood for firing; but the late General Simcoe, who had the command of the district where it grew, (from a regard for the character of William Penn, and the interest he took in the history connected with the tree,) ordered a guard of British soldiers to protect it from the axe. This circumstance the General related to me, in answer to my inquiries, after his return to England." If we consider the lively interest thus manifested by Sir Benjamin in the tree, connected with the facts that he could have known from his grandfather, who was present and must have left a correct tradition in the family, (thus inducing Sir Benjamin to become the painter of the subject) we cannot but be convinced how amply he corroborates the locality above stated.

We have been thus particular because the archives at Harrisburg, which have been searched, in illustration and confirmation of the said treaty, have hitherto been to little effect; one paper found barely mentions that "after the treaty was held William Penn and the Friends went into the house of Lacey Cock."† And

* Possibly because he could have no picture of it in England, where he painted.

† There is a deed from governor Henoyon of New York, of the year 1661, granting unto Peter Cock his tract, then called Shackamaxon.

Mr. Gordon, the author of the late *History of Pennsylvania*, informed me that he could only find at Harrisburg the original envelope relating to the treaty papers: on which was endorsed "Papers relative to the Indian treaty under the great Elm."

In regard to the form and manner of the treaty as held, we think William Penn has given us ideas, in addition to West's painting, which we think must one day provide material for a new painting of this interesting national subject. Penn's letters of 1683, to the Free Society of Traders, and to the Earl of Sunderland, both describe an Indian treaty to this effect: to wit: To the Society he says, "I have had occasion to be in council with them upon treaties for land, and to adjust the terms of trade. Their order is thus—the king sits in the middle of an half moon and hath his council, the old and wise on each hand. Behind them or at a little distance sit the younger fry in the same figure. Having consulted and resolved their business, the king ordered one of them to speak to me; he stood up, came to me, and in the name of his king saluted me; then took me by the hand and told me "he was ordered by his king to speak to me, and that what he should say was the king's mind," &c. While he spoke not a man of them was observed to whisper or smile. When the purchase was made great promises passed between us of kindness and good neighbourhood, and that we must live in love so long as the sun gave light. This done, another made a speech to the Indians in the name of all the Sachamachers or kings,—first, to tell what was done: next, to charge and command them to love the Christians, and particularly to live in peace with me and my people. At every sentence they shouted, and, in their way, said amen."

To the Earl of Sunderland Penn says: "In selling me their land they thus ordered themselves—the old in a half moon upon the ground; the middle-aged in a like figure at a little distance behind them; and the young fry in the same manner behind them. None speak but the aged,—they having consulted the rest before hand."

We have thus, it may be perceived, a graphic picture of Penn's treaty, as painted by himself; and, to my mind, the sloping green bank presented a ready amphitheatre for the display of the successive semi-circles of Indians.

Fishbourne's MS. Narrative of 1739 says Penn established a friendly correspondence by way of treaty with the Indians at least twice a year.

The only mark of distinction used by Penn at the treaty was that of a blue silk net-work sash girt around his waist. This sash is still in existence in England; it was once in possession of Thomas Clarkson, Esq. who bestowed it to his friend as a valuable relic. John Cook, Esq. our townsman, was told this by Clarkson himself in the year 1801,—such a relic should be owned by the Penn Society.

The tree thus memorable was blown over on the 3d of March, 1810; the blow was not deemed generally prevalent, nor strong. In its case, the root was wrenched and the trunk broken off; it fell on Saturday night, and on Sunday many hundreds of people visited it. In its form it was remarkably wide spread, but not lofty: its main branch inclining towards the river measured 150 feet in length: its girth around the trunk was 24 feet, and its age, as it was counted by the inspection of its circles of annual growth, was 283 years. The tree, such as it was in 1800, was very accurately drawn on the spot by Thomas Birch, and the large engraving, executed from it by Seymour, gives the true appearance of every visible limb, &c. While it stood, the Methodists and Baptists often held their summer Meetings under its shade. When it had fallen, several took their measures to secure some of the wood as relics. An arm-chair was made from it and presented to Doctor Rush: a part of it is constructed into something memorable and enduring at Penn's park in England. I have some remains of it myself.

But the fallen tree is finely revived, and a sucker from it is now flourishing in the amplitude of an actual tree on the premises of the City Hospital, in the centre of the western vacant lot. Messrs. Coates and Brown, managers, placed it there some 15 or 16 years ago. I had myself seen another sucker growing on the original spot, some two or three years ago, amid the lumber of the ship yard. It was then about 15 feet high, and might have been still larger but for neglect and abuse. I was aiding to have it boxed-in for protection: but, whether from previous barking of the trunk, or from injuring the roots by settling the box, it did not long survive the intended kindness. Had it lived, it would have been an appropriate shade to the marble monument, since erected near the site of the original tree to perpetuate its memory, with the following four inscriptions on its four sides, to wit:

Treaty ground of William Penn, and the Indian Nations, 1682. Unbroken faith.	William Penn, born 1644, died 1718.	Placed by the Penn Society, A. D. 1827, to mark the site of the Great Elm tree.	Pennsylvania, founded, 1681, by deeds of peace.
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As it is possible, with nourishing earth and due watering, to raise small cuttings from the present tree, I recommend that a successor may yet be placed over the monument!

We come now next in order to speak of the

FAIRMAN MANSION.

This respectable and venerable looking brick edifice was constructed in 1702 for the use of Thomas Fairman, the deputy of

Thomas Holme, the Surveyor General, and was taken down in April, 1825, chiefly because it encroached on the range of the present street. A brick was found in the wall, on which was marked "Thomas Fairman, September, 1702."

It had been the abode of many respectable inmates, and was once desired as the country-seat of William Penn himself,—a place highly appropriate for him who made his treaty there. Governor Evans, after leaving his office as Governor, dwelt there some time. It was afterwards the residence of Governor Palmer; and these two names were sufficient to give it the character of the "Governor's house."—a name which it long retained after the cause had been forgotten. After them the aged and respectable Mr. Thomas Hopkins occupied it for fifty years.

Penn's conception of this beautiful place is well expressed in his letter of 1708 to James Logan, saying, "If John Evans (the late Governor) leaves your place, then try to secure his plantation: for I think from above Shackamaxon to the town is one of the pleasantest situations upon the river for a Governor; where one sees and hears what one will and when one will, and yet have a good deal of the sweetness and quiet of the country. And I do assure thee, if the country would settle upon me six hundred pounds per annum, I would hasten over the following summer.* Cultivate this amongst the best Friends." The next year, (1709) his mind being intent on the same thing, he says: "Pray get Daniel Pegg's, or such a remote place, (then on Front near to Green street) in good order for me and family."

A letter of Robert Fairman, brother of Thomas the surveyor, dated, London, 10th of 2d mo. 1711, to Jonathan Dickinson, which I have seen in MS. claims to be the proper owner of the estate at Shakamaxon, and saying, "I have been lately in company with William Penn; and, there speaking to him of thy proposing to buy for a friend that plantation at Coxon creek, (i. e. the Cohocksinc) he says it is a pleasant place for situation, out of the noise of Philadelphia, but in sight of it,—a place he would choose for his dwelling if he should return there,—says he asks 600£. for it." In another letter of the 30th of 8 mo. 1711, he marks its location in front by saying, "The river Delaware joining to said land makes it more valuable than back land, and besides, it is so near the town." He states also, that his brother writes him that thirteen acres of the said land next the creek (Coxon) may ere long be worth 1000£. He expressly speaks of the place as situate in "Shackamaxon." In another letter dated the 12th of 3 mo. 1715, which I have preserved, on page 252 of my MS. Annals in the Historical Society, as a singularity for its peculiar hand-writing in text character, he

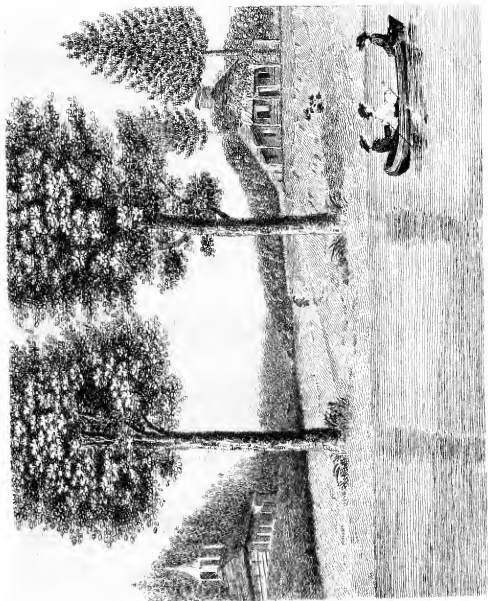
*We may here see how absolutely determined, and pledged too, Penn once was to return and settle his family forever among us, by his request in next year to engage Pegg's house. I presume, Evans' house could not then be had, and that he was actually encouraged to come over at the 600£. a year; but after-circumstances in England prevented his return here.

speaks therein of his place near Coxon creek as having woods and stumps: says the trees have been cut there to form the new bridge on the new road across the creek: speaks of Thomas Fairman's death, and that the widow then on the premises complains of hard usage from captain Palmer,—the same, it is probable, who afterwards came to be President of the Council, and for a short time, in 1747, Governor, *ex officio*.

“Governor Anthony Palmer,” so called in his latter years, was a wealthy gentleman who came from the West Indies about the year 1709, and lived in a style suited to his circumstances, keeping a coach, then a great luxury, and a pleasure barge, by which he readily made his visits from Shackamaxon to the city. He was said to have had 21 children by his first wife, all of whom died of consumptions: some of his descendants by a second wife are now residents of Philadelphia. The present aged colonel A. J. Morris told me that he heard old Mr. Tatnal say, that Governor Palmer offered him a great extent of Kensington lots on the river street at six pence a foot ground-rent for ever,—a small sum for our present conceptions of its value, changing as the whole scene now is to a city form, filling with houses, cutting down eminences, and filling up some lower places* to the general level,—a change, on the whole, not unlike what must have been the superficial change originally effected at Philadelphia.

Old Edward Duffield, the executor of Dr Franklin's will, who used to own land in Kensington and had been curious to enquire the meaning of Shackamaxon, told his son that he learnt that it meant the “field of blood,” in reference to a great Indian battle once sustained there: I must remark, however, that the Delaware missionary, Mr. Luckenbach, informed me that if it was a Delaware word, allowing for a little variation in spelling, it meant “a child not able to feed itself.” In general he deemed our Indian names of Shawnese origin.

* There was once a low place of boggy marsh, into which high tides flowed, now all filled up, about one square westward of the treaty tree.



THE
Swedes' Church,

AND

HOUSE OF SVEN SENER.

[ILLUSTRATED BY A PLATE.]

“The rude forefathers of the hamlet sleeps!”

THE Swedes of the hamlet at Wiccaco, at the present Swedes' church in Southwark, having been the primitive occupants, near the present site of Philadelphia, (before the location of our city was determined,) will make it interesting to glean such facts as we can concerning that place and people. There they once saw the region of our present city scenes—

“—————one still
 and solemn desert in primeval garb!”

Mr Kalm, the Swedish traveller, when here in 1748, saw Nils Gustafson, an old Swede then 91 years of age, who told him he well remembered to have seen a great forest on the spot where Philadelphia now stands; that he himself had brought a great deal of timber to Philadelphia at the time it was built. Mr. Kalm also met with an old Indian, who had often killed stags on the spot where Philadelphia now stands!

It appears from manuscripts and records that the southern part of our city, including present Swedes' church, navy yard, &c. was originally possessed by the Swedish family of Sven, the chief of which was Sven Schute,—a title equivalent to the Commandant; in which capacity he once held Nieu Amstel under charge from Risingh. As the Schute of Korsholm fort, standing in the domain of Passaiung, he probably had its site some where in the sub-district of Wiccaco,—an Indian name traditionally said to imply *pleasant place**—a name highly indicative of what Swedes' church place originally was. We take for granted that the village and church would, as a matter of course, get as near the block-house fort as circumstances would admit.

The lands of the Sven family we however know from actual title, which I have seen to this effect, to wit: “I, Francis Lovelace, Esq.

* So old Mr Marsh told me he had heard from the oldest settlers there.

one of the gentlemen of his Majesty's Honourable Privy Council, and Governor General under his Royal Highness, James, Duke of York and Albany, to all whom these presents may come, &c. Whereas, there was a Patent or Ground Brief granted by the Dutch Governor at Delaware to Swen Gonderson, Swen Swenson,* Oele Swenson, and Andrew Swenson, for a certain piece of ground lying up above *in* the river, beginning at Moyamensing kill, and so stretching upwards in breadth 400 rod, [about $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile wide] and in length into the woods 600 rod, [nearly 2 miles] in all about 800 acres, dated 5th of May, 1664. KNOW YE, &c. that I have ratified the same, they paying an annual quit rent of eight bushels of winter wheat to his Majesty." This patent was found recorded at Upland the 31st of August. 1741.

The Moyamensing kill above mentioned was probably the same creek now called Hay creek, above Gloucester Point, and the 600 rods, or 2 miles of length, probably extended along the river.

We know that Penn deemed their lines so far within the bounds of his plan of Philadelphia and Southwark, that he actually extinguished their title by giving them lands on the Schuylkill, above Lemon hill, &c.

The Rev'd. Dr. Collin has ascertained from the Swedish MS. records in his possession that the first Swedes' church at Wiccaco was built on the present site in 1677, five years before Penn's colony came. It was of logs, and had loop-holes in lieu of window lights, which might serve for fire-arms in case of need. The congregation also was accustomed to bring fire-arms with them to prevent surprise, but ostensibly to use for any wild game which might present in their way in coming from various places.

In 1700, the present brick church was erected, and it was then deemed a great edifice, and so generally spoken of; for certainly nothing was then equal to it, as a public building, in the city. The parsonage house, now standing, was built in 1737. The former parsonage house was in the Neck. There were originally 27 acres of land attached to the Wiccaco church. These facts were told me by Dr. Collin. At my request he made several extracts from the Swedish church-books to illustrate those early times; which he has since bestowed to the historical department of the Philosophical Society.

The original log-house of the sons of Sven was standing till the time the British occupied Philadelphia; when it was taken down and converted into fuel. It stood on a knoll or hill on the N. W. corner of Swanson street and Beck's alley. Professor Kalm visited it in 1748 as a curiosity, and his description of it then is striking, to wit: "The wretched old wooden building (on a hill a little north of the Swedes' church) belonging to one of the sons of Sven (Sven's Sæner) is still preserved as a memorial of the once poor state of

* This Swen Swenson appears to have been in the first jury named at Chester, called by Governor Markham.

that place. Its antiquity gives it a kind of superiority over all the other buildings in the town, although in itself it is the worst of all. But with these advantages it is ready to fall down, and in a few years to come it will be as difficult to find the place where it stood* as it was unlikely, when built, that it should in a short time become the place of one of the greatest towns in America. Such as it was, it showed how they dwelt, when stags, elk, deer and beavers ranged in broad day-light in the future streets and public places of Philadelphia. In that house was heard the sound of the spinning wheel before the city was ever thought of!" He describes the site as having on the river side in front of it a great number of very large sized water-beech or buttonwood trees; one of them, as a solitary way-mark to the spot, is still remaining there. He mentions also some great ones as standing on the river shore by the Swedes' church—the whole then a rural scene.

It was deemed so attractive, as a "pleasant place," that Thomas Penn when in Philadelphia made it his favourite ramble, so much so, that Secretary Peters, in writing to him in 1743, thus complains of its changes, saying, "Southwark is getting greatly disfigured by erecting irregular and mean houses; thereby so marring its beauty that when he shall return he will lose his usual pretty walk to Wiccaco."

I ascertained the following facts concerning "the old Swedes' house," as they called the log-house of the sons of Sven. Its exact location was where the blacksmith's shop now stands, about 30 feet north of Beck's alley and fronting upon Swanson street. It had had a large garden and various fruit trees behind it. The little hill on which it stood has been cut down as much as five or six feet, to make the lot conform to the present street. It descended to Paul Beck, Esq. through the Parahs or Parhams, a Swedish family. The wife of the late Rev'd. Dr. Rogers remembered going to school in it with her sister. They described it to me, as well as a Mrs. Stewart also, as having been one and a half story high, with a piazza all round it, having four rooms on a floor, and a very large fire-place with seats in each jamb. Beck's alley and the "improvements" there had much spoiled the former beauty of the scene along that alley. There had been there an inlet of water from the Delaware, in which boats could float, especially at high tides. There were many very high trees, a ship yard, and much green grass all about the place. Now not a vestige of the former scene remains.

Although my informants had often heard it called "the Swedes' house" in their youth, they never understood the cause of the distinction until I explained it.

The Sven family, although once sole lords of the southern domain, have now dwindled away, and I know of no male member

* I could tell an amusing tale to prove how difficult I found it was to meet with those who remembered it as "the Swedes' house."

of that name, or rather of their anglicized name of Swanson. The name was successively altered. At the earliest time it was occasionally written Suan, which sometimes gave occasion to the sound of Swan, and in their patent confirmed by governor Lovelace, they are named Swen. By Professor Kalm, himself a Swede, and most competent to the true name, they are called Sven's-Sæner, i. e. sons of Sven. Hence in time they were called sons of Suan or Swan, and afterwards, for euphony sake, Swanson.

I found in the burial place of the Swedes' church a solitary memorial; such as the tablet and the chissel have preserved in these rude lines, to wit:

“ In memory of Peter Swanson,
who died December 18, 1737,
aged 61 years.

Reader, stop and self behold !
Thou'rt made of ye same mould,
And shortly must dissolved be :
Make sure of blest Eternity !”

In the same ground is the inscription of Swan Johnson, who died in 1733, aged 48 years, who probably derived his baptismal name from the Sven race.

The extinction of these names of the primitive lords of the soil, reminds one of the equally lost names of the primitive lords at the other end of the city, to wit: the Hartsfelders and Peggs—all sunk in the abyss of time! “By whom begotten or by whom forgot,” equally is all their lot!

One street has preserved their Swanson name; and the City Directory did once show the names of one or two in lowly circumstances; if indeed their names was any proof of their connexion with Sven Schute.

The present Anthony Cuthbert of Penn street, aged 77, tells me he remembers an aged Mr. Swanson in his youth, who was a large landholder of property near this Sven house; that he gave all his deeds or leases “with the privilege of using his wharf or landing near the button-woods.” The single great tree still standing there, as a pointer to the spot, is nearly as thick at its base as the treaty Elm, and like it diverges into two great branches near the ground. Long may it remain the last relic of the home of Sven Sæner!

They who see the region of Swedes' church now, can have little conception of the hills and undulations primarily there. The first story of the Swedes' church, now on Swanson street, made of stone, was originally so much under ground. The site there was on a small hill now cut down eight feet. At the east end of Christian street where it is crossed by Swanson street, the river Delaware used to flow in, so that Swanson street in that place, say

from the north side of Swedes' church lot up to near Queen street, was originally a raised cause-way. Therefore, the oldest houses now standing on the western side of that street do not conform to the line of the street, but range in a line nearly south west, and also stand back from the present street on what was (before the street was laid out) the margin of the high ground bordering on the river Delaware. Those houses too have their yards one story higher than their front pavements, and what was once their cellars under ground is now the first story of the same buildings.

From the Swedes' church down to the navy yard, the high hill formerly there has been cut down five or six feet, and by filling up the wharves below the former steep banks, the bank itself, as once remembered, even 20 years ago, seems strangely diminished.

At some distance from Swedes' church westward, is a remarkably low ground, between hills, having a pebbly bed like the river shore, which shows it once had a communication with the Delaware river at the foot of Christian street; where Mr. Joseph Marsh, an aged gentleman, told me he had himself filled up his lot on the south west corner as much as three feet. On that same lot he tells me there was formerly, before his time, a grain mill worked by two horses, which did considerable grinding.

The same Mr. Marsh, then aged 86, showed me that all the ground northward of Christian street and in the rear of his own house, No. 13, descended suddenly; thus showing there must have been there a vale or water channel leading out to the river. His own house formerly went down four steps from his door, and now the ground in the street is so raised as to remove them all.

Near him, at No. 7, on the north side of Christian street, is a very ancient-looking boarded house of but one very low story, having its roof projecting beyond the wall of the house in front and rear, so as to form pent-houses. It is a log-house in truth, concealed by boards and painted, and certainly the only log-house in Philadelphia! What is curious respecting it, is, that it was actually framed and floated to its present spot by "old Joseph Wharton" from Chester county. Of this fact Mr. Marsh assured me, and told me it was an old building in his early days, and was always then called "Noah's ark." He remembered it when the cellar part of it (which is of stone and seven feet deep) was all above ground, and the cellar floor was even with the former street! I observed a hearth and chimney still in the cellar, and water was also in it. This water the tenant told me they supposed came in even now from the river, although at 100 feet distance. I think it not improbable that it stands on spring ground, which, as long as the street was lower than the cellar, found its way off, but now it is dammed. The floor of the once second story is now one foot lower than the street.

On the whole, there are signs of great changes in that neighbourhood,—of depressing hills or of filling vales; which, if my conjectures

be just, would have made the Swedes' church, in times of water invasions from high tides a kind of peninsula, and itself and parsonage on the extreme point of projection.

The primitive Swedes generally located all their residences "near the freshes of the river," always choosing places of a ready water communication, preferring thus their conveyances in canoes to the labour of opening roads and inland improvements. From this cause their churches, like this at Wiccaco, was visited from considerable distances along the river, and making, when assembled on Lord's day, quite a squadron of boats along the river side there.

There are some facts existing, which seem to indicate that the first Swedish settlement was destroyed by fire. Mrs. Preston, the grandmother of Samuel Preston, an aged gentleman still alive, often told him of their being driven from thence, by being burnt out, and then going off by invitation to an Indian settlement in Bucks county. In Campanius' work he speaks of Korsholm fort, (supposed to be the same place) as being abandoned after Governor Printz returned to Sweden, and afterwards burned by the Indians; very probably as a measure of policy, to diminish the strength of their new masters, the Dutch. There seems at least some coincidence in the two stories.

The road through Wiccaco to Gloucester Point was petitioned for, and granted by the Council in the year 1720, and called—the road through the marsh.



W.L.B.

From the Town and Country of the County of York

K. & L. L. L.

Penny-Pot House

AND LANDING.

[ILLUSTRATED BY A PLATE.]



IT was long after I first saw the above title that I met with any certain means of establishing its location at Vine street. Proud spoke of it as "near to Race street," and none of the aged whom I interrogated knew any thing about it. Of course it would be still less known to any modern Philadelphian, although it had been bestowed as a gift to the city by Penn. and was made memorable as the birth-place of "the first born." Some of the following facts will fully certify its location at Vine street.

In the year 1701, William Penn sets forth and ordains "that the landing places now and heretofore used at the Penny-pot house and Blue Anchor, shall be left open and common for the use of the city." &c.

The landing appears to have derived its name from the Inn built there, which was early famed for its beer at a penny a pot.* The house itself was standing in my time as the Jolly Tar Inn, kept by one Tage. It was a two story brick house of good dimensions, having for its front a southern exposure. At first it had no intervening houses between it and the area of Vine street; but when I last saw it, as many as three houses had filled up that space. The aged Joseph Norris of that neighbourhood, who died a few years ago in his ninetieth year, told me he remembered in his youth to have seen a sign affixed to the house, and having thereon the words "Penny-pot Free Landing."

At the time when the city was first formed, the general high bluff-land of the river bank made it extremely difficult to receive wood, lumber or goods into the city, except by the "low sandy beach" at the Blue Anchor, (i. e. at Dock creek,) and at Vine street, which lay along "a vale," and therefore first caused that street to be called "Valley street." As a landing of more width than usual to other streets it still belongs to the city at the present day.

On the same area, and on the first water lot above it, was for many years the active ship yards of Charles West, who came out

* The "Duke of York's laws," still preserved in MS. on Long Island, show that the price of beer was fixed in his colony at a penny a pint; and Penn, in 1683, speaks of abundance of malt beer in use then at the Inns.

with Penn, and began his career by building him a vessel, for which in part pay he received the lot on which the present William West, Esq. his grandson, has his salt stores and wharf. The vessels once built on that site extended their bowsprits up to Penny-pot house, and those built upon the area of Vine street extended the jib-boom across Front street to the eaves of West's house, then a two story building on the north west corner of Vine and front streets. Ship building was for many years a very active and profitable concern,—building many ships and brigs for orders in England and Ireland, and producing in this neighbourhood a busy scene in that line.

The aged John Brown and some others told me there were originally rope-walks along the line of Cable lane; from which circumstance it received its title; and much ship timber and many saw-pits were thereabout. Mrs. Steward, an old lady of 93, told me she remembered when the neighbourhood of Cable lane was all in whortleberry bushes; and, as late as 1754, it may be seen in the Gazette, that William Rakestraw then advertises himself as living “in the uppermost house in Water street near Vine street,” and there keeping his board yard.

The occasional state of Penny-pot may be learned from the several presentments of the Grand Jury at successive periods, to wit:

In the year 1706, they present the “Free Landing of Vine street,” as necessary to be secured with the banks of the same, whereby the Front street may not become, as it threatens to be, unfit to be passed with carts.

In 1713, they present as a nuisance the east end of Vine street, where Front street crosses it.

In 1718, they present a gully running down Vine street and crossing Front street, for that the same is not passable by coaches, waggons or carts, to the endangering of lives.

In 1719, they present several dangerous breaches, and among them that near the Penny-pot house as almost unpassable.

In 1720, they again present a breach in the upper end of Front street, near the Penny-pot house, as unpassable for carts, and the cross-way of Vine street and the Front street, by Sassafrasstreet, almost unpassable.

In 1724, they present the bank at the end of Vine street, being worn away to the middle of Front street, and very dangerous. We thus perceive that the breach was the tumbling down of the river side bank, which by successive rains rushing down Vine street, had worn away the Front street road half across that street.

Finally, in 1740, they present again “the Penny-pot landing and the east end of Vine street,” as encumbered with timber and plank, &c. by Samuel Hastings and Charles West.

In the original foundation of the city, it having been of easier access as a landing, it was chosen, as the best location for a cave.

for the parents of John Key, from which cause he came to have his birth there as the first born of Philadelphia. The founder, in consideration of that distinction in his colony, presented a patent in his name for a large lot in Race street—the same which he sold at his majority, in 1715, to Clement Plunstead for only 12*l*.

The lot adjoining Penny-pot on the north was once distinguished by a row of three stone houses of two stories, having a front and court yard on Front street, shaded by great button-wood trees, and the front on Water street of three stories, projecting quite into the present street.* Its original appearance was striking from the river, and its own river prospect unrivalled. This then notable building, now down, received the name of "the College," and, in 1770 the principal and owner, Mr. Griscom, advertised it as his beautiful private academy, far out of town, "free from the noise of the city, at the north end." It afterwards fell into decay and neglect, but still retained the name of "the College," but (as was said in my boyish days) because every chamber held separate families after the manner of a college,—the original use of it having been forgotten, and many poor families thus filling it up.

* The street there as Water street continued was not recorded till about 35 years ago.

Poole's Bridge.



THIS bridge, crossing Pegg's run at Front street, was named, as well as the neighbourhood, after one Poole, a Friend, who had his ship yard and dwelling on the hill there, called "Poole's hill," in early days. It was then an establishment quite separate from the city population, and even from Front street itself: for neither Front street nor Water street, which now unite there, were then extended so far. "Poole's Hill" was therefore the name before the bridge was constructed there, and designated a high bluff, abruptly terminating the high table land of the city at its approach to Pegg's run, and the overflowing marsh ground beyond it northward as high as Noble lane and Duke street. Poole's dwelling house was picturesque, and pleasantly situated on the west side of present Front street, on a descending hill sloping westward, and giving a prospect up the creek and into the adjacent country. A fine peach orchard lay along the line of the present Front street as far south as Margareta street, and extended eastward, down the sloping green bank into the river. To this add his ship yard close to the margin of the creek, and the whole scene is grateful. The well of water, for which the place was famous, stood in the middle of the present Front street. These facts were confirmed to me in general by Mr. Tallman, the butcher, and Mr. Norris, the ship carpenter, near there, and by Mr. John Brown; all of whom, if now alive, would be about 90 years of age. They all concurred in saying that Front street, when it reached near to present Margareta street, went off (down the hill) westward, so as to pass over Pegg's marsh meadow 150 feet further westward than the present Front street, which was itself a cause-way of late years.

It may serve in corroboration of some of the preceding facts to state, that by the minutes of Friends it appears that one Nathaniel Poole passed Meeting with Ann Till in the year 1714. In the year 1701, his name appeared on a jury list in my possession, and in 1708-9, William Poole appears as part owner of a vessel and sea-adventure. In the year 1754, a Mr. Carpenter advertises in the Gazette, that he has then "for sale, boards and staves on Poole's hill, at the upper end of Front street." This intimates, I presume, that before the building of Poole's bridge, and making the cause-way from it, northward, "the hill" ended the then town; and as the ship yard was probably then discontinued, the place was converted into a northern landing place for lumber, &c.

In the year 1713, the Grand Jury recommend a tax of one pence

per pound to be assessed, to pay for repair of road at Poole's hill, and at the new bridge at Governor's mill.—Cohocksinc.

Mr. John Brown informed me that when Poole's bridge was built, the Philadelphia masons would not undertake it, and Israel Roberts, from Maryland, was sent for to construct it. This was done about 75 years ago. The same year a north east September-gale beat it down. It was soon rebuilt again—say in 1755. The time is probably more accurately fixed by Secretary Peters; he, writing to Penn in 1747. says, "A new bridge made on the present line of Front street over Pegg's run, whereby the street now makes a fine view by a north entry of the town." The former low wooden bridge was further west.

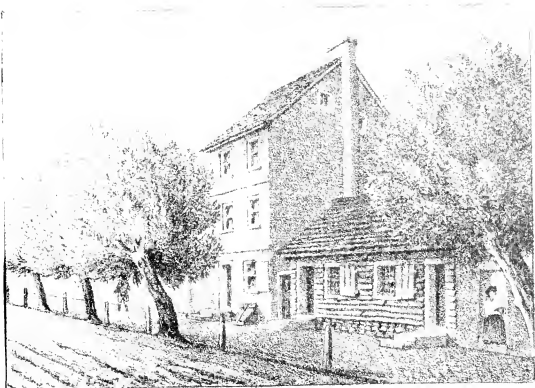
The cause-way from Front street, which was formed in connexion with the bridge in 1755, has been described to me by Mr. Thomas Bradford and J. Brown, to the following effect, to wit:

The road was formed with sluices made under it, so that tide-water flowed into the pond then along the eastern end of Pegg's meadow. This pond was probably caused by the former parallel cause-way further to the westward making a barrier to the water. On the eastern side of Front street, opposite to present Noble street, was a long barrier or wharf, up to which the river came, and in the time of the war 17 of the row galleys lay there quite up to the street.

The late aged Timothy Matlack, Esq. told me there was a tradition of a sloop of war having once wintered at the creek at Poole's bridge, and that when they were digging for a foundation for the bridge, they found articles which must have been dropt from such a vessel. There is in this relation something like an attempt at the story of the sword dug up at Second street bridge on this run. But, as "sloops of war" in old times meant any sized armed vessels, it would be easy enough to conceive that vessels would be found getting out of the ice at Poole's ship yard. Of the once greater depth of the creek there can be no doubt, as colonel A. J. Morris told me that his grandparents had gone up it to Spring garden spring in a boat, and made their tea there amid the trees and shrubbery.

The earliest built houses, near Poole's bridge on the cause-way, were Anthony Wilkinson's row on the western side, and Doctor Clifton's row on the eastern side. They had in that day some attempt at display, having brick columns in relief; but they were deemed an abortive speculation in both.

On the occasion of an extreme great freshet, the river water overflowed all the mounds and embankments, deluging the whole area of Pegg's meadows, and giving occasion to the Tallman family, who dwelt near there, to get into a boat and sail about to and fro as high up as to Third street. This fact was told to me by Mrs. Tallman when she was past seventy,—and spoke of an event fifty years before.



Office for Foreign Affairs at Philadelphia 1780.



W. S. Hoar del.

LETITIA HOUSE.

From an engraving.

Penn's Cottage,

IN

LAETITIA COURT.

[ILLUSTRATED BY A PLATE.]



IT is a matter of inquiry and doubt, at this day, (1828) which has been the house in Lætitia court, wherein William Penn, the founder, and colonel Markham, the Lieutenant Governor, dwelt. The popular opinion now is, that the inn at the head of the court, occupied as the Leopard Inn, and since Penn Hall, is the identical house alluded to. The cause of this modern confidence is ascribable (even if there were no better ground of assurance) to the fact, that this building, since they built the additional end to the westward, of about 18 to 20 feet, presents such an imposing front towards High street, and so entirely closes the court at that end, (formerly open as a cart passage) that from that cause alone, to those not well informed, it looks as the principal house, and may have therefore been regarded by transient passengers as Penn's house.

The truth is, that for many years the great mass of the population had dropt or lost the tradition about Penn's house in the court; and it is only of later years, antiquities beginning to excite some attention, that the more intelligent citizens have revived some of their former hearings about the court. During all the earlier years of my life I never heard of Penn living there at all; but of later years I have. I have been, therefore, diligent to ask old men about it. Several said it never used to be spoken of in their youth. John Warder, an intelligent merchant, now above 73 years of age, was born at the corner house of the alley on High street, and has told me, he never was told of Penn's living there, when a boy. On the other hand, a few old men have told me, at every period of their life the tradition (though known to but few) was, that it was one of two houses, to wit—either Doyle's inn, or the old Rising Sun inn on the western side of the alley. Joseph Sansom, Esq. about 60, told me he heard and believed it was the house at the head of the court, and so also some few others; but more persons, of more weight in due knowledge of the subject, have told me they had been always satisfied it was the old Rising Sun inn on the western side of the court. Timothy Matlack, aged 92, who was very inquisitive, and knew it from 14 years of age, said

it was then the chief house in that court as to character; it was a very popular inn for many years: (whereas Doyle's house was not an inn till many years afterwards) that it then had an alley on its northern side for a cart way, running out to Second street, and thus agreeing with "Penn's gate over against Friends' Meeting," &c. at which place his Council, 1685, required king James' proclamation to be read.

If what is now Doyle's inn (Penn's Hall) had a south front and a "dead wall" towards High street, it seems very difficult to conceive how its great gate could be *vis a vis* Friends' great Meeting, on the south east corner of High and Second streets. But the Lætitia house, i. e. Old Rising Sun, would correspond; besides, Penn, in his instructions to his commissioners, says, "Pitch my house in the middle of the towne, and facing the harbour," &c.

Timothy Matlack also told me that he used to be told that on the southern side of that Rising Sun inn was Penn's stable, and that they used to say he could lay in his bed or on his settee and hear his horses in the next building munching their food. Colonel Anthony Morris, aged 84, told me expressly, he always understood the same house was Penn's residence; that it was so talked of, when a boy, and that it is only of later years that he ever heard a hint of the house at the head of the court as being the residence. Thomas Bradford, now 80 years of age, who was born close by there, and has always dwelt there, has told me he always heard the Rising Sun inn, western side, was "Lætitia's house," and that what is now Doyle's inn was never stated as Penn's till of modern times. and in its primitive state it presented a dead wall to High street, and had its only front upon Black-horse alley.

This name, "Lætitia's house," I found was a name which even those who thought the house at the head of the court was Penn's, granted that Lætitia Penn dwelt in, even while the father may have occupied the other. In this they were certainly in some error; Lætitia, being an unmarried girl, could never have had a separate house; she was not with her father till his second visit, in 1700. It was in Penn's first visit only, in 1682, that he could have dwelt there.

I infer from all the facts, that Penn had "his cottage" built there before his landing, by colonel Markham;* that some of the finer work was imported for it with the first vessels; that he used it as often as not at his "palace" at Pennsbury. After him, it was used by colonel Markham, his Deputy Governor; and afterwards for public offices. That in 1700, when he used the "Slate-house," corner of Second street and Norris' alley, having a mind to confer something upon his daughter, then with him, he gave her a deed, 1 mo. 29th, 1701. for all that half square laying on High street, and including said house. Several years after this event,

* Gabriel Thomas, who said "he went out in the first ship," said he then saw "the first cellar digging for the use of our Governor."

the people, as was their custom, when the court began to be built up on each side of a "36 feet alley," having no name for it, they, in reference to the last conspicuous owner, called it *Lætitia court*, in reference to the then most conspicuous house: the same house so given by Penn to his daughter. A letter, which I have, from William Penn, dated 1687,* says, "Your improvements (in Philadelphia) now require some conveniency above what my cottage has afforded you in times past." He means this "for the offices of State." In 1684-5, his letter to James Harrison, which I have seen and copied, allows "his cousin, Markham, to live in his house in Philadelphia, and that Thomas Lloyd, the Deputy Governor, should have the use of his periwigs, and any wines and beer he may have there left, for the use of strangers."

It may possibly be deemed over-fanciful in me to express a wish to have this primitive house purchased by our Penn Association, and consecrated to future renown. I hope indeed the idea will yet generate in the breasts of some of my fellow members the real poetry of the subject. It is all intellectual; and has had its warrant (if required) in numerous precedents abroad. We may now see written upon Melancthon's house in Wirtenburg, "Here lived and died Melancthon!" In the same city are still preserved "Luther's room," his chair, table and stove; and at Eisleben is seen a small house, bought and preserved by the king of Prussia, inscribed, "This is the house in which Luther was born."* Petrarch's house is not suffered to be altered. Such things, in every country, every intelligent traveller seeks out with avidity. Why, therefore, should we not retain for public exhibition the primitive house of Penn? Yea, whose foundation constituted "the first cellar dug in Philadelphia!" To proper minds, the going into the alley and narrow court to find the hallowed spot (now so humble) should constitute its chiefest interest. It would be the actual contrast between the beginning and the progress of our city.

Its exterior walls I would preserve with inviolate faithfulness; and within those walls (wherein space is ample, if partitions were removed) might be an appropriate and highly characteristic place of meeting for the ordinary business of the Penn Association and the Historical Society, and also for the exhibition of such paintings and relics as could now be obtained,—such as Penn's clock, his escritoir, writing table, &c. besides several articles to be had of some families, of curiously constructed furniture of the primitive days. The hint is thus given—will any now support the idea?

If we would contemplate this *Lætitia* house in its first relations we should consider it as having an open area to the river the whole width of the half square, with here and there retained an orna-

* See the original in my MS. Annals in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

† This house, so kept to the memory of Luther, has its rooms hung with pictures, ancient and grotesque, and the rooms contain chairs, tables and other relics of their former possessor. An Album is there, in which the visitor inscribes his name from Luther's ink-stand. Vide Dwight's travels.

mental clump of forest trees and shrubbery on either side of an avenue leading out to the Front street; having a garden of fruit trees on the Second street side, and on Second street "the Governor's gate," so called, "opposite to the lot of the Friends' great Meeting." By this gate the carriages entered and rode along the avenue by the north side of the house to the east front of the premises. This avenue remained an alley way long after, even to within the early memory of Timothy Matlack, who told me that he had seen it open as a common passage into Second street. The same was confirmed by Mr. Harris, a former owner, to Mr. Heberton. Indeed, it is even now open and paved up to the rear of the house on Second street.

This general rural appearance was all in accordance with Penn's known taste, and was doubtless so continued until the ground was apportioned out in thirty city lots, as expressed by James Logan in a letter to Lætitia Aubrey, in the year 1737, saying, "There was about 26 shillings per annum reserved upon the large city lot, divided into thirty smaller parts—seven on the Front street, seven on Second street, and eight on the High street,—all of these at one shilling Pennsylvania money per annum, and those in Lætitia court at six pence each" for the remaining eight lots there.

The following facts present scraps of information which may tend still further to illustrate the proper history of the premises, to wit:

Penn's instructions to his commissioners, of 30th of 9 mo. 1681, says expressly, "Pitch upon the very middle of the platt of the towne, to be laid facing the harbour, for the situation of my house." Thus intimating, as I conceive, the choice of Lætitia court, and intimating his desire to have it facing the river, "as the line of houses of the town should be."

It is stated in the minutes of the executive Council of the 11th of 3d mo. 1685, that the proclamation of James II. and the papers relative to the death of Charles II. and the speech of his successor, were solemnly read before the Governor's gate in the town of Philadelphia.

In 1721, the names of "Governor's lot" and of "Lætitia court" are thus identified in the words of the Grand Jury, who present "the muddiness of the alley into Lætitia court, formerly called the Governor's lot."

I have seen a letter of the 14th of 6 mo. 1702, from James Logan to Lætitia Penn, wherein he speaks of the sale of several of her lots, after the square had been divided. He says he had sold first four of the Front street lots for 450£. which money he set out on interest, &c. Since then he had sold 60 feet of the bank, clear of reversion with a small High street lot, to Thomas Masters for 230£. The corner lot next the Meeting house he sold for 115£. and three High street lots for 50 and 60£. each; and the

remaining four in the same street he hopes to sell soon. The whole sale effected is called 895£. and shall continue to sell as occasion shall offer. He mentions also that he has agreed for the value of about 100£. of her 15,000 acres, new tract of land, near New Castle county—estimated, then, as to sell at 20£. per hundred. *Thy old mansion I do not touch with.* I hope in seven years to be able to raise thee a good portion from what is already settled on thee in this province. Be not too easily disposed of; it would be a scandal, that any of thy father's engagements should be an occasion to sacrifice thee to any but where true love officiates as priest. Thy marriage is commonly reported here, [as a measure to take place, to some one.]

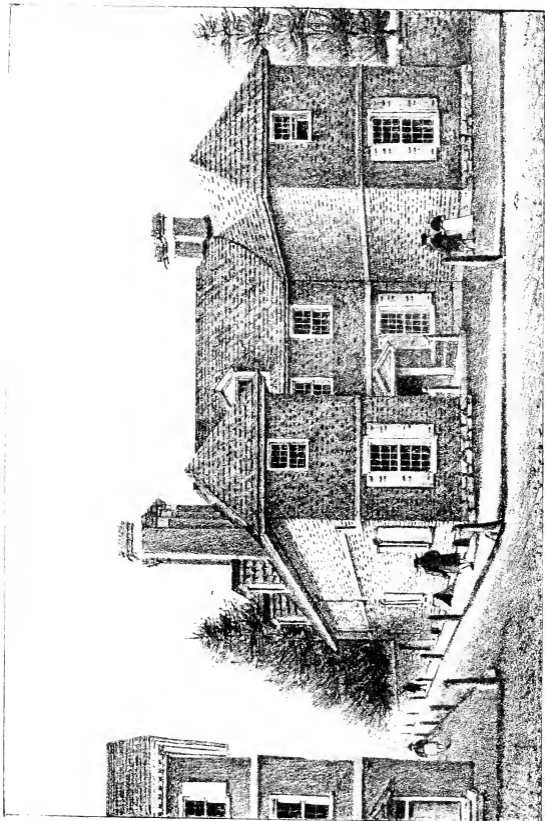
We discern from the premises that lots on High street, now so highly prized, brought only one third the price of lots on Front street, now so much lower. We perceive too, distinct mention of his reservation of the one house, called her mansion.

Those who are curious to further explore this subject may find, in my MS. Annals in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, much additional matter on pages 140 to 149, giving a table of descents of title to lots on the square, as deduced from Lætitia Penn, together with the brief presented me by Samuel Chew, Esq. and the testimony of sundry aged witnesses appearing in court, in 1822, to testify their early recollections concerning the Lætitia court and the inn at the head of the court.

It appears from the whole, that William Penn, by patent or deed, conveyed to Lætitia Penn, on the 1st mo. 29th, 1701, the ground on the south side of High street, 175 feet deep, [making the present distance to Black-horse alley] and from Front to Second street, 402 feet; granting unto her "all the houses, edifices, buildings, casements, liberties, profits, and commodities," thereunto belonging.

In early time it appears that Robert Ewer, a public Friend, became possessed of the lot, now Doyle's inn, at the head of the court, and that he forthwith laid out the alley, since called the Black-horse alley, so named from the sign of a tavern long held therein.

The plate given to illustrate the present subject shows the primitive house as it stood in earliest times, with an open front to the river, and with a coach passage on its northern side extending to "the gate" on Second street, "over against the great Meeting."



K. & L. Lith.

State Roof Hoop - Rev. of W. Penn. 1771.

W. L. B.

SLATE-ROOF HOUSE,

PENN'S RESIDENCE.

[ILLUSTRATED BY A PLATE.]



“—————Now thou standest
In faded majesty, as if to mourn
The dissolution of an ancient race!”

THIS house, still standing at the south east corner of Norris' alley and Second street, and now reduced to a lowly appearance, derives its chief interest from having been the residence of William Penn. The peculiarity of its original construction, and the character of several of its successive inmates, will enhance its interest to the modern reader. The facts concerning the premises, so far as may now be known, are generally these, to wit:

The house was originally built, in the early origin of the city, for Samuel Carpenter—certainly one of the earliest and greatest improvers of the primitive city. It was probably designed for his own residence, although he had other houses on the same square, nearer to the river.

It was occupied as the city residence of William Penn and family, while in Philadelphia on his second visit in 1700; in which house was born, in one month after their arrival, John Penn, “the American,”—the only one of the race ever born in the country. To that house therefore, humble, degenerated, and altered in aspect as it now is, we are to appropriate all our conceptions of Penn's employments, meditations, hopes, fears, &c. while acting as Governor and proprietary among us. In those doors he went in and out—up and down those stairs he passed—in those chambers he reposed—in those parlours he dined or regaled his friends—through those garden grounds they sauntered. His wife, his daughter Lætitia, his family, and his servants, were there. In short, to those who can think and feel, the place “is filled with local impressions.” Such a house should be rescued from its present forlorn neglect;* it ought to be bought and consecrated to some lasting memorial of its former character, by restoring its bastions and salient angles, &c. It would be to the character of such Societies as the Historical and Penn Association, &c. to club their means to preserve it for their chambers, &c. as long as themselves and the city may endure! There is a moral influence in these mea-

* The same remark is applicable to Penn's cottage in Lætitia court.

sure that implies and effects much more in its influence on national action and feeling, than can reach the apprehension of superficial thinkers: who can only estimate its value by their conception of so much brick and mortar! It was feelings, such as I wish to see appreciated here that aroused the ardour of Petrarch's townsmen, jealous of every thing consecrated by his name, whereby they run together *en masse*, to prevent the proprietor of his house from altering it! Foreigners, we know, have honoured England by their eagerness to go to Bread street, and there visit the house and chambers, once Milton's! 'Tis in vain to deride the passion as futile; the charm is in the ideal presence, which the association has power to create in the imagination; and they who can command the grateful visions will be sure to indulge them. It is poetry of feeling—scoffs cannot repress it. It equally possessed the mind of Tully when he visited Athens: he could not forbear to visit the walks and houses which the old philosophers had frequented or inhabited. In this matter, says Dr. Johnson, "I am afraid to declare against the general voice of mankind." "The heart is stone that feels not at it; or, it feels at none!" Sheer insensibility, absorbed in its own selfishness, alone escapes the spell-like influence! Every nation, when sufficiently intellectual, has its golden and heroic ages; and the due contemplation of these relics of our antiquities presents the proper occasion for forming ours. These thoughts, elicited by the occasion, form the proper apology for whatever else we may offer to public notice in this way. There is a generation to come who will be grateful for all such notices.

After William Penn had left this house, on his intended return with his family to England, he, while aboard his return ship, the *Messenger*, (an appropriate name for the message and business he was purposing!) writes on the 3d of September, 1701, to James Logan, saying, "Thou may continue in the house I lived in till the year is up."

James Logan, in reply, in 1702, says, "I am forced to keep this house still, there being no accommodation to be had elsewhere for public business." In fact, he retained it as a government house till 1704, when he and his coadjutors moved to Clarks Hall in Chesnut street, afterwards Pemberton's great house.

James Logan, in a letter to William Penn of 5th December, 1703, says Samuel Carpenter has sold the house thou lived in to William Trent (the founder of Trenton in 1719,) for 850*£*. *

At this house Lord Cornbury, then Governor of New York and New Jersey, (son of Lord Clarendon, cousin of queen Anne, &c.) was banqueted in great style in 1702, on the occasion of his being invited by James Logan, from Burlington, where he had gone to proclaim the queen. Logan's letter, speaking of the event, says he was dined "equal, as he said, to any thing he had seen in

* William Trent began his settlement at Trenton in 1719, by erecting mills there. He died there in 1724, in the office of Chief Justice of New Jersey.

America." At night he was invited to Edward Shippen's, (great house in south Second street) where he was lodged, and dined with all his company, making a retinue of nearly thirty persons. He went back well pleased with his reception, via Burlington, in the Governor's barge, and was again banqueted at Pennsbury by James Logan, who had preceded him for that purpose. Lord Cornbury there had a retinue of about fifty persons, which accompanied him thither in four boats. His wife was once with him in Philadelphia, in 1703. Penn, on one occasion, calls him a man of luxury and poverty. He was at first very popular: and having made many fine promises to Penn, it was probably deemed good policy to cheer his vanity by striking public entertainments. In time, however, his extravagant living, and consequent extortion, divested him of all respect among the people. Only one legendary tale respecting this personage has reached us: An old woman at Chester had told the Parker family she remembered to have seen him at that place, and having heard he was a lord, and a queen's cousin, she had eyed him with great exactness, and had seen no difference in him, from other men, but that he wore leather stockings!*

In 1709, "the slated-roof house of William Trent" is thus commended by James Logan as a suitable residence for him as Governor, saying, "William Trent, designing for England, is about selling his house, (that he bought of Samuel Carpenter) which thou lived in, with the improvement of a beautiful garden,"—then extending half way to Front street and on Second street nearly down to Walnut street. "I wish it could be made thine, as nothing in this town is so well fitting a Governor. His price is 900*l.* of our money, which it is hard thou canst not spare. I would give 20 to 30*l.* out of my own pocket that it were thine—nobody's but thine."

The house was, however, sold to Isaac Norris, who devised it to his son Isaac, through whom it has descended down to the present proprietor, Sarah Norris Dickinson, his grand daughter.

It was occupied at one period, it is said, by Governor Hamilton, and, for many years preceding the war of Independence, it was deemed a superior boarding house. While it held its rank as such, it was honoured with the company, and, finally, with the funeral honours of General Forbes, successor to General Braddock, who died in that house in 1759. The pomp of his funeral from that house surpassed all the simple inhabitants had before seen in their city. His horse was led before the procession, richly caparisoned,—the whole conducted in all "the pomp of war," with funeral dirges, and a military array with arms reversed, † &c.

In 1764, it was rented to be occupied as a distinguished boarding house by the widow Graydon, mother of captain Graydon of Carlisle, who has left us his amusing "Memoirs of 60 years life

* William Penn, in one of his notes, says, "Pray send me my leather stockings."

† He had had great honours shown to him two years before for the capture of Fort du Quesne, (Fort Pitt.)

in Pennsylvania." There his mother, as he informs us, had a great many gentry as lodgers. He describes the old house as very much of a castle in its construction, although built originally for a Friend. "It was a singular old fashioned structure, laid out in the style of a fortification, with abundance of angles both salient and re-entering. Its two wings projected to the street in the manner of bastions, to which the main building, retreating from 16 to 18 feet, served for a curtain."* "It had a spacious yard, half way to Front street, and ornamented with a double row of venerable lofty pines, which afforded a very agreeable *rus in urbe*." She continued there till 1768-9, when she removed to Drinker's big house, up Front street near to Race street. Graydon's anecdotes of distinguished persons, especially of British officers and gentry who were inmates, are interesting. John Adams, and other members of the first congress, had their lodgings in "the Slate-house."

* We may say of this house:—"Trade has changed the scene;" for the recess is since filled out to the front with store windows, and the idea of the bastions, though still there, is lost.

RIVER-FRONT BANK.



THE history of the "bank lots" on the river-front is a topic in which all, who can feel an interest in the comfort, beauty, or fame of our city, must have a concern. It was the original design of Penn to have beautified our city, by a most graceful and agreeable promenade on the high bank of the river-front, the whole length of the city. Thus intending Front street to have had an uninterrupted view of the Delaware and river scenery, after the manner of the celebrated Bomb Quai at Rotterdam. How all those desirable purposes were frustrated, and how our admirable natural advantages for an elegant river display, have been superseded by a cramped and inconvenient street and houses, shall be communicated to the reader in the following facts, to wit :

We find, from the citizens' memorial of the 3d of 6 mo. 1684, the first open attempt to make some breach in the original plan, but the direct manner in which they were repelled by William Penn, is evidence how much he then had it at heart to preserve "the top-bank as a common Exchange or walk." The memorialists claimed "the privilege to build vaults or stores in the bank against their respective lots," on the western side of Front street. His answer is not known at full length ; but his endorsement on the petition speaks thus, viz : "The bank is a top common from end to end. The rest next the water belongs to front lot men (i. e. owners on Front street) no more than back lot men. The way bounds them. They may build stairs, and the top of the bank be a common Exchange or walk ; and against the streets, (opening to the river) common wharves may be built freely, but into the water and the shore, is no purchasers."

The Assembly too addressed Penn on the 20th September, 1701, "concerning property." and his answer is, "I am willing to grant the ends of streets according to your request ;" therein showing that the general bank was deemed out of the question.

A paper of the 26th April, 1690, from Penn's commissioners of property, combined with a confession from William Penn to James Logan, which we shall presently show, presents us the evidence of the time and the motive for the fatal concession of the bank lots to those who would become purchasers. The persons entitled to the discredit of thus marring our intended beautiful city, were Samuel Carpenter, William Markham, Robert Turner, and John Goodson. They state, that "Whereas they have been petitioned by holders of

bank lots to grant them the further privilege to build on the same, as much higher as they please, on the former terms, they therefore declare their concurrence with the same, because the more their improvements are [in elevation or value] the greater will be the proprietor's benefit at the expiration of said fifty-one years in the said patents mentioned."

It appears from this paper that before the year 1690, the grants were only occasional to some few special circumstances or friends, and particularly to Samuel Carpenter, whose public buildings on the wharf near Walnut street were considerable. For these indulgencies they also allured, by a covenant, of giving back to the proprietary at the end of 50 years, one third of their improvements. To a needy patron, such as Penn was, the right of selling out the purposed improvements, presented, as they may have thought, an appeal to his actual wants, which might eventually reconcile him to their extra official concessions.

How mortified and vexed must Penn have felt on his second arrival in 1699, to witness the growing deformity of his city, and to see how far individual interest had swerved his agents from the general good! Logan's letter of 1741, to Penn's son, in explanation of the preceding facts, shows how sensibly Penn regretted the measures so taken, even while his circumstances prevented his reversing and cancelling the things already done; as if he had said: "Mine necessity, not my will, hath done this." Logan's letter says, "Thy father himself acknowledged when here (last) that he owed [as a cause] those high quit rents for the bank of Philadelphia, and the reversion of the third of the value [ground and all] after fifty years, entirely to Samuel Carpenter, who, much against his (Penn's) inclination, had tempted him, with them, to suffer himself [S. C.] and other purchasers in Front to build on the east side of that street; and he [S. C.] subscribed with Jonathan Dickinson and others to have a price set in the reversion of the said thirds, which was then done at 20 shillings per foot, now very near forty years since, with a view to raise a sum which was then exceedingly wanted."

Thus, even Penn, who should have laid his equivalent for so essential a deformity engrafted upon this city, after all, got not the proffered benefit of 50 years accumulation of value in houses and lots, but a small present sum in lieu; and we have now the entail of their selfish scheme! I feel vexed and chagrined, while I pen this article, to think for what mere personal purposes fair Philadelphia was so much marred! One is almost tempted, even now, to propose the expense of yet opening a river prospect to the river from Arch to Chesnut street; or, at least, striving so far to repair the loss sustained, as to make a water promenade under a continued line of trees, the whole length of the river front. A well paved straight street could yet be effected along the wharves, by extending some of the present docks, and thereby giving room for ranging the

fronts of the stores and trees on the western side in a direct and uniform line, and suffering no kind of buildings in their front.

The progress of Penn's dissatisfaction at his agent's management, and his own reluctant compliances, may be further noticed in James Logan's letter of 1702, and Penn's reply of 1703-4. James Logan says, "For this past year, we have sold but 165 feet of the banks, [perhaps a fact evincing its unpopularity] of which good part is yet unpaid according to thy concession, who, under thy hand, granted two years for the latter moiety. This backwardness was foolishly occasioned by P. Parmiter a few days after thy departure, who affirmed that thy right extended no further than to the edge of the river. This discouraged many." In another place he says. "The bank does in no way answer to sell out;—only two patents granted."*

In 1703-4, William Penn writes, saying, "I will have no more bank lots disposed of, nor keys yet made into the river, without my special and fresh leave, for reasons justifiable." And this he confirms soon after, by saying, "Till further orders, I will have no bank lots sold, and never the 20 shilling per lott, on any account. Pray mind this. I have good reasons for it at present."

Among the early favoured persons, who had the indulgence of the bank lots, was Thomas Masters, who, in the year 1702, built "a stately house, five stories from the lower street and three the upper, at the corner of High and Front streets." And soon after says James Logan, "T. Masters has built another stately house, the most substantial in town, on Lætitia's bank lot, which, for the improvement of the place, was sold him for 190*£*. sterling, including the reversion."

In the year 1705, the bank lot owners being required to regulate King street, their fewness of names and number are only these, to wit: Hugh Codderey, Michael Isbern, Isaac Norris, Edward Shippen, Henry Badcock, Smith Carpenter, Isaac Norris, Abraham Buckley, Samuel Powell, Thomas Tresse, Joseph Pidgeon.

From the vague manner in which those few names "are required to enter into measures to regulate King street" (the present Water street,) I think we can form a guess how we came to have so ill-concerted and contracted a thorough-fare. With such abundance of earth as they had in the bank lots, it was easy to have determined upon and made a wide and straight street; but the selfish policy which first started the expedient of spoiling the river-front for private aims, conducted the primitive leaders in their measures to the shortest means of personal benefit. Where "all did what was right in their own eyes" only, it was easy to suit themselves for the occasion with a narrow street, and those who came after them had to follow it. The subject presents no point in which we can be gratified, or yield our commendation.

* In 1701, a letter of Penn's inquired:—"What if I had 12 pence per foot to low water mark for ever!"

We shall now conclude with some notices of occurrences at or near the bank in early days, to wit:

In 1701, the Grand Jury present High street hill "as a great nuisance, and a place of great danger in passing Front street, and to the utter ruin of said street and public landing there; and, whereas there are also other breaches, places and landings within the town which require repair, the Governor and Council order that 500*£*. be assessed on the inhabitants for effecting the same."

In 1712, they present the well at the end of High street near the river—the same wants to be covered,—and King street, at the same place, to be made cartable. Thus showing, that if the well be near the river, and at the same time on King street, (Water street) the river shore was then close to the hill or bank. We know, in proof of this, that the house of Donaldson, at the north east corner of Water and High streets, was, for many years after it was built, subject to water in its cellars in times of freshets.

In 1720, an invasion of water "on the common shore," as made into King street, is noticed; and the Grand Jury present as "a nuisance, a great breach in the bank, and passing into Front street above Mulberry street and below Griffith's new wall,"—meaning his wall to keep up the river bank.

In 1721, the Grand Jury present, as out of repair and dangerous, the "Crooked Billet steps," above Chesnut street.

In 1723, the Grand Jury present "deep gullies from Front street, where the arch stood, to the arch wharf,"—meaning at the east end of Mulberry street.

In 1725, the Grand Jury present "the east end of Sassafras street, the bank being washed away almost across the Front street; also the Front street, against the houses late of John Jones, deceased, [now end of Combes' alley] as hardly passable for horse or cart." They also present "the wall on the common shore in the High street for want of a better covering."

A. J. Morris, Esq. now 90 years of age, has told me that the bank side of Front street was unbuilt in several places in his youth. He used, like John Brown, to sled down the open hill, opposite to Combes' alley. From High street to Arch street was very open, especially from the bank steps at Cliffords, northward. Below High street it was full built up; but from Arch up to Vine street many places were still open. The east side of Water street was generally built up, and the best families were living there.

In my youth, I saw the only remaining original shore of the city unwharfed; it was called Taylor's dock, above Vine street; there numerous horses were daily sent to be swam out and washed. It was a place of considerable width. At the dock bridge too, north side, was a similar dock, used for like purposes. At both places shallows brought loads of stone and street pebbles, which they unloaded into the carts, as the carts backed into the water along side of the vessels.

The Caves.



MOST Philadelphians have had some vague conceptions of the caves and cabins in which the primitive settlers made their temporary residence. The caves were generally formed by digging into the ground, near the verge of the river-front bank, about three feet in depth; thus, making half their chamber under ground, and the remaining half above ground was formed of sods of earth, or earth and brush combined. The roofs were formed of layers of limbs, or split pieces of trees, over-laid with sod or bark, river rushes, &c. The chimnies were of stones and river pebbles, mortared together with clay and grass, or river reeds. The following facts may illustrate this subject, to wit:

An original paper is in John Johnson's family, of the year 1683, which is an instrument concerning a division of certain lands, and "executed and witnessed in the cave of Francis Daniel Pastorius, Esq."

On the 17th of 9 mo. 1685, it was ordered by the provincial executive Council, that all families living in caves should appear before the Council. What a group they must have made! This order was occasioned by the representations of the Magistrates of Philadelphia, and enforced by a letter they had received from Governor Penn. in England. No one, however, thought proper to obey the order. The Council gave "further notice" that the Governor's orders relating to the caves will be put in execution in one month's time.

In 1685, the Grand Jury present Joseph Knight, for suffering drunkenness and evil orders in his cave: and several drinking houses to debauch persons are also presented. They also present all the empty caves that do stand in the Front street, "which is to be 60 feet wide," wherefore, the court orders that they forthwith "be pulled down," by the constables, and "demolished;" [terms intimating they were in part above ground,] and upon request of John Barnes and Patrick Robinson, [the clerk of Council,] who asked one month to pull down their respective caves, it was granted, on condition that they fill up the hole in the street. On another occasion, they are called caves "or cabins" on the king's high way.

The interesting story concerning the cave at the Crooked Billet, at which the ancestors of Deborah Morris dwelt, has been told under the article "Primitive Settlement."

Mrs. Hannah Speakman, now aged 75, has told me that she well remembered having seen and often played at an original cave, called "Owen's cave." It was in "Townsend's court," on the south side of Spruce street, west of Second street, on a shelving bank. It was dug into the hill—had grass growing upon the roof part, which was itself formed of close laid timber. The same man who had once inhabited it was still alive, and dwelt in a small frame house near it. Near the cave stood a large apple tree, and close by, on "Barclay's place," so called, she often gathered filberts and hickory nuts. The whole was an unimproved place only 70 years ago; it being, from some cause, suffered to lay waste by the Barclay heirs.

John Brown, and others, told me that the original cave of the Coates' family, in the Northern Liberties, was preserved in some form in the cellar of the family mansion, which remained till this year at the south west corner of Green and Front streets.

HABITS

AND

State of Society.



“Not to know what has been transacted in former times,
is always to remain a child!”

CICERO.

IT is our intention (so far as facts will enable us) to raise some conceptions of the men and things as they existed in former years, chiefly such as they were when every thing partook of colonial submission and simplicity—when we had not learnt to aspire to great things. To this end we shall here dispose our collections from “narrative old age,” and show the state of the past “glimmering through the dream of things that were.”

Gabriel Thomas, in his account, of 1698, of the primitive state of society, speaks of great encouragements and ready pay given to all conditions of tradesmen and working men. None need stand idle. Of lawyers and physicians he remarks he will say little, save that their services were little required, as all were peaceable and healthy. Women’s wages he speaks of as peculiarly high, for two reasons; the sex was not numerous, which tended to make them in demand, and therefore to raise the price. Besides, as these married by the time they were twenty years of age, they sought to procure a maid-servant for themselves in turn. Old maids were not to be met with, neither jealousy of husbands. The children were generally well favoured and beautiful to behold. He says he never knew any with the least blemish. William Penn also made the remark, on his arrival, that all the houses of the Dutch and Swedes he found every where filled with a lusty and fine looking race of children.

Numerous traditionary accounts attest the fact, that there was always among the early settlers a frank and generous hospitality. Their entertainments were devoid of glare and show, but always abundant and good. Mr. Kalm, when here in 1748, expressed his great surprise at the universal freedom with which travellers were every where accustomed to leap over the hedges and take the fruit from the orchards, even while the owners were looking on, without refusal. Fine peaches, he says, were thus taken from the orchards of the poorest peasants, such as could only be enjoyed, as he said, by the nobility in his own country! What a golden age it must have appeared to him and others!

William Fishbourne, in his MS. narrative of about the same time, says, "Thus providence caused the country to flourish and to increase in wealth, to the admiration of all people,—the soil being fruitful and the people industrious. For many years there subsisted a good concord and benevolent disposition among the people of all denominations, each delighting to be reciprocally helpful and kind in acts of friendship for one another."

Moral as the people generally were, and well disposed to cherish a proper regard for religious principles, it became a matter of easy attainment to the celebrated Whitefield and his coadjutors, Tennant, Davenport, &c. to gain a great ascendancy over the minds of many of the people. The excitements wrought among them was very considerable. He procured in Philadelphia to be built for him one of the largest churches then in the colonies, and his helper, Tennant, another. It is manifest enough that the ardour of success generated considerable of fanaticism. At its consequent reproach.* Whitefield, in 1739, preached to a crowd of 15,000 persons on Society Hill. About the same time he so far succeeded to repress the usual public amusements as that the dancing school was discontinued, and the ball and concert room were shut up, as inconsistent with the requisitions of the gospel. No less than fourteen sermons were preached on Society Hill in open air, in one week, during the session of the Presbyterian church; and the Gazette of the day, in noticing the fact, says, "The change to religion here is altogether surprising through the influence of Whitefield—no books sell but religious, and such is the general conversation."

Doctor Franklin, describing the state of the people about the year 1752, says they were all loyal and submitted willingly to the government of the crown, or paid for defence cheerfully. "They were led by a thread. They not only had a respect, but an affection for Great Britain, for its laws, its customs, and its manners, and even a fondness for its fashions,—not yet subsided. Natives of Great Britain were always treated with particular regard: and, to be "an Old England man" gave a kind of rank and respect among us."

The old people all testify that the young of their youth were much more reserved, and held under much more restraint in the presence of their elders and parents than now. Bashfulness and modesty in the young were then regarded as virtues; and the present freedom before the aged was not then countenanced. Young lovers then listened and took side-long glances when before their parents or elders.

Mrs. Susan N——, who lived to be 80 years of age, told me it

* This is manifest by numerous publications of the day. Rev'd. Mr. Cummings of Christ church, and Rev'd. E. Kinnersley, Professor, among others, published against them. Both Whitefield and Tennant lived long enough afterwards to make their confessions of intemperate zeal.

was the custom of her early days for the young part of the family, and especially of the female part, to dress up neatly towards the close of the day and set in the street-porch. It was customary to go from porch to porch in neighbourhoods and sit and converse. Young gentlemen in passing used to affect to say that while they admired the charms of the fair who thus occupied them, they found it a severe ordeal, as they thought they might become the subject of remark. This, however, was a mere banter. Those days were really very agreeable and sociable. To be so easily gratified with a sight of the whole city population, must have been peculiarly grateful to every travelling stranger. In truth, we have never seen a citizen who remembered the former easy exhibition of families, who did not regret its present exclusive and reserved substitute.

The same lady told me it was a common occurrence to see genteel men after a fall of snow shovelling it away from their several doors. She has told me the names of several who would not now suffer their children to do the same.

The late aged John Warder, Esq. told me that in his younger days he never knew of more than five or six persons at most, in the whole city, who did not live on the same spot where they pursued their business,—a convenience and benefit now so generally departed from by the general class of traders. Then wives and daughters very often served in the stores of their parents, and the retail dry goods business was mostly in the hands of widows or maiden ladies.

Mrs. S. N. also informed me that she remembers having been at houses when tea was a rarity, and has seen the quantity measured out for the tea pot in small hand-scales. This was to apportion the strength with accuracy.

In her early days if a citizen failed in business it was a cause of general and deep regret. Every man who met his neighbour spoke of his chagrin. It was a rare occurrence, because honesty and temperance in trade was then universal; and none embarked then without a previous means adapted to their business.

Another lady, Mrs. H. who saw things before the war of Independence, says she is often amused with the exclamation of her young friends, as she points them now to houses of a second or third rate tradesman, and says, "in that house such and such a distinguished man held his banquets." Dinners and suppers went the round of every social circle at Christmas, and they who partook of the former were also expected to remain for the supper. Afternoon visits were made not at night as now, but at so early an hour as to permit matrons to go home and see their children put to bed.

I have often heard aged citizens say that decent citizens had a universal speaking acquaintance with each other, and every body promptly recognized a stranger in the streets. A simple or idiot person was known to the whole population. Every body knew

Bobby Fox, and habitually jested with him as they met him. Michael Weaders too was an aged idiot, whom all knew and esteemed: so much so, that they actually engraved his portrait as a remembrancer of his benignant and simple face. See a copy in my MS. Annals in the City Library, page 284.

Doctor Franklin has said, that before the war of Independence "to be an Old England man gave a kind of rank and respect among us." I introduce this remark for the sake of observing, that for many years after that war, even till nearly down to the present day, I can remember that we seemed to concede to English gentlemen a claim, which they were not backward to arrogate, that they were a superior race of men; this too from their having been familiar at home with superior displays of grandeur, more conveniences of living, higher perfections in the arts, &c. and, above all, as having among them a renowned race of authors, poets, &c. Their assumptions in consequence were sometimes arrogant or offensive. And I remember to have felt with others some disparagement in the comparison. If it were only to speak of their grand navy, we felt diminutive when we heard big tales of their "Rogal George"—the grandeur of their "great fleet," &c.—we who had never seen more among us than a single frigate. But the time is now passing off,—we have in turn become renowned and great. Our navy has become respectable: our entertainments have become splendid and costly. I have lived withal to find that even we, who before cowered, have taken our turn of being lordly; which we manifest in the offensive deportment of a mother country to our numerous colonies in the west, &c. I only "speak what I do know" when I say I have seen Philadelphians and New Yorkers, as metropolitans assuming airs of importance at Washington city, at Pittsburg, at Cincinnati, at New Orleans, &c. Those pretensions of our vanity formerly in those places will subside and pass away; already they will scarcely be observed there, and could hardly have been believed but for this remembrancer, which shows indeed the general state of rising society in this new country.

The tradesmen before the Revolution (I mention these facts with all good feeling,) were an entirely different generation of men from the present. They did not then, as now, present the appearance in dress of gentlemen. Between them and what were deemed the hereditary gentlemen there was a marked difference. In truth, the aristocracy of the gentlemen was noticed if not felt, and it was to check any undue assumption of ascendancy in them, that the others invented the rallying name of "the Leather Apron Club,"—a name with which they were familiar before Franklin's "junta" was formed and received that other name. In that day the tradesmen and their families had far less pride than now. While at their work, or in going abroad on week-days, all such as followed rough trades, such as carpenters, masons, coopers, blacksmiths, &c. universally wore a leathern apron before them, and

covering all their vest. Dingy buckskin breeches, once yellow, and check shirts and a red flannel jacket was the common wear of most working men; and all men and boys from the country were seen in the streets in leather breeches and aprons, and would have been deemed out of character without them. In those days, tailors, shoemakers and hatters waited on customers to take their measures, and afterwards called with garments to fit them on before finished.

One of the remarkable incidents of our republican principles of equality, is that hirelings, who in times before the war of Independence were accustomed to accept the names of servants and to be dressed according to their condition, will now no longer suffer the former appellation; and all affect the dress and the air, when abroad, of genteeler people than their business warrants. Those, therefore, who from affluence have many such dependants, find it a constant subject of perplexity to manage their pride and assumption.

In the olden time all the hired women wore short-gowns and linseywoolsey or worsted petticoats. Some are still alive who used to call master and mistress who will no longer do it.

These facts have been noticed by the *London Quarterly Review*, which instances a case highly characteristic of their high independence: A lady, who had a large gala party, having rung somewhat passionately at the bell to call a domestic, was answered by a girl opening the saloon door, saying, "the more you ring the more I wont come," and so withdrew! Now all hired girls appear abroad in the same style of dress as their ladies: for,

"Excess, the scrofulous and itchy plague
That seizes first the opulent, descends
To the next rank contagious! and in time
Taints downwards all the graduated scale."

So true it is that every condition of society is now changed from the plain and unaffected state of our forefathers,—all are

"Infected with the manners and the modes
It knew not once!"

Before the Revolution no hired man or woman wore any shoes so fine as calf skin; coarse neats leather was their every day wear. Men and women then hired by the year,—men got 16 to 20*l.* and a servant woman 8 to 10*l.* Out of that it was their custom to lay up money, to buy before their marriage a bed and bedding, silver tea spoons, and a spinning-wheel, &c.

A lady of my acquaintance, Mrs. H. familiar with those things as they were before the Revolution, has thus expressed her sense of them, viz. In the olden time domestic comfort was not every day interrupted by the pride and the profligacy of servants. There were then but few hired,—black slaves, and German and Irish redemptioners made up the mass. Personal liberty is unquestionably

the inherent right of every human creature; but the slaves of Philadelphia were a happier class of people than the free blacks now, who exhibit every sort of wretchedness and profligacy in their dwellings. The former felt themselves to be an integral part of the family to which they belonged; they were faithful and contented, and affected no equality in dress or manners with those who ruled them; every kindness was extended to them in return.

Among the rough amusements of men might be mentioned, shooting, fishing, and sailing parties. These were frequent, as also glutton clubs, fishing-house and country parties were much indulged in by respectable citizens. Great sociability prevailed among all classes of citizens until the strife with Great Britain sent "every man to his own ways;" then discord and acrimony ensued, and the previously general friendly intercourse never returned. We afterwards grew another and enlarged people.

Our girls in the day time, as told me by T. B. used to attend the work of the family and in the evening paraded in their porch at the door. Some of them, however, even then read novels and walked without business abroad. Those who had not house work employed themselves in their accomplishments, such as making shell work, cornucopies, working of pocket books with a close strong stitched needle work.

The ladies, seventy years ago, were much accustomed to ride on horse back for recreation. It was quite common to see genteel ladies riding with jockey caps.

Boarding schools for girls were not known in Philadelphia until about the time of the Revolution, nor had they any separate schools for writing and cyphering, but were taught in common with boys. The ornamental parts of female education were bestowed, but geography and grammar were never regarded for them, until a certain Mr. Horton—thanks to his name!—proposed to teach those sciences to young ladies. Similar institutions afterwards grew into favour.

It was usual in the Gazettes of 1760 to '70 to announce marriages in words like these, to wit: "Miss Betsey Laurence, or Miss Eliza Caton, a most agreeable lady, with a large or a handsome fortune!"

In still earlier times marriages had to be promulged by affixing the intentions of the parties on the Court house or Meeting house door; and when the act was solemnized they should have at least twelve subscribing witnesses. The act which imposed it was passed in 1700.

The wedding entertainments of olden times were very expensive and harrassing to the wedded. The house of the parent would be filled with company to dine; the same company would stay to tea and to supper. For two days punch was dealt out in profusion. The gentlemen saw the groom on the first floor, and then ascended to the second floor, where they saw the bride; there every gentle-

man, even to one hundred in a day, kissed her ! Even the plain Friends submitted to these things. I have known rich families which had 120 persons to dine—the same who had signed their certificate of marriage at the monthly Meeting : these also partook of tea and supper. As they formally passed the Meeting twice, the same entertainment was repeated. Two days the male friends would call and take punch ; and all would kiss the bride. Besides this, the married pair for two entire weeks saw large tea parties at their home, having in attendance every night the groomsman and bridemaids. To avoid expense and trouble, Friends have since made it sufficient to pass but one Meeting. When these marriage entertainments were made, it was expected also that punch, cakes and meats should be sent out very generally in the neighbourhood, even to those who were not visitors in the family !

It was much the vogue of the times of the year 1760, and thereabouts, to “crack the satiric thong” on the offenders of the day by caricatures. R. J. Dove of that day, a teacher in the academy and a satirist, was the author of several articles in that way. He was encountered in turn by one Isaac Hunt, who went afterwards to England and became a clergyman there. Two such engraved caricatures and some poetry I have preserved in my MS. Annals in the City Library, pages 273-4: One is “the attempt to wash the blackmoor white,” meaning Judge Moor; the other is a caricature of Friends, intended to asperse them as promoting Indian ravages in the time of their “association for preserving peace.” I have also two other engraved articles and poetry called “The Medley” and “The Counter Medley,” intended for electioneering squibs and slurring the leaders. The late Judge Peters, who had been Dove’s pupil, described him as “a sarcastical and ill-tempered doggerelizer, who was but ironically Dove; for his temper was that of a hawk, and his pen the beak of a falcon pouncing on innocent prey.”

It may surprise some of the present generation to learn that some of those aged persons who they may now meet, have teeth which were originally in the heads of others ! I have seen a printed advertisement of the year 1784, wherein Doctor Le Mayeur, dentist, proposes to the citizens of Philadelphia to transplant teeth; stating therein, that he has successfully transplanted 123 teeth in the preceding six months ! At the same time he offers two guineas for every tooth which may be offered to him by “persons disposed to sell their front teeth or any of them !” This was quite a novelty in Philadelphia : the present care of the teeth was ill understood then.* He had, however, great success in Philadelphia, and went off with a good deal of our patrician’s money. Several respectable ladies had them implanted. I remember some curious anecdotes of some cases. One of the Meschianza belles had such teeth. They were, in some cases, two months before they could

* Indeed, dentists were few then even in Paris and London.

eat with them. One lady, now alive, told me she knew of sixteen cases of such persons among her acquaintance.

Doctor Baker, who preceded Le Mayeur, was the first person ever known as a dentist in Philadelphia. Tooth-brushes were not even known, and the genteelst then were content to rub the teeth with a chalked rag or with snuff. Some even deemed it an effeminacy in men to be seen cleaning the teeth at all.

Of articles and rules of diet, so far as it differed from ours in the earliest time, we may mention coffee as a beverage, was used but rarely: chocolate for morning and evening, or thickened milk for children. Cookery in general was plainer than now. In the country, morning and evening repasts were generally made of milk, having bread boiled therein, or else thickened with pop-robbins,—things made up of flour and eggs into a batter, and so dropt in with the boiling milk.

We shall give the reader some little notice of a strange state of our society about the years 1795 to 1798 when the phrensy of the French Revolution possessed and maddened the boys, without any check or restraint from men half as puerile as then themselves in the delusive politics of the day.

About the year 1793 to '94, there was an extravagant and impolitic affection for France, and hostility to every thing British, in our country generally. It required all the prudence of Washington and his cabinet to stem the torrent of passion which flowed in favour of France to the prejudice of our neutrality. Now the event is passed we may thus soberly speak of its character. This remark is made for the sake of introducing the fact, that the patriotic mania was so high that it caught the feelings of the boys of Philadelphia! I remember with what joy we ran to the wharves at the report of cannon to see the arrivals of the Frenchmen's prizes,—we were so pleased to see the British union down! When we met French mariners or officers in the streets, we would cry "Vive la Republique." Although most of us understood no French, we had caught many national airs, and the streets, by day and night, resounded with the songs of boys, such as these: "Allons, enfans de la patrie, le jour de gloire est arrivé!" &c.—"Dansons le carmagolé, vive le sang, vive le sang!" &c.—"A ç'ira, ç'ira," &c. Several verses of each of these and others were thus sung. All of us too put on the national cockade. Some, whose parents had more discretion, resisted this boyish parade of patriotism for a doubtful Revolution, and then they wore their cockade on the inside of their hat. Such a one I wore. I remember several boyish processions; and on one occasion the girls, dressed in white and in French tricoloured ribbons, formed a procession too. There was a great Liberty Pole, with a red cap at top, erected at Adet's or Fauchet's house; (now Girard's square, up High street) and there I and one hundred of others, taking hold of hands and forming a ring round the same, made triumphant leaping, singing the national airs.

There was a band of music to lead the airs. I remember that among the grave and elderly men, who gave the impulse and prompted the revellings, was a burly, gouty old gentleman, Blair M'Clenahan, Esq. (famed in the democratic ranks of that day) and with him, and the white Misses at our head, we marched down the middle of the dusty street, and when arrived opposite to Mr. Hammond's, the British minister's house, (High, above Eighth street, Hunter's house, I believe,) there were several signs of disrespect manifested to his house. All the facts of that day, as I now contemplate them as among the earliest impressions of my youth, seem something like the remembrance of a splendid dream. I hope never to see such an enthusiasm for any foreigners again, however merited. It was a time, when, as it seems to me, that Philadelphia boys usurped the attributes of manhood; and the men, who should have chastened us, had themselves become very puerile! It was a period in Philadelphia, when reason and sobriety of thought had lost their wonted operation on our citizens. They were fine feelings to ensure the success of a war actually begun, but had affections for any nation, whose interests lay in peace and neutrality. Washington bravely submitted to become unpopular to allay and repress this dangerous foreign attachment.

I confirm the above by further notices by Lang Syne, to wit: "About the time when, in Paris, the head of Louis, "our august ally," had rolled into the basket; when it had been pronounced before the Convention, "Lyons is no more:" when the Abbe Seiyes had placed in his pigeon holes (until called for) Constitutions for every State in Europe; when our Mr. Monroe had exhibited to Europe "a strange spectacle:" when the three grinning wolves of Paris had begun to lap French blood; while lieutenant Bonaparte, of the artillery, was warming his scabbard in the anti-chamber of Barras; when the straw blaze of civil liberty, enkindled in France by a "spark from the altar of '76," (which only sufficiently illuminated the surrounding gloom of despotism, as to render the "darkness visible,") was fast going out, leaving only the blackened embers, and a smoke in the nostrils. About this time, almost every vessel arriving here brought fugitives from the infuriated negroes in Port au Prince, or the sharp axe of the guillotine in Paris, dripping night and day with the blood of Frenchmen, shed in the name of liberty, equality, and the (sacred) rights of man. Our city thronged with French people of all shades from the colonies and those from Old France, giving it the appearance of one great hotel, or place of shelter for strangers hastily collected together from a raging tempest. The characteristic old school simplicity of the citizens, in manners, habits of dress, and modes of thinking and speaking on the subjects of civil rights and forms of government, by the square and rule of reason and argument and the "rules of the schools," began to be broken in upon by the new enthusiasm of Caira and Carmagnole. French boarding houses

(pension Francaise,) multiplied in every street. The one at the south east corner of Race and Second streets, having some 40 windows, was filled with colonial French to the garret windows, whistling and jumping about, fiddling and singing, as fancy seemed to suggest, like so many crickets and grasshoppers. Groups of both sexes were to be seen seated on chairs, in summer weather, forming semi-circles near the doors, so displayed as sometimes to render it necessary to step into the street to get along;—their tongues, shoulders and hands in perpetual motion, jabbering away, “all talkers and no hearers.” Mestizo ladies, with complexions of the palest marble, jet black hair, and eyes of the gazelle, and of the most exquisite symmetry, were to be seen, escorted along the pavement by white French gentlemen, both dressed in West India fashion, and of the richest materials: coal black negresses, in flowing white dresses, and turbans of “muchoir de Madras,” exhibiting their ivory dominos, in social walk with a white or creole;—altogether, forming a contrast to the native Americans, and the emigrants from Old France, most of whom still kept to the stately old Bourbon style of dress and manner, wearing the head full powdered a la Louis, golden headed cane, silver buckles, and cocked hat, seemingly to express thereby their fierce contempt for the pantaloons, silk shoe string, and “Brutus Crop.”

The “*Courier des Dames*,” of both, daily ogling and “sighing like a furnace,” bowing a la distance—dangling in door ways by day, and chanting “dans votre lit” by night, under the window of our native fair ones, bewildered by the, at that time, novel and delightful incense of flattery, so unusual to them in the manner, and offered so romantically by young French gentlemen, (possibly) elegant and debonaire. The Marseilles Hymn was learned and sung by the citizens every where, to which they added the American song of “Hail Liberty Supreme Delight.” Instrumental music abounded in the city every where, by day as well as by night, from French gentlemen, (may be) amateurs, on the hautboy, violin and clarionet, exquisitely played—and seemingly intended to catch the attention of neighbouring fair ones, at opposite windows.”

Finally, as a specimen of the luxurious state of society as now seen in contrast with the simple manners of the past, we had gathered a few articles of considerable length, intended to show modern life in its fashionable features: but they are necessarily excluded by our wish to restrict the volume to moderate bounds. They were such tales in picturesque character as we wished to see some day deduced from the materials gathered in this work, to wit: “Winter Parties,”—“Going into the Country,” and “Leghorn Bonnets.” Vide pages 487, 489 and 512, in my MS. *Annals in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.*

Apparel.

“ We run through every change, which fancy
At the loom has genius to supply.”

THERE is a very marked and wide difference between our moderns and the ancients in their several views of appropriate dress: The latter, in our judgment of them, were always stiff and formal, unchanging in their cut and fit in the gentry, or negligent and rough in texture in the commonalty; whereas the moderns, casting off all former modes and forms, and inventing every new device which fancy can supply, just please the wearers “while the fashion is at full.”

It will much help our just conceptions of our forefathers, and their good dames, to know what were their personal appearances: To this end, some facts illustrative of their attire will be given. Such as it was among the gentry, was a constrained and painstaking service, presenting nothing of ease and gracefulness in the use. While we may wonder at its adoption and long continuance, we will hope never again to see it return! But who can hope to check or restrain fashion if it should chance—again to set that way; or, who can foresee that the next generation may not be even more stiff and formal than any which has past, since we see, even now, our late graceful and easy habits of both sexes already partially supplanted by “monstrous novelty and strange disguise!”—men and women stiffly corsetted—another name for stays of yore, long unnatural-looking waists, shoulders stuffed and deformed as Richard’s, and artificial hips—protruding garments of as ample folds as claimed the ton when senseless hoops prevailed!

Our forefathers were excusable for their formal cut, since, knowing no changes in the mode, every child was like its sire, resting in “the still of despotism.” to which every mind by education and habit was settled; but no such apology exists for us, who have witnessed better things. We have been freed from their servitude; and now to attempt to go back to their strange bondage, deserves the severest lash of satire, and should be resisted by every satirist and humourist who writes for public reform.

In all these things, however, we must be subject to female control; for, reason as we will, and scout at monstrous novelties as we may, female attractions will eventually win and seduce our sex to their attachment, “as the loveliest of creation.” in whatever form they

may choose to array : As "it is not good for man to be alone," they will be sure to follow through every giddy maze which fashion runs. We know, indeed, that ladies themselves are in bondage to their milliners, and often submit to their new imported modes with lively sense of dissatisfaction, even while they commit themselves to the general current, and float along with the multitude.

Our forefathers were occasionally fine practical satirists on offensive innovations in dress—they lost no time in paraphrastic verbiage which might or might not effect its aim, but with most effective appeal to the populace, they quickly carried their point, by making it the scoff and derision of the town! On one occasion, when the ladies were going astray after a passion for long red cloaks, to which their lords had no affections, they succeeded to ruin their reputation, by concerting with the executioners to have a female felon hung in a cloak of the best ton! On another occasion, in the time of the Revolution, when the "tower" head-gear of the ladies were ascending, Babel-like, to the skies, the growing enormity was effectually repressed, by the parade through the streets of a tall male figure in ladies attire, decorated with the odious tower-gear, and preceded by a drum! At an earlier period, one of the intended dresses, called a trollopee, (probably from the word trollop) became a subject of offence. The satirists, who guarded and framed the sumptuary code of the town, procured the wife of Daniel Pettitseau the hangman, to be arrayed in full dress trollopee, &c. and to parade the town with rude music! Nothing could stand the derision of the populace! Delicacy and modesty shrunk from the gaze and sneers of the multitude! And the trollopee, like the others, was abandoned!

Mr. B——, a gentleman of 80 years of age, has given me his recollections of the costumes of his early days in Philadelphia, to this effect, to wit: Men wore three-square or cocked hats, and wigs, coats with large cuffs, big skirts, lined and stiffened with buckram. None ever saw a crown higher than the head. The coat of a beau had three or four large plaits in the skirts, wadding almost like a coverlet to keep them smooth, cuffs, very large, up to the elbows, open below and inclined down, with lead therein; the capes were thin and low, so as readily to expose the close plaited neck-stock of fine linen cambric, and the large silver stock-buckle on the back of the neck, shirts with hand ruffles, sleeves finely plaited, breeches close fitted, with silver, stone or paste gem buckles, shoes or pumps with silver buckles of various sizes and patterns, thread, worsted and silk stockings: the poorer class wore sheep and buckskin breeches close set to the limbs. Gold and silver sleeve buttons, set with stones or paste, of various colours and kinds, adorned the wrists of the shirts of all classes. The very boys often wore wigs, and their dresses in general were similar to that of the men.

The odious use of wigs was never disturbed till after the return of Braddock's broken army. They appeared in Philadelphia, wea-

ring only their natural hair—a mode well adapted to the military, and thence adopted by our citizens. The king of England too, about this time, having cast off his wig malgre the will of the people, and the petitions and remonstrances of the periwig makers of London, thus confirmed the change of fashion here, and completed the ruin of our wig makers.*

The women wore caps, (a bare head was never seen!) stiff stays, hoops from six inches to two feet on each side, so that a full dressed lady entered a door like a crab, pointing her obtruding flanks end foremost, high heeled shoes of black stuff with white cotton or thread stockings; and in the miry times of winter they wore clogs, gala shoes, or pattens.

The days of stiff coats, sometimes wire-framed, and of large hoops, was also stiff and formal in manners at set balls and assemblages. The dances of that day among the politer class were minuets, and some times country dances; among the lower order hip-saw was every thing.

As soon as the wigs were abandoned and the natural hair was cherished, it became the mode to dress it by plaiting it, by queuing and clubbing, or by wearing it in a black silk sack or bag, adorned with a large black rose.

In time, the powder, with which wigs and the natural hair had been severally adorned, was run into disrepute only about 28 to 50 years ago, by the then strange innovation of "Brutus heads;" not only then discarding the long cherished powder and perfume and tortured frizzle-work, but also literally becoming "Round heads," by cropping off all the pendant graces of ties, bobs, clubs, queues, &c! The hardy beaux who first encountered public opinion by appearing abroad unpowdered and cropt, had many starers. The old men for a time obstinately persisted in adherence to the old regime, but death thinned their ranks, and use and prevalence of numbers at length gave countenance to modern usage.

Another aged gentleman, colonel M. states, of the recollections of his youth, that young men of the highest fashion wore swords—so frequent it was as to excite no surprise when seen. Men as old as forty so arrayed themselves. They wore also gold laced cocked hats, and similar lace on their scarlet vests. Their coat-skirts were stiffened with wire or buckram and lapt each other at the lower end in walking. In that day no man wore drawers, but their breeches (so called unreservedly then) were lined in winter, and were tightly fitted.

From various reminiscents we glean, that laced ruffles, depending over the hand, was a mark of indispensable gentility. The coat and breeches were generally desirable of the same material—of "broad cloth" for winter, and of silk camlet for summer. No kind of cotton fabrics were then in use or known; hose were there-

* The use of wigs must have been peculiarly an English fashion, as I find Kalm in 1746 speaks of the French gentlemen then as wearing their own hair.

fore of thread or silk in summer, and of fine worsted in winter; shoes were square-toed and were often "double channelled." To these succeeded sharp toes as peaked as possible. When wigs were universally worn, grey wigs were powdered, and for that purpose sent in a paper box frequently to the barber to be dressed on his block-head. But "brown wigs," so called, were exempted from the white disguise. Coats of red cloth, even by boys, were considerably worn, and plush breeches and plush vests of various colours, shining and slipping, were in common use. Everlasting, made of worsted, was a fabric of great use for breeches and sometimes for vests. The vest had great depending pocket flaps, and the breeches were very short above the stride, because the art of suspending them by suspenders were unknown. It was then the test of a well formed man, that he could by his natural form readily keep his breeches above his hips, and his stockings, without gartering, above the calf of the leg. With the queus belonged frizled side locks, and toutpies formed of the natural hair, or, in defect of a long tie, a splice was added to it. Such was the general passion for the longest possible whip of hair, that sailors and boat men, to make it grow, used to tie theirs in eel skins to aid its growth. Nothing like surtouts were known; but they had coating or cloth great coats, or blue cloth and brown camlet cloaks, with green baize lining to the latter. In the time of the American war, many of the American officers introduced the use of Dutch blankets for great coats. The sailors in the olden time used to wear hats of glazed leather or of woollen thrumbs, called chapeaus, closely woven and looking like a rough knap; and their "small clothes," as we would say now, were immense wide petticoat-breeches, wide open at the knees, and no longer. About 70 years ago our working men in the country wore the same, having no falling flaps but slits in front; they were so full and free in girth, that they ordinarily changed the rear to the front when the seat became prematurely worn out. In sailors and common people, big silver broaches in the bosom were displayed, and long quartered shoes with extreme big buckles on the extreme front.

Gentlemen in the olden time used to carry mufftees in winter. It was in effect a little woollen muff of various colours, just big enough to admit both hands, and long enough to screen the wrists which were then more exposed than now; for they then wore short sleeves to their coats purposely to display their fine linen and plaited shirt sleeves, with their gold buttons and sometimes laced ruffles. The sleeve cuffs were very wide, and hung down depressed with leads in them.

In the summer season, men very often wore calico morning-gowns at all times of the day and abroad in the streets. A damask banyan was much the same thing by another name. Poor labouring men wore ticklenberg linen for shirts, and striped ticken breeches; they wore grey duroy-coats in winter; men and boys always wore

leather breeches. Leather aprons were used by all tradesmen and workmen.

Some of the peculiarities of the female dress was to the following effect, to wit: Ancient ladies are still alive who have told me that they often had their hair tortured for four hours at a sitting in getting the proper crisped curls of a hair curler. Some who designed to be inimitably captivating, not knowing they could be sure of professional services where so many hours were occupied upon one gay head, have actually had the operation performed the day before it was required, then have slept all night in a sitting posture to prevent the derangement of their frizzle and curls! This is a real fact, and we could, if questioned, name cases. They were, of course, rare occurrences, proceeding from some extra occasions, when there were several to serve, and but few such refined hair dressers in the place.

This formidable head-work was succeeded by rollers over which the hair was combed above the forehead. These again were superseded by cushions and artificial curled work, which could be sent out to the barber's block, like a wig, to be dressed, leaving the lady at home to pursue other objects—thus producing a grand reformation in the economy of time, and an exemption too from former durance vile. The dress of the day was not captivating to all, as the following lines may show, viz.

Give Chloe a bushel of horse-hair and wool,
Of paste and pomatum a pound,
Ten yards of gay ribbon to deck her sweet skull,
And gauze to encompass it round.

Let her flags fly behind for a yard at the least,
Let her curls meet just under her chin,
Let these curls be supported, to keep up the jest,
With an hundred—instead of one pin.

Let her gown be tuck'd up to the hip on each side,
Shoes too high for to walk or to jump,
And to deck the sweet creature complete for a bride
Let the cork cutter make her a rump.

Thus finish'd in taste, while on Chloe you gaze,
You may take the dear charmer for life,
But never undress her—for, out of her stays,
You'll find you have lost half your wife!

When the ladies first began to lay off their cumbrous hoops, they supplied their place with successive succedaneums, such as these, to wit: First came bishops—a thing stuffed or padded with horse hair; then succeeded a smaller affair under the name of *cue de Paris*, also padded with horse hair! How it abates our admiration to contemplate the lovely sex as bearing a roll of horse hair under

their garments ! Next they supplied their place with silk or calimanco, or russell thickly quilted and inlaid with wool, made into petticoats : then these were supplanted by a substitute of half a dozen of petticoats. No wonder such ladies needed fans in a sultry summer, and at a time when parasols were unknown, to keep off the solar rays ! I knew a lady going to a gala party who had so large a hoop that when she sat in the chaise she so filled it up, that the person who drove it (it had no top) stood up behind the box and directed the reins !

Some of those ancient belles, who thus sweltered under the weight of six petticoats, have lived now to see their posterity, not long since, go so thin and transparent, *a la Francaise*, especially when between the beholder and a declining sun, as to make a modest eye sometimes instinctively avert its gaze !

Among some other articles of female wear we may name the following, to wit : Once they wore a "skimmer hat," made of a fabric which shone like silver tinsel ; it was of a very small flat crown and big brim, not unlike the present Leghorn flats. Another hat, not unlike it in shape, was made of woven horse hair, wove in flowers, and called "horse-hair bonnets,"—an article which might be again usefully introduced for children's wear as an enduring hat for long service. I have seen what was called a bath-bonnet, made of black satin, and so constructed to lay in folds that it could be set upon like a chapeau bras,—a good article now for travelling ladies ! "The mush-mellon" bonnet, used before the Revolution, had numerous whale-bone stiffeners in the crown, set at an inch apart in parallel lines and presenting ridges to the eye, between the bones. The next bonnet was the "whale-bone bonnet," having only the bones in the front as stiffeners. "A calash bonnet" was always formed of green silk ; it was worn abroad, covering the head, but when in rooms it could fall back in folds like the springs of a calash or gig top ; to keep it up over the head it was drawn up by a cord always held in the hand of the wearer. The "wagon bonnet," always of black silk, was an article exclusively in use among the Friends, was deemed to look, on the head, not unlike the top of the Jersey wagons, and having a pendent piece of like silk hanging from the bonnet and covering the shoulders. The only straw wear was that called the "straw beehive bonnet," worn generally by old people.

The ladies once wore "hollow breasted stays," which were exploded as injurious to the health. Then came the use of straight stays. Even little girls wore such stays. At one time the gowns worn had no fronts ; the design was to display a finely quilted Marseilles, silk or satin petticoat, and a worked stomacher on the waist. In other dresses a white apron was the mode ; all wore large pockets under their gowns. Among the caps was the "queen's night cap,"—the same always worn by Lady Washington. The "cushion head dress" was of gauze stiffened out in cylindrical

firm with white spiral wire. The border of the cap was called the balcony.

A lady of my acquaintance thus describes the recollections of her early days preceding the war of Independence. Dress was discriminative and appropriate, both as regarded the season and the character of the wearer. Ladies never wore the same dresses at work and on visits: they sat at home, or went out in the morning, in chints: brocades, satins and mantuas were reserved for evening or dinner parties. Robes or negligees, as they were called, were always worn in full dress. Muslins were not worn at all. Little Misses at a dancing-school ball (for these were almost the only fetes that fell to their share in the days of discrimination) were dressed in frocks of lawn or cambric. Worsted was then thought dress enough for common days.

As a universal fact, it may be remarked that no other colour than black was ever made for ladies bonnets when formed of silk or satin. Fancy colours were unknown, and white bonnets of silk fabric had never been seen. The first innovation remembered, was the bringing in of blue bonnets.

The time was, when the plainest women among the Friends (now so averse to fancy colours) wore their coloured silk aprons, say, of green, blue, &c. This was at a time when the gay wore white aprons. In time white aprons were disused by the gentry, and then the Friends left off their coloured ones and used the white! The same old ladies, among Friends whom we can remember as wearers of the white aprons, wore also large white beaver hats, with scarcely the sign of a crown, and which was indeed confined to the head by silk cords tied under the chin. Eight dollars would buy such a hat, when beaver fur was more plentiful. They lasted such ladies almost a whole life of wear. They showed no fur.

Very decent women went abroad and to churches with check aprons. I have seen those, who kept their coach in my time to bear them to church, who told me they went on foot with a check apron to the Arch street Presbyterian meeting in their youth. Then all hired women wore short-gowns and petticoats of domestic fabric, and could be instantly known as such whenever seen abroad.

In the former days it was not uncommon to see aged persons with large silver buttons to their coats and vests—it was a mark of wealth. Some had the initials of their names engraved on each button. Sometimes they were made out of real quarter dollars, with the coinage impression still retained,—these were used for the coats, and the eleven-penny-bits for vests and breeches. My father wore an entire suit decorated with conch-shell buttons, silver mounted.

An aged gentleman, O. J. Esq. told me of seeing one of the most respectable gentlemen going to the ball room in Lodge alley in an entire suit of drab cloth richly laced with silver.

On the subject of wigs, I have noticed the following special facts,

to wit: They were as generally worn by genteel Friends as by any other people. This was the more surprising as they religiously professed to exclude all superfluities, and yet nothing could have been offered to the mind as so essentially useless.*

In the year 1685, William Penn writes to his steward, James Harrison, requesting him to allow the Governor, Lloyd, his deputy, the use of his wigs in his absence.

In the year 1719, Jonathan Dickinson, a Friend, in writing to London for his clothes, says, "I want for myself and my three sons each a wig—light good bobbs."

In 1730, I see a public advertisement to this effect in the Gazette, to wit: "A good price will be given for good clean white horse-hair, by William Crossthwaite, peruke maker." Thus showing of what materials our forefathers got their white wigs!

In 1737, the perukes of the day as then sold, were thus described, to wit: "Tyes, bobs, majors, spencers, fox-tails and twists, together with curls or tates (têtes) for the ladies."

In the year 1765, another peruke maker advertises prepared hair for judges' full bottomed wigs, tyes for gentlemen of the bar to wear over their hair, brigadiers, dress bobs, bags, cues, scratches, cut wigs, &c. and to accomodate ladies he has tates, (têtes) towers, &c. At same time a stay maker advertises cork stays, whale-bone stays, jumps, and easy caushets, thin boned Misses' and ladies' stays, and pack thread stays!

Some of the advertisements of the olden time present some curious descriptions of masquerade attire, such as these, viz:

Year 1722—Run away from the Rev. D. Magill, a servant clothed with damask breeches and vest, black broad-cloth vest, a broad-cloth coat, of copper colour, lined and trimmed with black, and wearing black stockings! Another servant is described as wearing leather breeches and glass buttons, black stockings, and a wig!

In 1724, a run-away barber is thus dressed, viz:—wore a light wig, a grey kersey jacket lined with blue, a light pair of druggert breeches, black roll-up stockings, square toed shoes, a red leathern apron. He had also a white vest and yellow buttons, with red linings!

Another run-away servant is described as wearing "a light short wig," aged 20 years; his vest white with yellow buttons and faced with red!

A poetic effusion of a lady, of 1725, describing her paramour, thus designates the dress which most seizes upon her admiration as a ball guest:

"Mine, a tall youth shall at a ball be seen
Whose legs are like the spring, all cloth'd in green:
A yellow riband ties his long cravat,
And a large knot of yellow cocks his hat!"

*The Friends have, however, a work in their library, written against perukes and their makers, by John Mulliner.

We have even an insight into the wardrobe of Benjamin Franklin in the year 1738, caused by his advertisement for stolen clothes, to wit: "broad-cloth breeches lined with leather, sagathree coat lined with silk, and fine homespun linen shirts."

From one advertisement of the year 1745, I take the following now unintelligible articles of dress—all of them presented for sale too, even for the ladies, on Fishbourne's wharf, "back of Mrs. Fishbourne's dwelling," to wit: "Tandems, isinghams, nuns, bag and gulix, (these all mean shirting) huckabacks, (a figured worsted for women's gowns) quilted humlums, turkettees, grassetts, single allopeens, children's stays, jumps and bodice, whalebone and iron busks, men's new market caps, silk and worsted wove patterns for breeches, allibanies, dickmansoy, cushloes, chuckloes, cuttanees, crimson damador, chain'd soosees, lemonces, byrampauts, moree, waffermamy, saxlingham, prunelloc, barragons, druggetts, florettas," &c. &c.

A gentleman of Cheraw, South Carolina, has now in his possession an ancient cap, worn in the colony of New Netherlands about 150 years ago, such as may have been worn by some of the Chieftains among the Dutch rulers set over us. The crown is of elegant yellowish brocade, the brim of crimson silk velvet, turned up to the crown. It is elegant even now.

In the year 1749, I met with the incidental mention of a singular over-coat, worn by captain James as a storm coat, made entirely of beaver fur, wrought together in the manner of felting hats.

I have seen two fans, used as dress fans before the Revolution, which cost eight dollars a piece. They were of ivory frame and pictured paper. What is curious in them is, that the sticks fold up round as a cane.

Before the Revolution no hired men or women wore any shoes so fine as calf skin; that kind was the exclusive property of the gentry; the servants wore coarse neats-leather. The calf skin shoe then had a white rand of sheep skin stitched into the top edge of the sole, which they preserved white as a dress shoe as long as possible.

It was very common for children and working women to wear beads made of Job's-tears, a berry of a shrub. They used them for economy, and said it prevented several diseases.

Until the period of the Revolution, every person who wore a fur hat had it always of entire beaver. Every apprentice, at receiving his "freedom," received a real beaver, at a cost of six dollars. Their every-day hats were of wool, and called felts. What were called roram hats, being fur faced upon wool felts, came into use directly after the peace, and excited much surprise as to the invention. Gentlemen's hats, of entire beaver, universally cost eight dollars.

The use of lace veils to ladies faces is but a modern fashion, not of more than twenty to thirty years standing. Now they wear black,

white, and green,—the last only lately introduced as a summer veil. In olden time, none wore a veil but as a mark and badge of mourning, and then, as now, of crape, in preference to lace.

Ancient ladies remembered a time in their early life, when the ladies wore blue stockings and party-coloured cloaks of very striking appearance. May not that fashion, as an extreme ton of the upper circle in life, explain the adoption of the term, “Blue stocking Club?” I have seen with Samuel Coates, Esq. the wedding silk stockings of his grandmother, of a lively green and great red cloaks. My grandmother wore in winter very fine worsted green stockings with a gay cloak surmounted with a bunch of tulips.

The late President, Thomas Jefferson, when in Philadelphia, on his first mission abroad, was dressed in the garb of his day after this manner, to wit: He wore a long waisted white cloth coat, scarlet breeches and vest, a cocked hat, shoes and buckles, and white silk hose.

When President Hancock first came to Philadelphia as president of the first Congress, he wore a scarlet coat and cocked hat with a black cockade.

Even spectacles, permanently useful as they are, have been subjected to the caprice of fashion. Now they are occasionally seen of gold—a thing I never saw in my youth; neither did I ever see one young man with spectacles—now so numerous! A purblind or half-sighted youth then deemed it his positive disparagement to be so regarded. Such would have rather run against a street post six times a day, than have been seen with them! Indeed, in early olden time they had not the art of using temple spectacles. Old Mrs. Shoemaker, who died in 1825 at the age of 95, said that she had lived many years in Philadelphia before she ever saw temple spectacles—a name then given as a new discovery, but now so common as to have lost its distinctive character. In her early years the only spectacles she ever saw were called “bridge spectacles,” without any side supporters, and held on the nose solely by nipping the bridge of the nose.

My grandmother wore a black velvet mask in winter with a silver mouth-piece to keep it on, by retaining it in the mouth. I have been told that green ones have been used in summer for some few ladies, for riding in the sun on horseback.

Ladies formerly wore cloaks as their chief over-coats; they were used with some changes of form under the successive names of roquelaus, capuchins, and cardinals.

In Mrs. Shoemaker’s time, above named, they had no knowledge of umbrellas to keep off rain, but she had seen some few use kiti-sols—an article as small as present parasols now. They were entirely to keep off rain from ladies. They were of oiled muslin, and were of various colours from India by way of England. They must, however, have been but rare, as they never appear in any advertisements.

Doctor Chancellor and the Rev. Mr. Duché were the first persons in Philadelphia who were ever seen to wear umbrellas to keep off the rain. They were of oiled linen, very coarse and clumsy, with ratan sticks. Before their time, some doctors and ministers used an oiled linen cape hooked round their shoulders, looking not unlike the big coat-capes now in use, and then called a roqueclaque. It was only used for severe storms.

About the year 1771, the first efforts were made in Philadelphia to introduce the use of umbrellas in summer as a defence from the sun. They were then scouted in the public Gazettes as a ridiculous effeminacy. On the other hand, the physicians recommended them to keep off vertigoes, epilepsies, sore eyes, fevers, &c. Finally, as the doctors were their chief patrons, Doctor Chancellor and Doctor Morgan, with the Rev. Parson Duché, were the first persons who had the hardihood to be so singular as to wear umbrellas in sun-shine. Mr. Bingham, when he returned from the West Indies, where he had amassed a great fortune in the Revolution, appeared abroad in the streets attended by a mulatto boy bearing his umbrella. But his example did not take, and he desisted from its use.

In the old time, shagreen-cased watches, of turtle shell and pinchbeck, were the earliest kind seen: but watches of any kind were much more rare then. When they began to come into use, they were so far deemed a matter of pride and show, that men are living who have heard public Friends express their concern at seeing their youth in the show of watches or watch chains. It was so rare to find watches in common use that it was quite an annoyance at the watch makers to be so repeatedly called on by street-passengers for the hour of the day. Mr. Duffield, therefore, first set up an out-door clock to give the time of day to people in the street. Gold chains would have been a wonder then: silver and steel chains and seals were the mode, and regarded good enough. The best gentlemen of the country were content with silver watches, although gold ones were occasionally used. Gold watches for ladies was a rare occurrence, and when worn were kept without display for domestic use.

The men of former days never saw such things as our Mahomedan whiskers on Christian men.

The use of boots have come in since the war of Independence: they were first with black tops, after the military, strapped up in union with the knee bands: afterwards bright tops were introduced. The leggings to these latter were made of buckskin, for some extreme beaux, for the sake of close fitting a well turned leg.

It having been the object of these pages to notice the change of fashions in the habiliments of men and women from the olden to the modern time, it may be necessary to say, that no attempt has been made to note the quick succession of modern changes,—precisely because they are too rapid and evanescent for any useful

record. The subject, however, leads me to the general remark, that the general character of our dress is always ill adapted to our climate; and this fact arises from our national predilection as English. As English colonists we early introduced the modes of our British ancestors. They derived their notions of dress from France; and we, even now, take all annual fashions from the ton of England,—a circumstance which leads us into many unseasonable and injurious imitations, very ill adapted to either our hotter or colder climate. Here we have the extremes of heat and cold. There they are moderate. The loose and light habits of the East, or of southern Europe, would be better adapted to the ardour of our mid-summers; and the close and warm apparel of the north of Europe might furnish us better examples for our severe winters.

But in these matters (while enduring the profuse sweating of 90 degrees of heat) we fashion after the modes of England, which are adapted to a climate of but 70 degrees! Instead, therefore, of the broad slouched hat of southern Europe, we have the narrow brim, a stiff stock or starched-buckram collar for the neck, a coat so close and tight as if glued to our skins, and boots so closely set over our insteps and ancles, as if over the lasts on which they were made! Our ladies have as many ill adapted dresses and hats, and sadly their healths are impaired in our rigorous winters, by their thin stuff-shoes and transparent and light draperies, affording but slight defence for tender frames against the cold.

FURNITURE AND EQUIPAGE.



“Dismiss a real elegance a little used
For monstrous novelty and strange disguise.”

THE tide of fashion which overwhelms every thing in its onward course, has almost effaced every trace of what our forefathers possessed or used in the way of household furniture, or travelling equipage. Since the year 1800 the introduction of foreign luxury, caused by the influx of wealth, has been yearly effecting successive changes in those articles, so much so, that the former simple articles which contented, as they equally served the purposes of our forefathers, could hardly be conceived. Such as they were, they descended acceptably unchanged from father to son and son's son, and presenting at the era of our Independence, precisely the same family picture which had been seen in the earliest annals of the town.

Formerly there were no side-boards, and when they were first introduced after the Revolution, they were much smaller and less expensive than now. Formerly they had couches of worsted damask, and only in very affluent families, in lieu of what we now call sofas or lounges. Plain people used settees and settles,—the latter had a bed concealed in the seat, and by folding the top of it outwards to the front, it exposed the bed and widened the place for the bed to be spread upon it. This, homely as it might now be regarded, was a common sitting room appendage, and was a proof of more attention to comfort than display. It had, as well as the settee, a very high back of plain boards, and the whole was of white pine, generally unpainted and whitened well with unsparing scrubbing. Such was in the poet's eyes when pleading for his sofa,—

“But restless was the seat, the back erect
Distress'd the weary loins, that felt no ease.”

They were a very common article in very good houses, and were generally the proper property of the oldest members of the family—unless occasionally used to stretch the weary length of tired boys. They were placed before the fire-places in the winter to keep the back guarded from wind and cold. Formerly there were no windsor chairs, and fancy chairs are still more modern. Their chairs of the genteelest kind, were of mahogany or red walnut, (once a great substitute for mahogany in all kinds of furniture, tables, &c.) or else they were of rush bottoms, and made of maple

posts and slats, with high backs and perpendicular. Instead of japanned waiters as now, they had mahogany tea boards and round tea tables, which, being turned on an axle underneath the centre, stood upright, like an expanded fan or palm leaf, in the corner. Another corner was occupied by a beaufet, which was a corner closet with a glass door, in which all the china of the family and the plate were intended to be displayed for ornament as well as use. A conspicuous article in the collection was always a great china punch bowl, which furnished a frequent and grateful beverage,—for wine drinking was then much less in vogue. China tea cups and saucers were about half their present size; and china tea pots and coffee pots with silver nozles was a mark of superior finery. The sham of plated ware was not then known; and all who showed a silver surface had the massive metal too. This occurred in the wealthy families in little coffee and tea pots, and a silver tankard for good sugared toddy, was above vulgar entertainment. Where we now use earthen-ware, they then used delf-ware imported from England, and instead of queens-ware (then unknown) pewter platters and porringers, made to shine along a “dresser,” were universal. Some, and especially the country people, ate their meals from wooden trenchers. Gilded looking-glasses and picture frames of golden glare were unknown, and both, much smaller than now, were used. Small pictures painted on glass with black mouldings for frames, with a scanty touch of gold-leaf in the corners, was the adornment of a parlour. The looking-glasses in two plates, if large, had either glass frames, figured with flowers engraved thereon, or was of scalloped mahogany, or of Dutch wood scalloped—painted white or black with here and there some touches of gold: Every householder in that day deemed it essential to his convenience and comfort to have an ample chest of drawers in his parlour or sitting room, in which the linen and clothes of the family were always of ready access. It was no sin to rummage them before company! These drawers were sometimes nearly as high as the ceiling. At other times they had a writing desk about the centre with a falling lid to write upon when let down. A great high clock-case, reaching to the ceiling, occupied another corner, and a fourth corner was appropriated to the chimney place. They then had no carpets on their floors, and no paper on their walls. The silver-sand on the floor was drawn into a variety of fanciful figures and twirls with the sweeping brush, and much skill and even pride was displayed therein in the devices and arrangement. They had then no argand or other lamps in parlours,* but dipt candles, in brass or copper candlesticks, was usually good enough for common use; and those who occasionally used mould candles, made them at home, in little tin frames, casting four to six candles in each. A glass lantern

* The first which ever came to this country is in my possession—originally a present from Thomas Jefferson to Charles Thomson.

with square sides furnished the entry lights in the houses of the affluent. Bedsteads then were made, if fine, of carved mahogany, of slender dimensions: but, for common purposes, or for the families of good tradesmen, they were of poplar and always painted green. It was a matter of universal concern to have them low enough to answer the purpose of repose for sick or dying persons—a provision so necessary for such possible events, now so little regarded by the modern practice of ascending to a bed by steps, like clambering up to a hay mow.

A lady, giving me the reminiscences of her early life, thus speaks of things as they were before the war of Independence: Marble mantels and folding doors were not then known, and well-nough we enjoyed ourselves without sofas, carpets, or girandoles. A white floor sprinkled with clean white sand, large tables and heavy high back chairs of walnut or mahogany, decorated a parlour genteelly enough for any body. Sometimes a carpet, not, however, covering the whole floor, was seen upon the dining room. This was a show-parlour up stairs, not used but upon gala occasions, and then not to dine in. Pewter plates and dishes were in general use. China on dinner tables was a great rarity. Plate, more or less, was seen in most families of easy circumstances, not indeed in all the various shapes that have since been invented, but in massive silver waiters, bowls, tankards, cans, &c. Glass tumblers were scarcely seen. Punch, the most common beverage, was drunk by the company from one large bowl of silver or china; and beer from a tankard of silver.

The rarity of carpets, now deemed so indispensable to comfort, may be judged of by the fact, that T. Matlack, Esq. now aged 95, told me he had a distinct recollection of meeting with the first carpet he had ever seen, about the year 1750, at the house of Owen Jones, at the corner of Spruce and Second street. Mrs. S. Shoemaker, an aged Friend of the same age, told me she had received as a rare present from England a Scotch carpet; it was but twelve feet square, and was deemed quite a novelty then, say 60 years ago. When carpets afterwards came into general use they only covered the floor in front of the chairs and tables. The covering of the whole floor is a thing of modern use. Many are the anecdotes which could be told of the carpets and the country bumpkins. There are many families who can remember that soon after their carpets were laid, they have been visited by clownish persons, who showed strong signs of distress at being obliged to walk over them; and when urged to come in, have stole in close to the sides of the room tip-toed, instinctively, to avoid sullyng them!

It was mentioned before that the papering of the walls of houses was not much introduced till after the year 1800. All the houses which I remember to have seen in my youth were white-washed only; there may have been some rare exceptions. As early as the

year 1769, we see that Plunket Fleeson first manufactures American paper hangings at corner of Fourth and Chesnut street, and also paper mache or raised paper mouldings in imitation of carving, either coloured or gilt. But although there was thus an offer to paper rooms, their introduction must have been extremely rare. The uncle of the present Joseph P. Norris, Esq. had his library or office room papered, but his parlours were wainscotted with oak and red cedar, unpainted, and polished with wax and robust rubbing. This was at his seat at Fairhill, built in 1717.

The use of stoves in families was not known in primitive times, neither in families, nor in churches. Their fire-places were large—again as the present, with much plainer mantel-pieces. In lieu of marble plates round the sides and top of the fire-places, it was ornamented with china-dutch-tile pictured with sundry Scripture pieces. Doctor Franklin first invented the “open stove,” called also “Franklin stove,” after which, as fuel became scarce, came in the better economy of the “ten plate stove.”

When china was first introduced among us in the form of tea-sets, it was quite a business to take in broken china to mend. It was done by cement in most cases; but generally the larger articles, like punch bowls, were done with silver rivets or wire. More than half the punch bowls you could see were so mended.

It is only of late years that the practice of veneering mahogany and other valuable wood has prevailed among us. All the old furniture was solid.

Family Equipage.

There is scarcely any thing in Philadelphia which has undergone so great a change as the increased style and number of our travelling vehicles and equipage. I have seen aged persons who could name the few proprietors of every coach used in the whole province of Pennsylvania.—a less number than are now enrolled on the books of some individual establishments among us for the mere hiring of coaches! Even since our war of Independence there were not more than ten or twelve in the city, and, rare as they were, every man's coach was known at sight by every body. A hack had not been heard of. Our progenitors did not deem a carriage a necessary appendage of wealth or respectability. Merchants and professional gentlemen were quite content to keep a one horse chair; these had none of the present trappings of silver plate, nor were the chair bodies varnished; plain paint alone adorned them, and brass rings and buckles was all the ornaments found on the harness: the chairs were without springs, on leather bands—such as could now be made for fifty dollars.

James Read, Esq. an aged gentleman who died in the fever of 1793, said he could remember when there were only eight four-

wheeled carriages kept in all the province! As he enumerated them they were set down in the common place book of my friend Mrs. D. L. to wit: Coaches—The Governor's, (Gordon) Jonathan Dickinson's, Isaac Norris', Andrew Hamilton's, Anthony Palmer's. Four-wheeled chairs, drawn by two horses—James Logan's—Stenton. David Lloyd's—Chester, Lawrence Growden's—Bucks.

At the earliest period of the city some two or three coaches are incidentally known. Thus William Penn the founder, in his note to James Logan of 1700, says, "Let John (his black) have the coach, and horses put in it, for Pennsbury, from the city." In another he speaks of his "calash." He also requests the Justices may place bridges over the Pennepack and other waters, for his carriage to pass.

I have preserved, on page 172 of my MS. Annals in the City Library, the general list, with the names of the several owners of every kind of carriage used in Philadelphia in the year 1761. William Allen the Chief Justice, the widow Lawrence, and widow Martin, were the only owners of coaches. William Peters and Thomas Willing owned the only two landaws. There were 18 chariots enumerated, of which the Proprietor and the Governor had each of them one. Fifteen chairs concluded the whole enumeration, making a total of 38 vehicles.

In the MS. of Dusimitiere he has preserved an enumeration of the year 1772, making a total of 84 carriages.

The rapid progress in this article of luxury and often of convenience, is still further shown by the list of duties imposed on pleasure carriages, showing, that in the year 1794, they were stated thus, to wit: 33 coaches, 137 coachees, 35 chariots, 22 phætons, 80 light wagons, and 520 chairs and sulkies.

The aged T. Matlack, Esq. before named, told me the first coach he remembered to have seen was that of Judge William Allen's, who lived in Water street, on the corner of the first alley below High street. His coachman, as a great whip, was imported from England. He drove a kind of landaw with four black horses. To show his skill as a driver he gave the Judge a whirl round the shambles, which then stood where Jersey market is since built, and turned with such dashing science as to put the Judge and the spectators in great concern! The tops of this carriage fell down front and back, and thus made an open carriage if required.

Mrs. Shoemaker, as aged as 95, told me that pleasure carriages were very rare in her youth. She remembered that her grandfather had one, and that he used to say he was almost ashamed to appear abroad in it, although it was only a one horse chair, lest he should be thought effeminate and proud. She remembered old Richard Wistar had one also. When she was about twenty, Mr. Charles Willing, merchant, brought a calash coach with

him from England. This and Judge William Allen's were the only ones she had ever seen! This Charles Willing was the father of the late aged Thomas Willing, Esq. President of the first Bank of the United States.

In the year 1728, I perceive by the Gazette, that one Thomas Skelton advertises that he has got up "a four-wheeled chaise," in Chesnut street. to be hired. His prices are thus appointed: "For four persons to Germin-town, 12 shillings and 6 pence; to Frankford, 10 shillings; and to Gray's Ferry, 7 shillings and 6 pence to 10 shillings."

In the year 1746, Mr. Abram Carpenter, a cooper, in Dock street, near the Golden Fleece, makes his advertisement, to hire two chairs and some saddle horses, to this effect, to wit:

"Two handsome chairs,
With very good geers,
With horses, or without,
To carry his friends about.

Likewise, saddle horses, if gentlemen please,
To carry them handsomely, much to their ease,
Is to be hired by Abram Carpenter, cooper,
Well known as a very good hoop-maker.

In October, 1751, a MS. letter of Doctor William Shippen's, to John Codman, in London, wrote to discourage him from sending out two chairs and chaises for sale here, saying, they are dull sale.

The most splendid looking carriage ever in Philadelphia, at that time, was that used by General Washington, while President. There was in it, at least to my young mind, a greater air of stately grandeur than I have ever seen since. It was very large, so much so, as to make four horses an indispensable appendage. It had been previously imported for Governor Richard Penn. It was of a cream colour, with much more of gilded carvings in the frame than is since used. Its strongest attractions were the relief ornaments on the pannels, they being painted medallion pictures of playing cupids or naked children. That carriage I afterwards saw, in 1804-5, in my store-yard at New Orleans, where it lay an outcast in the weather!—the result of a bad speculation in a certain Doctor Young, who had bought it at public sale, took it out to Orleans for sale, and could find none to buy it, where all were content with plain volantés! A far better speculation would have been to have taken it to the Marquis of Lansdowne, or other admirers of Washington, in England.

Even the character of the steeds used and preferred for riding and carriages, have undergone the change of fashion too. In old time, the horses most valued were pacers—now so odious deemed! To this end, the breed was propagated with care, and pace races were held in preference! The Narraganset racers of Rhode Island

were in such repute that they were sent for, at much trouble and expense, by some few who were choice in their selections. It may amuse the present generation to peruse the history of one such horse, spoken of in the letter of Rip Van Dam, of New York, of the year 1711, to Jonathan Dickinson of Philadelphia. It states the fact of the trouble he had taken to procure him a horse. He was shipped from Rhode Island in a sloop, from which he jumped overboard and swam ashore to his former home! He arrived at New York in 14 days passage much reduced in flesh and spirit. He cost 32*l.* and his freight 50 shillings. From New York he was sent inland to Philadelphia "by the next post," i. e. postman. He shows therein, that the same post-rider rode through the whole route from city to city! He says of the pacer, he is no beauty although "so high priced," save in his legs: says "he always plays and acts; will never stand still: will take a glass of wine, beer or cider, and probably would drink a dram in a cold morning!" This writer, Rip Van Dam, was a great personage, he having been President of the Council in 1731, and, on the death of Governor Montgomery, that year was ex-officio Governor of New York. His mural monument is in St. Paul's church in that city.

A letter of Doctor William Shippen's of 1745, which I have seen, thus writes to George Barney, (celebrated for procuring good horses) saying, "I want a genteel carriage horse of about 15 hands high, round bodied, full of courage, close ribbed, dark chesnut, not a swift pacer, if that must much enhance his price. I much liked the pacer you procured for James Logan."

Formerly, livery stables and hacks (things of modern introduction) were not in use. Those who kept horses and vehicles were much restricted to those only whose establishments embraced their own stables. The few who kept their horses without such appendages placed them at the taverns. They who depended upon hire were accustomed to procure them of such persons as had frequent uses for a horse to labour in their business, who, to diminish their expense, occasionally hired them in the circle of their acquaintance. In this way, many who were merchants (the ancestors of those who have now a horse and gig for almost every son) were fain to get their draymen to exempt a horse from his usual drudgery for the benefit of his employers for a country airing. A drayman who kept two or three such horses for portorage, usually kept a plain chair to meet such occasions. If the vehicles were homelier than now, they were sure to be drawn by better horses, and looked in all respects more like the suitable equipments of substantial liveries than the hired and glaring fripperies of the livery-fineries of the present sumptuous days. Then ladies took long walks to the miry grounds of the South street theatre without the chance of calling for hacks for their conveyance. There is a slight recollection of a solitary hack which used to stand be-

fore the Comestoga inn, in High street—an unproductive concern, which could only obtain an occasional call from the strangers visiting the inn, for a ride out of town. To have rode in town would have been regarded as gross affectation,—practically reasoning, that as our limbs were bestowed before hacks were devised, they should be used and worn out first, before the others were encouraged.

CHANGES AND IMPROVEMENTS IN PUBLIC AND DOMESTIC COMFORTS AND CONVENIENCES.



AN attention to the following notices of the alterations and improvements of our city in its streets, houses, &c. for the purpose of increasing public and individual conveniences and comforts, or for facilitating business and trade, will much aid our right conception of things as they once were, and of the means and times used to produce the alterations which we now witness.

Wells and Pumps.

The conveniences of pumps were rarely seen for many years in the primitive city. Even wells for the use of families were generally public and in the streets. Aged persons have told me of their recollections of such wells even in their time. They became the frequent subject of presentments of the Grand Juries. As early as the year 1724, they present "two old and very deep wells laying open at Centre Square," also a pump at Pewter-platter alley. They urge too that a pump at the great arch, (Arch street) standing out much into the street, ought to be removed. They recommend to fill up the well in the middle of the foot-path in Second street, near Thomas Rutter's. The well in the common shore in the High street is noticed as a nuisance "for want of a better covering." In 1741, they present an open well in Second street at William Fishbourne's, and another in Third street at Enoch Story's. In 1735, it is publicly stated in the Gazette as manifest that "some public pumps are wanting," and in 1744, the Union Fire Company show their care of them by advertising a reward of 5*l.* "for apprehending the persons who stole the nozles from High street, and other streets." When Kalm was here in 1748, he says there was a well in every house, and several in the streets. The water he praised much, as very good and clear.

Watchmen, Lamps, and Constables.

Aged persons have told me that in their early days there were no watchmen; and that in lieu of them the constables went round every night, before going to rest, to see that all was well. Even the constables were originally citizens, serving for a period by necessity. In the year 1750, the Grand Jury represent the great

need of watchmen and paved streets. saying of the former, they would "repress nightly insults," and of the latter, "frequent complaints are made by strangers and others of the extreme dirtiness of the streets for want of paving." The next year (1751) an act is passed for "a nightly watch and for enlightening the city."* As early as the year 1742, the Grand Jury had before presented the need of "a stated watch and a watch house, and not to be conducted by the citizens as formerly." In 1749, the Grand Jury particularly notice the defect of the nightly watch, as very defective for so great a city, containing 2 or 3000 houses and 15,000 inhabitants. Only five or six men (they say) are employed, who go their rounds in company. I have seen by a MS. Journal of John Smith, Esq. that he notes on the 20th of 9 mo. 1749, that "he called at the tavern where the owners of lamps (in the streets) were met to consult on methods for better lighting them." There, says he, "we agreed with a man, each of us to pay him three shillings and nine pence per month, to light them nightly." When the duties of watchmen and constables were imposed upon the citizens, some, to avoid the onerous service, fell under the vigilance of the Grand Juries. For instance, in 1704, "Gyles Green and William Morris are presented as not serving their tour of duty as watchmen when summoned thereto." They were nominated in each ward by the constables. In 1706, several instances occur of citizens fined 5*l.* each "for neglect to serve as constables." Among the respectable citizens thus fined, I noticed the names of Joseph Shippen, Abram Carpenter, George Claypole, Henry Preston. The constables of that day, I perceive, were charged to notify to the Grand Juries the nuisances occurring in their several wards.

Pavements.

Our present excellent streets and foot pavements, for which our city is distinguished, is a work mostly executed within the memory of some of the remaining ancients. They have told me the streets were once alternately miry or dusty. The foot pavements were but partially done, having a narrow foot walk of brick and the remainder filled in with gravel, or the whole with gravel only. In those times galo shoes and pattens were necessary and resorted to by the ladies. The venerable Charles Thomson, Esq. told me that Second street, from High to Chesnut street, used to be very muddy and was often a matter of complaint. At last an accident determined that a pavement should be made there. One of the Whartons, being on horseback, was mired there, thrown from his horse and broke his leg. Thomson and others made a subscription forthwith and had that street paved,—it being, as I understood, the first regularly paved street in the city. This first enterprise, being an affair of some moment in the moderate resources of the city,

* On the 3d of October, the same year, the Gazette announces that on Monday last the streets began to be illuminated with lamps, according to the act.

became first a subject of discussion in the Junto or Leathern Apron Club, and their wishes being favourable to the measure, it had their patronage, and was executed at an expense of only four shillings and six-pence per cart load of pebbles delivered at the shallops. It was on that occasion of paving that John Purdon became distinguished and useful as a pavier. The first workmen employed were awkward, and Purdon, who was then a British soldier on duty in the city, smiling to see their incapacity from inexperience, interfered to show them a better example. His skill was so manifest he was sought after, and at the interest of the city officers was released from the army by a substitute. He was afterwards, for many years, the chief city pavier, and lived to raise a respectable family.

I perceive, as early as the year 1719, from a letter of Jonathan Dickinson to his brother, that some foot pavements and crossing places in the mid streets were about making, to wit: "As to bricks, we have been upon regulating the pavement of our streets,—the footway with bricks, and the cart-way with stone, which has made our bricks dear." The minutes of the City Council about the same time state, that as several of the inhabitants have voluntarily paved from the kennel (gutter) to the middle of the street with pebbles, and others are levelling and following their example, they recommend an ordinance to restrain the weights of loaded carriages passing over them. In 1750, the Grand Jury represent the great need of paved streets, so as to remedy "the extreme dirtiness and miry state of the streets." Very little of a general effort to pave the mid streets was attempted before the year 1761-2. And even then, the first endeavours were limited to the means produced by lotteries—so Second street, north of High street to Race street, was effected; and then every good citizen did what he could to help the sale of the tickets for the general good. In 1762, the act was passed "for regulating, pitching, paving, and cleansing the highways, streets, lanes and alleys, &c. within the settled parts of Philadelphia." In the regulations which ensued from this act, the streets extending westward, laying south of High street, were thrown from three to five feet more south than before, and occasioned some strange looking encroachments of some houses on the south sides of the streets and some less obvious recessions of others on the northern sides of the same streets. Thus an old brick house, on the south west corner of Fifth and Walnut streets, so projected into the street as to leave no foot-walk. An old inn and other buildings, once on the south west corner of Chesnut and Fourth streets, were also left so far in the street as to leave but about two feet of foot-walk there; whilst the old houses generally, on the northern side, were thrown back behind the general line of the foot pavement. Norris' house, built in 1755 on the site of the present Bank of the United States, originally placed three feet

back from the line of the pavement, came, in time, (probably in 1766) to be considered six to eight inches on the foot-walk.

The late aged Mr. Pearson, who served a long life as City Surveyor, had great influence in effecting his own views as a City Regulator, and withal a perverse taste in the opinion of many in bringing the whole area of the city to a dull level. Present observers can have little idea of the original graceful inequalities and diversities of undulations which once variegated the city. By the act of 1782, James Pearson and four others were made Regulators. By this act, Mr. Pearson, who had influence enough as adviser before, became in effect sole ruler, whereby he so far accomplished his favourite scheme of a general level, that we have been since compelled to excavate the earth in numerous streets to produce sub-terrene water channels to save the citizens from inundations. Pear street hill, Union street hill, and "the hill" near the present Custom house, originally presented beautiful natural acclivities for hanging gardens, which will be noticed elsewhere. Our present State house, now so dead a level, was originally three to four feet higher than now.

The rise and progress of the street pavings may be generally noticed as follows, to wit: In 1761, a lottery of 12,500 tickets, at four dollars, making 50,000 dollars, is made for raising 7,500 dollars, to be used in paving the streets in such places as the managers may deem most useful. North Second street, called then "the north end," was paved in that year out of the avails of that lottery. First, a pavement was effected to Race street; afterwards it was extended to Vine street.

In 1765, Robert Erwin is made "a scavenger for seeing the streets cleansed once a week." In 1767, the drays of Philadelphia, which before had narrow fellies like carts, were required to be constructed of four inches width for the sake of the pavements. Before those pavements it was not unusual, in wet streets, to see two horses to a dray drawing only one puncheon of rum. In 1768, another lottery is instituted to raise 5250*l.* for further paving the streets, and for buying a landing in the Northern Liberties. The manner of pebble-paving was formerly different from the present. They did not buttress the arch with large stones, by keeping the largest to the sides of the streets, but they topt the arch with the biggest, and so gave the roughest riding where most needed to be easy. Several of the streets too, where the passage of water was great, as in Race and Vine streets below Second street, had their channel or gutter in the middle. When the streets were elevated, and the gutters on each side, they were defended by posts. The use of curb stones is modern.

As a sequel to the foregoing facts on street pavements, it may interest the reader to see some of the facts with which the good citizens were annoyed before they could accomplish a general pavement. They stand exposed by Grand Juries much as follows, to

wit: In 1705, they present as bad places in the streets:—"In 2d street, by John Parsons, going to Budd's bridge,"—Drawbridge: "a dirty place in 2d street, over against the great Meeting house,"—Friend's Meeting: "a dirty place in Chesnut street, against John Bedle's house, and Thomas Wharton's:" "a very bad place at Ephraim Johnson's, going up from King street (Water street) to Front street:" "a low dirty place in High street, over against the free pumps, near Doctor Hodgson's house." In 1708, they present Walnut street, from Front to Second street, as being considerably diminished of its due breadth of 50 feet; that David Powel has wholly inclosed the breadth of Sixth street, on the south side of Chesnut street; that the 4th, 5th and 6th streets are in great part fenced or taken into the several adjoining lots on both sides; that there is a low place, with a great quantity of standing water, not safe and scarce passable for either horse or cart, in Chesnut street, where the 5th street crosses the same: that there is a deficiency in the arch bridge in Chesnut street, adjoining the lot of the widow Townsend; that there is a deep dirty place, where the public water gathers and stops for want of a passage, in the crossing of the 3d street and High street, to the great damage of the neighbourhood: the owners, too, of the unimproved lots in King street, (Water street) above Chesnut street, have not improved the street in front of them.

In 1711, they present the necessity of changing the water-course in High street, near William Harris' tavern, of the sign of the Three Hats; also, several who do not pave water-courses fronting their lots; also, two fences which stopped the south end of Strawberry alley; a miry place at Second and Chesnut street, and another at Chesnut and Fifth street, for want of water-courses.

In 1720, they present an invasion of water "on the common shore," made into King street, and a gully in the street, scarcely passable, near the Hatchet and Shereman's; also, an impassable breach made near Penny-pot house. They also present several kennels (gutters) as unpaved. The west side of Second street, against Joseph Shippen's brew house, (between James Logan's and Samuel Powell's) is presented as wanting filling up and a kennel there,—this means the site of the present Bank of Pennsylvania. In 1726, they present "a pond or puddle in Mulberry street, between the Front and Second street, where several children have narrowly escaped being drowned, as we are credibly informed."

In 1750, they present "the gutter of the north west corner of Market and Fourth street, as rendered dangerous for want of a grate at the common sewer, the passage being large enough for the body of a grown person to fall in; further, that Fourth street, from Market street to the south west corner of Friend's burying ground, wants regulating, and is now impassable for carriages."

They also present, that "the pavement in Chesnut street, near Fleeson's shop, (corner of Fourth and Chesnut street,) is exceeding

dangerous, occasioned by the arch (meaning the bridge over Dock creek, by present Hudson's alley,) being fallen down and no care taken to repair it."

Such are some of the tokens still remaining to us of the busy surveillance of former Grand Juries, found now among the lumber of office. Some of them may appear too trivial for notice now; but who can foresee what future discoveries may be made in digging into some former "fillings up,"—as for instance, the late discovery of sub-terrene logs in Chesnut street, the primitive foundation of the bridge above referred to, and which no living persons could explain from memory! Such unexpected developements may call for notices as I have occasionally set down.

Bridges.

It might justly surprise a modern Philadelphian, or a stranger visiting our present levelled city, to learn it was once crowded with bridges, having at least one dozen of them—the subjects of frequent mention and care! I shall herein chiefly notice such as have been disused; as many as six of them traversed Dock creek alone! The following occasional notices of them, on the records, will prove their existence, to wit:

In 1704, the Grand Jury present the bridge, going over the dock, at the South end of the town as insufficient, and endangers man and beast. It is also called "the bridge and cause-way next to Thomas Budd's long row."

In 1706, the Grand Jury having viewed the place where the bridge going towards the Society Hill lately was, (but then broken down and carried away by a storm!) do present as a thing needful to be rebuilt.

In 1712, they present the passage down under the arch, (meaning at corner of Front and Arch street,) as not passable; and again they present that the same, to wit: "the arch in the Front street is very dangerous for children in the day-time, and strangers in the night; neither is it passable underneath for carriages."

In 1713, they present the bridge at the Dock mouth, and the cause-way betwixt that and Society Hill, want repairs; so also, the bridge over the Dock and the Second street; also, the bridge in the Third street where the dock is.

In 1717, they present the bridge over the Dock in Walnut street, the breach of the arch whereof appears dangerous, and tending to ruin, which a timely repair may prevent. It was just built too, by Samuel Powell.

In 1718, they present the great arch in Front street, the arch in Second street, the arch in Walnut street, as insufficient for man and beast to pass over. They recommend the removal of the great arch at Mulberry street, as desirable for affording a handsome prospect of the Front street. The Second street bridge was built of stone in 1720, by Edward Collins, for 125£.

In 1719, they present the arch in Chesnut street, between the house of Grace Townsend and the house of Edward Pleadwell, as part broken down. This refers to a bridge over Dock creek at Hudson's alley. At the same time the three bridges over the dock in the Front, Second, and Walnut streets are all declared "unfinished and unsafe." The same year the inhabitants near the Chesnut street bridge petition the Mayor's court for repairs to that bridge, to keep it from falling.

In 1740, they present "the common shore," at Second street and Walnut street bridges, as much broken. "Common shore" sounds strange in the midst of our present dry city! It is also found named on the same Dock creek as high as Fourth and High streets. In 1750, they present the Chesnut street bridge as fallen down and extremely dangerous.

Some other facts concerning bridges will be found connected with other subjects, such as those over Pegg's run, the Colocsink, &c. There was even a small bridge once at the corner of Tenth and High street.

Balconies.

In the early days of the city almost all the houses of good condition were provided with balconies, now so rare to be seen, save a few still remaining in Water street. Several old houses, which I still see, show, on close inspection, the marks, where from that cause they formerly had doors to them in the second stories—such a one is C. P. Wayne's at the south west corner of High and Fourth street, at William Gerhard's at the corner of Front and Combes' alley, and at the corner of Front and Norris' alley, &c.

As early as 1685, Robert Turner's letter to William Penn says, "We build most houses with balconies." A lady, describing the reception of Governor Thomas Penn on his public entry from Chester in 1732, says "when he reached here in the afternoon the windows and balconies were filled with ladies, and the streets with the mob, to see him pass." In fact, these balconies, or their places supplied by the pent-houses, were a part of the social system of our forefathers, where every family expected to sit in the street-porch, and these shelters over head were needed from sun and rain.

Window Glass.

The early buildings in Philadelphia had all their window glass set in leaden frames, and none of them to hoist up, but to open inward as doors. Gerhard's house at Combes' alley and the house at the south west corner of Norris' alley and Front street still retain a specimen of them. When clumsy wooden frames were substituted, panes of 6 by 8 and 8 by 10 formed the largest dimensions seen among us. It became, therefore, matter of novelty and surprise when Governor John Penn first set the example among us of larger panes,—such as now adorn the house, once his residence, in south Third street near the Mansion house, and numbered 110.

They are still but small panes in comparison with some others. The fact of his rare glass gave occasion to the following epigram by his sister-in-law, to wit :

Happy the man, in such a treasure,
Whose *greatest panes* afford him pleasure ;
Stoics (who need not fear the devil)
Maintain that pain is not an evil ;
They boast a negative at best,
But he with panes is really blest.

Dials on Houses.

It was once a convenience to have sun-dials affixed to the walls of the houses. To appreciate this thing, we must remember there was a time when only men in easy circumstances carried a watch, and there were no clocks, as now, set over the watch makers' doors, to regulate the time of street passengers. Such a large dial therefore still exists against the house (once of Anthony Morris) on the north side of Pine street, opposite Friends' Meeting house—it was a time piece consulted by the congregation visiting there. Another old dial, still affixed to the wall, is seen in the rear of one of the first built houses on south Second street, say No. 43. Another may be seen on the house on the north side of High street, four or five doors west of Second street. This was once the great convenience of the market people, and of the people at the court house.

Plate Stoves.

We moderus can have little idea of what cold, comfortless places the public churches and places of assemblage were in the winter seasons in former days, before the invention of "ten plate stoves" and the like. The more prudent or feeble women supplied the defect, by carrying with them to churches "foot-stoves," on which to place their feet and keep them warm. They were a small square box of wood or tin, perforated with holes, in which was placed a small vessel containing coals. The first idea of those ten plate stoves was given by C. Sower, the printer, of Germantown, who had every house in that place supplied with his invention of "jamb-stoves," roughly cast at or near Lancaster. They were like the other, only having no baking chamber. Ten plate stoves when first introduced, though very costly, and but rudely cast, were much used for kitchens and common sitting rooms. But, afterwards, when Doctor Franklin invented his open or Franklin stove, they found a place in every parlour. It was for a long while deemed so perfect, they neither needed nor even expected a change !

Public Stages and Packets.

In 1751, the Burlington and Bordentown line of boats was first established, for transportation through to New York, by Borden, Richards, Wright, and others.

The New York stage, via Perth Amboy and Trenton, is first instituted in November, 1756, by John Butler, at the sign of the Death of the Fox, in Strawberry alley, to arrive at New York in three days. This Butler was thus set up by the old Hunting Club, to whom Butler had been huntsman and kennel keeper.

The same year "British packet boats" are first announced between New York and Falmouth. The postage of each single letter to be four pennyweight of silver. In 1765, a second line of stages is set up for New York, to start twice a week, using three days in going through, at two pence a mile. It was a covered Jersey wagon without springs, and had four owners concerned.

The same year, the first line of stage vessels and wagons is set up from Philadelphia to Baltimore, via Christianna and Frenchtown, on Elk river; to go once a week from Philadelphia.

In 1766, a third line of new stages for New York, modestly called "the Flying Machine," and of course to beat the two former ones, is set up and to go through in two days; to start from Elm street, near Vine street, under the ownership of John Barnhill. They were to be "good stage wagons, and the seats set on springs." Fare three pence per mile, or 20 shillings for the whole route. In the winter season, however, the "Flying Machine" was to cleave to the rough roads for three days as in former days.

In 1773, as perfection advances, Messrs. C. Bessonett & Co. of Bristol, start "stage coaches," being the first of that character; to run from Philadelphia to New York in two days, for the fare of four dollars. At the same time "outside passengers" were to pay 20 shillings each.

It may be worthy of remark, in all the foregoing instances of travelling conveyances, that all the force and enterprise originated with the Philadelphia end of the line—showing how much, in that day, Philadelphia took the lead.

Porches.

Philadelphia, until the last 25 or 30 years, had a porch to every house door, where it was universally common for the inhabitants to take their occasional sitting, beneath their pent-houses, then general—for then

"Our fathers knew the value of a screen
From sultry sun, or pattering rain."

Such an easy access to the residents as they afforded, made the families much more social than now, and gave also a ready chance to strangers to see the faces of our pretty ladies. The lively spectacle was very grateful. It gave a kindly domestic scene, that is since utterly effaced from our manners.

When porches were thus in vogue they were seen here and there occupied by boys, who there vied in telling strange incredible stories, and in singing ballads. Fine voices were occasionally heard

singing them as you passed in the streets. Ballads were in constant requisition. I knew a tradesman of my age, who told me it was his pride to say he could sing a song for every day in the year, and all committed to memory.

Houses altered.

In every direction of the city old houses have constantly been transforming into more modern appearances, especially within the last 15 to 20 years. Old black-looking brick walls have been renewed in appearance by painting. Small windows and small panes have been taken out, and large and showy bulks, &c. have been put in their place. These in their turn have, more recently, been often taken down, and bulks of smaller dimensions supplied. The floors which were below the present raised level of some streets have been raised, (witness C. P. Wayne's, at the south west corner of Fourth and High streets) and all which were up steps (and this was the way of former buildings) have been lowered even with the streets wherever they have been converted into stores.

A modern innovation, which some regard as defective in good taste, has been to tear down almost universally from the superior houses, all the ancient ornaments which were not conformed to the modern taste. Thus it was general for the best houses to have vestibules and turned pillars, supporting very highly worked pediments over each door, and the ascent to them was up two or three soap-stone steps. In such houses the walls were ceiled in their principal rooms with cedar pannel work, and over the doors were pediments, which, with cornices, &c. were much carved. These have generally been all torn down and cast into the fire, to make way for papered walls and plain wood-work. The old houses too, had much relief work on the fronts of the houses,—but the taste now is to affect a general plainness combined with neatness. Old Mr. Bradford, speaking of his recollections back to the period of 1750, said there were but few frame houses at that time. The most of houses were of two stories, some of three stories, and very few of one story. He remembered only one or two of stone, and two or three were rough-cast. The act, to prevent the construction of frame houses, was passed in the year 1796. Many of the old houses, in Mr. Bradford's time, still retained their leaden sashes and small panes. He removed those which had once been in the old London Coffee house. Much he praised the social character and uses of the porches, as once protected from the weather by the pent-houses. Stiles' two houses on the south side of Walnut street, next eastward of the Friends' Alms house, are among the finest specimens of the largest and best buildings of their day. So also the large house (now Gibbs') at the north east corner of Arch and Fourth streets. The two houses of John Rhea, in Chesnut street opposite the present Bank of the United States, so long as they

stood unaltered, were buildings of very superior style. He, however, following the innovation of the day, tore out all the rich old pannelled and carved work of the rooms; removed the stately stone steps, and the ample pediments of the front doors; and let down all the basement floors,—thus destroying as much in a few hours, as took months to set up. We have scarcely a vestige left of things as they were, to refer to as an example of what we mean by the ornaments so laid waste. Such as they were, have now their last asylum on the walls of the grand entry in our State house, where we hope they will be perpetuated as long as that structure shall endure! Formerly, every large house, possessing a good entry, had from two to four bull-eye glasses let into the wood-work over the front door, for the purpose of giving light to the passage, when the door should be shut. Each of the window shutters had holes cut in the upper part of them, in the form of crescents and other devices, to give light to the rooms when they should be closed.

Stores altered.

The stores generally retained their old fashioned small windows, in no way differing from dwelling houses, until about 30 years ago. Some, indeed, of the oldest structure had the shutters different,—having the upper one to hoist up, and the lower one to let down to the line of the horizon, where it was supported by side chains so as to enable the store keeper to display thereon some of his wares intended for sale. Long or deep stores extending the full depth of the house were unknown; none exceeded the depth of the usual front rooms. The most of them went up ascending steps. None were kept open after night, save grocery and drug stores. They presented no flaunting appearances of competition; no gorgeous nor alluring signs. Every thing was moderate.

The first fancy retail hardware store, with bulk windows, remembered, was the one opened by James Stokes, in what had been the Old Coffee house, at the south west corner of Market and Front streets. The bulk-handled “Barlow” penknives, the gilt and plated buttons, and the scissors, curiously arranged on circular cards, (a new idea) and the bulk windows, lighted up at night, (a new thing) was a source of great gratification to the boys, and the country market people, lounging about with arms folded, on Tuesday and Friday evenings. One evening, among a group of gazers from about Conestoga, one of them exclaimed to the others in Pennsylvania German, “Cook a mole, har, cook do!” “meiner sale!” The first brilliant fancy retail dry goods shop, with bulk windows, as remembered, was opened by a Mr. Whitesides, from London, as ’twas said, in the true “Bond-street style,” at No. 134, Market street, in the house now occupied by Mr. Thomas Natt. The then uncommon sized lights in the two bulks, and the fine mull mull and jaconet muslins, the chintses, and linens suspended in whole pieces, from the top to the bottom, and entwined

together in puffs and festoons, (totally new,) and the shopman, behind the counter, powdered, bowing and smiling, caused it to be "all the stare" for a time. There being too much of the "poucet box" in the display, however, and the "vile Jersey half-pence, with a horse head thereon" being wrapped up, when given in change in whitey brown paper, with a counter bow to the ladies, seeming rather too civil by half for the (as yet) primitive notions of our city folks.

Cellar Kitchens,

Now so general, are but of modern use. "Cook's houses," on the south east corner of High and Third streets, and "Hunter's houses," on the north side of High street above Eighth street, built in my time, were the first houses erected among us with the novelty of cellar kitchens. Those houses were deemed elegant and curious in their day. After that time, cellar kitchens have been increasing in use, to the great annoyance of the aged dames who remembered the easy access of a yard kitchen on the basement floor.

Ice Houses.

These have all come into use among us since the war of Independence. After them came the use of ice creams, of which Mr. Segur had the honour, and, besides, the first advantage, to benefit himself and us. Public ice houses for the sale of ice, is a more modern enterprise than either, and when first undertaken was of very dubious success, even for one adventurer. But already it is a luxury much patronised. The winter of 1828, from its unusual mildness, they failed to fill their ice houses for the first time.

Shade Trees.

The chief trees seen in the streets of the city before the Revolution, were button woods and willows: several were used by the British for fuel. Such as remained, were attacked by an act of the Corporation "to guard against fire and stagnant air." To counteract so unphilosophical a remedy for "stagnant air," Francis Hopkinson, Esq. poet and satirical humourist of the day, wrote an amusing "Speech of the standing member of the Assembly against the act." It had the effect to save some. In William Penn's time they also talked of cutting off trees to purify the air. The long sky piercers, called Lombardy poplars, were first introduced among us by William Hamilton, Esq. of the Woodlands, who brought them with him on his return from Europe in 1786-7. William Bingham, Esq. first planted them in long lines and closely set, all round his premises in the city. As they were easily propagated and grew rapidly, they soon became numerous along our streets. In time they were visited by a large worm, the bite of which was considered poisonous. It received the name of the "Poplar worm." Many must remember it.

CHANGES

IN RESIDENCES AND PLACES OF BUSINESS.



IT may afford some surprise to the younger part of the present generation, to learn the localities in which the proper gentry formerly lived, or the central places in which certain branches of business were once conducted—the whole marked by circumstances essentially different from the present.

Merchants lived in Water street.

When merchants and others within the last 20 to 25 years began to build dwellings as far west as Seventh street and thereabouts, it was considered a wonder how they could encounter such fatiguing waiks from their counting-houses and business. Previous to this change, and especially before the year 1793, when they were dispersed from the river side by the fears of the yellow fever, all of the best and richest merchants dwelt under the same roofs with their stores, situated then in Water or Front street. Some of the richest and genteelst merchants dwelt in Water street till the year 1793, and several of them afterwards. After the merchants (always the most efficient improvers of the city) began to change their domicils from the water side to the western outskirts of the city, the progress of improvement there became rapid and great. It may mark the character of the change to state, that when Mr. Markoe built his large double house out High street, between Ninth and Tenth streets, in the centre of a fenced meadow, it was so remote from all city intercourse that it used to be his jest among his friends to say, “he lived out High street, next house but one to the Schuyl-kill ferry.”

Thirty to thirty-five years ago it was much more genteel to “live up High street” than “up Chesnut street.” as it is now called. Chesnut street and Arch street were not then even thought of for building upon, westward of Tenth street. The streets were not even traced out. Frog ponds, the remains of former brick-kilns, would have dimmed the ears of the gentry by the songs of their frogs. Those fine houses now out Chesnut street were set down before the streets were paved beyond Fifth street, and the house, which successively became the van, was, like a pioneer, to clear the way for others: for, the advanced house, even till now, was always exposed to a wild waste, or, if near any of the former settlers, they were generally mean or vile. Indeed, it was often a question of inquiry among the citizens, in the paved and

old improved parts of the city, how genteel families could encounter so many inconveniencies to make their "western improvements," so called. Even when Wain built at the corner of Seventh and Chesnut streets, and Sims afterwards at the corner of Ninth and Chesnut streets, they had no street pavements, and they were wondered at to leave their former excellent old dwellings in the neighbourhood of the Delaware. A few such examples made it a fashion: and now men build out as far and in as waste places as they please, hoping for, and generally realizing, that others will follow. Penn street was once a superior residence. There dwelt such families as Robert Morris', Craig's, Swanwick's, Cuthbert's, &c.

To illustrate a little more the state of families resident in Water and Front streets, it may suffice to give a few facts. Abel James, famous as the greatest merchant of his day, had his dwelling on Water street, by Elfreth's alley, and his stores on the wharf. Adjoining him, northward and southward, were other distinguished families in the shipping business.

On Front street, adjoining to Elfreth's alley-steps, were "Callender's grand houses," and about four doors above them stood a large double house, once Wain's, and afterwards Hartshorne's. Nearly opposite stood Drinker's house, at the corner of Drinker's alley, large and elegant, and next door, northward, stood the present Henry Pratt's house. The house of Drinker's became a fashionable boarding house in 1766 to '70, kept by Mrs. Graydon, (mother of the author of Graydon's memoirs) at which lodged the Baron de Kalb, Colonel Frank Richardson of the Life Guards, Lady More and daughter, Lady O'Brien, Sir William Draper of Junius notoriety, and others. There generally dwelt all the British officers usually in the town.

An aged lady, S. N. told me, that in her youth the ladies attended balls held in Water street, now deemed so unfit a place! There too, they deemed themselves well dressed in figured chintses. There too, former Governors have held their clubs; and Pegg Mullen's beef-stake house, near the present Mariners' church, was once the supreme ton.

Places of Business and Stores changed.

It is only within twenty-five years, that any stores have been opened in High street above Fourth street westward. It was gradually extended westward as a place of business. Before this, it had for a few years been deemed the chief street for wealthy families as retired residences. Houses, therefore, of grand dimensions were running up for dwellings above Fifth and Sixth streets, even while stores were following close after from Fourth street. In a little while the reputation for stands in High street became so great and rapid, that the chief of the large dwellings were

purchased, and their rich and beautiful walls were torn to pieces to mould them into stores.

Front street was the former great street for all kinds of goods by wholesale. Second street, both north and south, for the length of Arch to Chesnut street, were places of great resort for goods. Then no kinds of stores could have succeeded in any part of Chesnut street westward of Second street, and now we behold so many.

Some places of business are strangely altered. Once Race street, from Second to Third street, had several retail dry goods stores, generally kept by women; now there are none, or scarcely any. Arch street in no part of it had any kind of stores till within twenty-five years. The milliners first clustered there, from Second to Third street, and it was for a time quite the place of fashion in that way. Then millinery stores and ladies' shoe stores opened in Second street, from Dock street to Spruce street, where no kind of stores, trades or offices had been found twenty-five years ago. Within thirty-five years all the shoe stores opened in High street. Henry Manly began first, below Second street, and was the only shoe store in the city for several years. Before that time all shoes were made to fit customers by the tradesmen. It is, however, true, that before the Revolution John Wallace had a store for the sale of worsted, satin and brocade shoes for ladies only; most or all of which were imported. Stores of any kind in Third street, either north or south, were very rare even thirty years ago, and none were to be found at all in Fourth or Fifth street. When they began to open here and there in those streets, the general surprise was "how can they think to succeed!" Wholesale grocery stores were once so exclusively in Water street, that when the first attempts at such in High street were made it was regarded as a wonder. The western world has so rapidly increased as to make a great increase of all kinds of stores in the western part of the city necessary for their demands.

When General Washington and Robert Morris, dignitaries of the nation, lived in the houses in High street, east of Sixth street, only little more than thirty years ago, no stores, save Sheaff's wine store, were near them; and probably not an inhabitant could then have been found to guess that that square, and to the westward of it to Broad street, would ever become a street of trade! So limited were the western wagons then in High street, that none appeared above Fifth street, and few or none thought of seeing more!

It may serve to show the early attachment to Water street as a place of residence and genteel business, to state a few of the facts in the case. The earliest news papers show, by their advertisements, that much of the goods for retail for gentlemen and ladies' wear, were sold in that street. As early as 1737, Mrs. Fishbourne, living in Water street, below Walnut street, advertises a full store of ladies' goods for sale at her store on the wharf, back of her house! In 1755, at Sims' house in Water street, above Pine street, is ad-

vertised all sorts of men's and women's wear, by retail, &c. When the present house, No. 12, north Third street, nearly opposite Church alley, was built there by the father of the late John War-der, say about 65 years ago, it was then matter of surprise that he should go so far out of town! In the day in which it was built, it was deemed of superior elevation and finish; but now it is surpassed by thousands in exterior show. As late as the year 1762, Mr. Duché had a clay mill and pottery, with a well of water, on Chesnut street. at the house afterwards known as Dickinson's old house, a few doors eastward of Fifth street, where Girard has now built his row.

Tanyards.

It is within the last 35 years that two or three tanyards, such as Howell's, Hudson's, &c. were extended from Fourth street, south of the Friends' school, down to the rear of Girard's bank, and within 30 years, two or three were situate with Israel's stables on the north east section of Dock and Third streets. A great fire at this latter place cleared off several lots, and made room for some good houses which since occupy their place. In early times the tanyards were ranged along the line of the Dock creek, and their tan did much to fill it up. They were often subjects of complaint. The Pennsylvania Gazette of October, 1739, No. 566, contains remarks thereon. In 1699, there were but two tanyards in the city, to wit: Hudson's and Lambert's on Dock creek.

Rope Walks,

Were once much nearer than at present. One once stood along the line of Cable lane, giving origin to that name of the street. Another began at Vine and Third street, before Third street was opened there, and extended in a north-western direction. Another used to stand near the old theatre in Cedar street, by Fifth street, and thence extended westward. Another, a little south of it, ran towards the Delaware.

Ship Yards.

These, in early days, were much nigher the city than we might now imagine without the facts to assist us. For instance, in 1723. Michael Royll advertises for sale a new sloop on the stocks at the Drawbridge. The activity of ship building was very great when materials were so much lower. West had great ship-yards at Vine street. The late aged John Brown saw a ship launched from the yard near the present Old Ferry. His father, Parrock, had his ship-yards at Race street. The present William West, Esq. (aged about 73) tells me the ship-yards were numerous in his youth from Vine street down to Race street. Many of the vessels built, were sold as fast as built, for English and Irish houses abroad.

Blacksmith Shops.

It shows the change of times, to state that 70 to 80 years ago William Bissell had his blacksmith shop at the north east corner of Elbow lane and Third street, and that at the north east corner of Third and High street John Rouse had a large frame for his blacksmith shop, and adjoining to the prison, on the south side of High street above Third street, stood blacksmiths' and wheelwrights' sheds. All these were seen and remembered by Mrs. S. an aged lady who told me of them.

Auctions.

Some of us of the present day complain of the great evil of having so many auction rooms—taking the business out of the regular stores, &c. As early as the year 1770, they were considered as a great nuisance to the shop keepers, and then every man set up for himself wherever he pleased. The Northern Liberties and Southwark were then full of them. They paid no duties to the government, and it was solicited that they might be taxed five per cent. to restrain them. Sometimes public sale was then called “by public cant,” and by “public out-cry.”

At an earlier period the public vendue was held under the north west corner of the court house in Second street, and on the vacation of the office in 1742, John Clifton offered 110*£.* and Reese Meredith 110*£.* per annum to the Corporation, to be privileged to become the successor.*

After the peace of 1783, the rivalry of auctioneers became great, being limited to a few for the city; others set up in the Liberties, and such was the allurements to draw customers after them as might excite our wonder now. Carriages were provided to carry purchasers gratis out to the auction held across the Schuylkill at the upper ferry, and ferriages were paid for those who went across the Delaware to an auction held at Cooper's ferry.

In confirmation I add a short article from the reminiscences of my friend Mr. P. to wit: In the year 1789, and previous, there were but three auctioneers allowed by law for the City, Northern Liberties and Southwark; and the restriction extended to within two miles of the State house. Several persons were desirous of following that business, but could not obtain appointments from the supreme executive Council, and came to the determination of carrying on the same beyond the prescribed limits, and where goods could be sold at auction without being subject to the State duty. The first person who commenced was Jonas Phillips, he held his auction in the large brick house on the rising ground over the middle ferry of Schuylkill. He was followed by John Chaloner, who held his sales in one of the stone stables at the upper ferry

* When the City Council rented it to Patrick Baird, in 1730, he paid for the room there only 8*£.* per annum, and not to sell any goods in one lot under the value of 50 shillings.

kept by Elijah Weed. The sales were always in the afternoon, the mornings being occupied in transporting the goods on drays to the respective auction rooms; where they were displayed on the shelves. The company being conveyed out and home, in the large old fashioned stages, which were in attendance at the houses of the respective auctioneers precisely at one o'clock, P. M. for that purpose. After the sale, the goods were repacked in trunks and cases, brought to the city and delivered to the purchasers next morning at the residence of the auctioneer. Phillips resided opposite the old Jersey market, south side, and Chaloner in Chesnut street, a few doors east of the sign of the Cross Keys, kept by Israel Israel, corner of Third street.

Board Yards.

It is only within the last 25 years that board yards and wood yards have been opened in the western part of the city. In former times they were universally confined to the wharves above Vine street. When the first two or three persons opened board yards in the west, it excited surprise and distrust of their success. The north side of Pine street, from Fifth to Sixth street, was once a large board yard, and another was on the south side of Spruce street in the same square. These were among the first inland yards.

Chesnut street,

Has within a few years become the chief street in Philadelphia, as a fashionable walk. High street once had the preference. Circumstances may yet deprive even Chesnut street of its present pre-eminence. In the mean time its claims to favour and renown has been set forth in song, to the following effect, to wit:

In vain may Bond street, or the Park
Talk of their demoiselles and sparks—
Or Boulevard's walks, or Thuilleries' shades
Boast of their own Parisian maids;
In vain Venitian's sons may pride
The masks that o'er Rialto glide;
And our own Broadway too will sink
Beneath the Muse's pen and ink;
While Chesnut's fav'rite street will stand
The pride and honour of our land!

LOCAL CHANGES

IN STREETS AND PLACES.



IN these pages, concerning the changes effected in various sections in and about the city, the aged will often be reminded of their former play grounds, then waste and rugged, now ruined to such purposes by the alleged improvements and the stately edifices erected thereon. To be reminded of such localities as they saw them in their joyous youth, is to fill the mind with pleasing images.

“—————Scenes that sooth’d
Or charm’d me young, no longer young, I find
Still soothing, and of power to charm me still !”

At no period since the origin of Philadelphia has its extension, improvements and changes been so great as within the last thirty-five years. It may be truly said that from the peace of 1783, which completed the first century of its existence as a city, it has doubled its buildings and population. That peace gave an immediate impulse to trade and commerce, and these brought the means to make extensive improvements. But the circumstance which peculiarly aided the prosperity and increase of Philadelphia, together with every other city and place in the United States, was the war in Europe and in their colonies, brought on by the French Revolution, and making us on that emergency the general carriers of the trade of Europe : It not only diffused general riches among the people and changed the aspect of the city, but even the habits and manners of the people themselves. From the year 1790, therefore, we may remember a constant change of the former waste grounds of the city, the demolition of old buildings or of inconvenient ones, and the erection of more stately and modernized houses in their places.

So far as these notices may have to notice recent circumstances, I am aware they can afford but little present interest ; but, by the same rule, whereby we of the present day can be interested in the doings of our forefathers in times and things which we never saw, so the time is coming when the generations which shall succeed us may feel some of the gratifications, in reading some of these recent facts, which I have felt in collecting those of the past inhabitants. Man naturally desires to know the rise and progress of things around him.

The Governor's Woods

Were a body of forest trees, which stood till the time of the Revolution, called also centre woods, laying between High street and South street, and Broad street and the river Schuylkill. They received their name from being a part of the proprietary's estate. There was an old consequential German, named Adam Poth, (whom the aged may still remember) who had some care of them, and used to take on a magisterial air of authority when trespasses were made by wandering boys or poor people. When the British came, and needed fuel, it was found more expedient to cut them down and sell to them what they could, than to leave them to help themselves as conquerors.

An aged lady, now alive, tells me that she and other girls deemed it a great frolic to go out to the woods—she usually went out Spruce street. Between Seventh and Eighth streets they gathered wild strawberries; they entered the woods opposite the Hospital, and proceeded through them out to the Schuylkill. The road leading through them was very narrow, and the trees very lofty and thrifty.

Old George Warner, who died in 1810, spake with lively recollection of the state of the woods out High street, saying they were of great growth, especially from beyond the Centre Square to the then romantic and picturesque banks of the Schuylkill. In going, in the year 1726, from the Swedes' church to the blue house tavern, on the corner of Ninth and South streets, he saw nothing but lofty forests, and swamps, and abundance of game.

An aged lady, Mrs. N. says the woods out High street began as far eastward as Eighth street, and that the walk out High Street used to be a complete shade of forest trees, cooling and refreshing the whole road to Schuylkill. At about Sixth street used to be a long bench under a shade, to afford rest to the city traveller.

Hudson's Orchard and Neighbourhood.

On the north side of High street, from thence to Arch street, and from Fifth to Sixth street, was Hudson's orchard of apple trees. When the late Timothy Matlack was a young man he rented the whole enclosure for eight dollars per annum for his horse-pasture. At about 60 feet from the north west corner of Fifth and High streets, in a north west direction, there was a considerable pond of water, of 4 feet depth, on which it was the custom of the city boys to skate in winter. Up by North alley, on Fifth street, was a skindresser's frame house; on High street there also stood an old frame house; and except these, the whole ground was a grass lot. The first brick house ever built therein was owned by Pemberton, the same now Mr. Lyle's, on High street.

At the north east corner of Sixth and High streets there was a raised foot-walk, as a kind of causeway, of two feet elevation, to keep the traveller from the water which settled on the lot on the

north side of High street. At this corner, in times of floods, the water ran down the middle of High street, and communicated to the pond aforesaid. Mrs. Pearson said there was a time, when, as a curiosity, a boat was brought to the place, and used in crossing the water.

In the year 1731 John Bradley was found drowned in the above mentioned water. "—by accidental death."

The south east corner of Fifth and High streets, now Sheaff's house, has been dug down as much as five feet in the street, to form the present level.

When Isaac Zane built his house on the north side of High street, above Sixth street, it was set down in such a wet place that it excited talk that he should choose such a disagreeable spot. In confirmation, I have heard from the Pearson family (Pearson was City Surveyor) that when he built his frame house in Seventh street, fifty-five years ago, a little north of the present St. James' church, there was a deep ravine through the church lot out to Market street, which bore off much water in rains, &c. from Arch street. And through the whole summer there was water enough on the north side of High street and back of St. James' to keep the frogs in perpetual night-songs. In connexion with this, also the late Mayor, General Barker, told me he remembered very well that a drunken man, crossing this gully on High street, fell off the foot-log into the shallow water and was found drowned, laying upon his face.

City Hills.

Many who understand the subject deem it to have been a bad taste which led to the "system of levelling" the once beautiful natural inequalities of the city ground plot. Had they been preserved, the original varieties of surface would have afforded pleasing changes to the eye. What was emphatically called "the hill" in the olden time, extending from Walnut street in a course with the southern side of Dock street, presented once a precipitous and high bank, especially by Pear street and St. Paul's church, which might have been cultivated in hanging gardens, descending to the dock, and open to the public gaze. Thence crossing beyond Little Dock street you ascended to "Society Hill," situate chiefly from Second to Front street, and from Union to the summit of Pine and Front streets. From that cause, buildings on Union street, north side, might have shown beautiful descending gardens on their northern aspect.* The same bad taste and avidity for converting every piece of ground to the greatest possible revenue caused the building up of the whole extent of Front street on the eastern or bank side, quite contrary to the original design of the founder. Nothing could be imagined more beautiful than a high open view

* Alderman Plumstead once had such a garden there, which was the admiration of the town.

to the river and the Jersey shore along the whole front of the city! Indeed, such is the opinion of some, that even at this late day it is worth the attempt to restore a part of the eastern front, by razing the houses on the eastern side of Front street. It may be remembered that in the year 1822 this subject was much discussed in the public prints, and the project was strenuously supported by the communications of Paul Beck, Esq. It may be observed, as a general remark, that the high table lands of Philadelphia, verging to "the bank" along the river, never had anywhere any declination towards the river, but the general high plane gradually raised higher and higher towards the river until it came to the abrupt bluff. Rain water, therefore, naturally ran back from the Delaware and found its way into the Dock creek, then extending from Arch street to Spruce street. The water falling between Race and Vine streets from Second street fell into both those streets from "the hill" once between them; for both those streets were originally natural water courses leading down to the river, and from that cause, when those streets were paved, they had to pave the channel in the middle, and to leave the pebble part much lower than the foot-pavements. There was also once "the hill" along Front street near Combes' alley, so much so, that in the memory of D. Marot, the water once run from Front street westward in that alley. There was once "the hill" near the "Cherry Garden," inclining from the south east corner of South and Front streets towards the river. The houses still standing along Front street in that neighbourhood have their yards one story higher than Front street.

Streets cut down and raised.

The streets as they now are graduated are by no means to be considered as presenting the original level of the city. In many places they have been raised, and in others depressed. Thus Market, Arch and Race streets, near Front street, have all been lowered as much as possible; and Front street has also been lowered to as much of a level as possible. On the other hand, at the foot of those hills (below Water street) they have been raised; for instance, the house still standing at the south west corner of Race and Water street goes down three steps to the first floor, whereas it used to go up three or four steps, in the memory of some ancients; thus proving the raising of the street there; at the same time, on Front street near by, the street is lowered full one story, as the cellar of the house on the north west corner of Front and Race streets, now standing out of the ground, fully proves. Clarke's stores, on the south east corner of Arch and Water streets, show, by the arches above the present windows and doors, that the ground floors have been lowered three feet, to conform to the street there. Thirty years ago the ground north of Arch street on Front street to above Race street, western side, was twelve feet higher than

the present foot-pavement: for instance, where the row of modern brick buildings north of Arch street now stands, was a Friends' Meeting, called Bank Meeting, on a green hill, within a brick wall, and to which you went up full twelve feet, by steps,—several old houses still there, with cellars out of ground, indicate the same. And below Arch street, in the neighbourhood of Combes' alley, the present old houses of Gerhard's have their present first story formed of what was once the cellar part under ground. Second street from Arch to High street, has been cut down nearly two feet below its former pavement. Fourth street from Arch street to below High street, has been filled up full two feet.

Walnut street, eastward from Second street, has been raised as much as two feet, sufficiently proved by an old house still standing on the south side of that street, which has its ground floor one foot beneath the present pavement. Walnut street, west of Second street, must have been filled in greatly, as they found near there a paved street six feet beneath the present surface, in laying the iron pipes near to Dock street. In Walnut street, by Third street, the street must have been eight feet higher than now, forming quite a hill there, as the cake house near there (once a part of an old Custom house) has nearly all of its first story formed of what was once the cellar under ground. The street, at the corner of High and Fourth streets, has been much raised. The house of C. P. Wayne, on the south west corner, has its floor raised one foot, and originally the house had several steps of ascent. Deep floods have been seen there, by T. Matlack and others, quite across the whole street, in their early days. In Water street, above Arch street, the street must have been raised two or three feet, as a house is still standing there, No. 82 and 84, having six steps to go down to what was its first floor. So too, near S. Girard's the street is raised, and a house still there descends one step to its ground floor. In Water street above Chesnut street, the raising is manifest by a house on the bank side having three steps down to its first floor. Several houses midway between Chesnut and Walnut streets, which go down two steps, and several below Walnut street going down one step, sufficiently prove the elevation made in Water street in those sections since those old houses were built. The most of the ground in the south-western direction of the city, and Southwark, having been raised from two to three feet, has generally caused all the streets in that direction to be formed of earth filled in there; for instance, it may now be observed that all the oldest houses along Pssyunk road below Shippen street, are full two feet under the present street. Out Fitzwater street the old houses are covered up three feet. Out South street, from Fifth to Ninth streets, the ground is artificially raised above all the old houses two and a half feet. Front street below South street is cut down as much as twelve feet, as the elevation of the houses on the eastern side now show. Swanson street, from Almond street south-

ward, has been cut down as much as eight feet, as the houses on the western side sufficiently indicate. South street from Front street to Little Water street, and Penn street continued to Almond street, severally show, by the cellars of old houses standing above ground, that those streets have been cut through a former rising ground there, once called "the hill." Eleventh street from High street to Arch street has required very remarkable filling up. A very good three story house at the north west corner of Filbert street, and several frame ones northward of that street, have been filled up to the sills of the windows.

Miscellanea.

The following facts of sundry changes may be briefly noticed, to wit:

An aged gentleman, T. H. told me he well remembered a fine field of corn in growth on the north west corner of South and Front street. He also remembered when water flowed into some of the cellars along the eastern side of Penn street from the river Delaware. The ground there has been made-ground. On the western side it was a high steep bank from Front street. On an occasion of digging into it for sand and gravel, two or three boys were buried beneath the falling bank, and lost their lives.

The late aged Mr. Isaac Parrish told me that the square from the Rotterdam inn, in Third above Race street, up to Vine street, and from Third to Fourth street, used to be a large grass lot enclosed with a regular privet hedge: there he often shot birds in his youth; and the late Alderman John Baker said he often shot partridges there.

The present aged Thomas Bradford, Esq. tells me he remembers when the ground, from Arch to Cherry street, laying westward of Third street, had all the appearance of made-ground, having heaps of fresh earth, and several water holes.

George Vaux, Esq. has often heard it mentioned among his ancestors, that Richard Hill, commissioner to Penn, was once proprietor of the land extending from Arch and Third streets to Vine and Fifth streets, which he used as a kind of farm, and when the Presbyterian church was built on the north west corner of Third and Arch streets, it was called "on Doctor Hill's pasture."

The row of good houses on the south side of Arch street, between Fourth street and the church ground, was, thirty years ago, the area of a large yard, containing a coach-maker's establishment on a large scale.

At Pine and Front street the former hill there has been taken down below the former pavement full six feet deeper, about four years ago.

What used to be called Fouquet's inn and bowling green, is now much altered in its appearance; it used to be very rural. Many trees, of various kinds, surrounded it. It was so much out of town.

in my boyhood, that the streets running north and south were scarcely visible; there being nowhere sufficiency of houses to show the lines of the streets, and all the intervening commons marked with oblique footpaths. It stood on rising ground, (a kind of hill) and towards Race street it had a steep descent into that street, which was quite low in that neighbourhood. I now find that Cherry street (not then thought of) is extended through the premises close to the house. The old house, still standing, is seen near the south west corner of Cherry and Tenth streets. It was famous in its day—with many surrounding out-houses.

Timothy Matlack, when he came to Philadelphia, in 1745, could readily pass diagonally from Third to Fourth street, through the square formed from Chesnut to High street; the houses being only here and there built.

Mrs. Riley, who if now alive would be about 98 years of age, said she could well remember when Sekel's corner, at the north east corner of High street and Fourth, was once a cow lot which was offered to her father at a rent of 10*£*. She could then walk across from that corner diagonally to Third street by a pathway.

Graydon in his memoirs says, that in 1755, "in passing from Chesnut street up Fourth street, the intervals took up as much space as the buildings, and with the exception of here and there a house, the Fifth street might then have been called the western extremity of the city."

Colonel A. J. Morris, whose recollections began earlier, (now 90 years old) says he could remember when there were scarcely any houses westward of Fourth street. The first he ever saw in Fifth street, was a row of two story brick houses (now standing) on the east side, a little above High street. He was then about ten years of age, and the impression was fixed upon his memory by its being the occasion of killing one of the men on the scaffolding.

The wharves along the city front on the Delaware have undergone considerable changes since the peace of 1783, and still more since 1793. Several of them have had additions in front, so as to extend them more into the channel; and at several places stores have been built up on the wharves; but the greatest changes have been the filling up of sundry docks, and joining wharves before separated, so that now you can pretty generally go from wharf to wharf without the former frequent inconvenience of going back to Water street to be able to reach the next wharf. For instance, now you can walk from Race to Arch street along the wharves, where 30 years ago you could not, short of three or four interruptions. We now wish one other and final improvement,—a paved wharf-street the whole length of the city, with a full line of trees, instead of buildings, on the whole length of the eastern side. This would invite and perhaps secure a water promenade, and be in itself some reparation for destroying the once intended promenade of the eastern side of Front street.

INNOVATIONS

AND

NEW MODES OF CONDUCTING BUSINESS, &c.



IT is very natural that the youth at any given time, should, without inquiry, infer that all the familiar customs and things which they behold were always so before their time, when, often, many of them may have been just introduced. This fact I often realize in my observation even now among the rising generation. This reflection leads us to think that hereafter many customs may be introduced, after the practices of older cities, to which we are now strangers, but which, without some passing notice here, might not be known to be new after they had been familiarized among us a few years. I mention, therefore, customs which do not exist now, but which will doubtless come to our use from the example of Europe—such as shoe-blacks soliciting to clean shoes and boots on the wearer, in the streets—dealers in old clothes bearing them on their shoulders and selling them in the public walks—men drawing light trucks with goods in lieu of horses—men carrying a telescope by night to show through to street passengers—women wheeling wheelbarrows to vend oranges and such like articles—cobblers' stalls and book stalls, &c. placed on the sides of the foot-paths—men and women ballad singers stopping at corners to sing for pennies—porters carrying sedan chairs—women having meat and coffee stalls in the street for hungry passengers, &c.

From thoughts like these we are disposed to notice several of the changes already effected within a few years past, as so many innovations or alleged improvements on the days by-gone.

Candidates for Office.

Those who now occasionally set forth their claims to public favour, by detailed statements in their proper names, would have met with little or no countenance in the public suffrages in the olden time. Sheriffs have usually taken the precedence in these things, and it is known that the first person who ever had the boldness to publish himself as a candidate for sheriff and to laud his own merits occurred in the person of Mordecai Lloyd in the year 1744, begging the good people for their votes by his publications in English

and German. At same time Nicholas Scull, an opposing candidate, resorted to the same measure, and apologized for "the new mode" as imposed upon him by the practice of others.

Rum Distilleries.

Rum distilled from molasses was once an article largely manufactured and sold in Philadelphia. It bore as good a price as the Boston or New England rum, and both of them nearly as much as that imported from the West Indies. About the year 1762, there used to be frequent mention of Wharton's "great still-house," on the wharf near the Swedes' church; also, Sims' and Cadwallader's still-house below the Drawbridge: one in Front above Arch street; two large ones in Cable lane: one at Masters', above Point Pleasant, in Kensington; one out High street, between Eighth and Ninth streets.

Pot and Pearl Ashes.

A manufactory of these was first established in Philadelphia in the year 1772, in the stores on Goodman's wharf, (since Smith's) a little above Race street.

Millinery Stores.

It is still within the memory of the aged when and where the first store of this kind was introduced into the city. It was begun by the Misses Sparks in a small frame house in south Second street, a little below Chesnut street, and long they enjoyed the sole business without a rival.

Hucksters,

A genus now so prevalent in our market—an irresponsible, unknown, but taxing race, odious as "the publicans" of old, were without their present motives or rewards in the former days.

Pawnbrokers

Are altogether of modern establishment among us, rising in obscurity and with little notice, till they have spread like a mal-area over the morals of the community. Their alarming progress is a real blur upon our character, as it evidences so powerfully the fact of bad living among so many of our population. Only twenty years ago a pawnbroker would have starved among us! Since those in the city have been put under some legal surveillance and control, we are enabled to arrive at some estimate of the contributors taxed to their onerous support. In making some researches among the records of the city police it has been ascertained, as the result of one years waste in these founts of wretchedness and misery, that there have been 180,000 pledges, and that the exhibit for one week

in winter, has shown an array of articles to the following effect, to wit:

Articles of women's dress	945
do. of men's dress	325
Clocks and watches	240
Gold watches	45
Silver table and tea spoons	235
Ear and finger rings, chains and broaches	224
Bibles	9
Other articles not enumerated	966

Total 3489 in one week!

There were indeed poor among us in former years, but then they were in general a virtuous poor, who had the compassion of their neighbours, and, for that reason, could have found temporary relief from articles such as above stated, without the resort to usurious imposts. In short, they did well enough without pawn-brokers, and the change to the present system is appalling!

Lottery Brokers.

These also are a new race, luxuriating on the imaginative schemings of some, and the aversion to honest labour in others. They are a race who hold "the word of promise to the ear and break it to the hopes"—of thousands! Their glaring and intrusive signs and advertisements, which meet the eye at every turn, are so many painful proofs of the lavish patronage they receive from the credulity of their fortune-seeking votaries. I never see their glaring signs without a secret wish to add a scroll, both as a satire on them, and as a sentence conveying in much point the pith of all they promise, to wit:

"Batter'd and bankrupt fortunes mended here!"

Our forefathers, 'tis true, much resorted to lotteries for raising monies wanted for public purposes before the Revolution, (as will be noticed in another place) but then, as "the public good was the aim" the citizens cordially lent their aid to sell the tickets without fee or reward, and in effect gave the price of their tickets as so much willing gift to the object intended by the lottery.

Second-hand Clothes and Shoe-blacks.

Shoe blacking and the sale of cast off clothes, as now opened in cellars by the blacks, is quite a modern affair. Old clothes were never sold formerly; when it was rather a common practice to turn them, or to cut them down for children; and all boots and shoes were blacked at home, by children, apprentices, or domestics. Even the houses now so common for selling ready-made garments for gentlemen's wear is quite a new thing, and was first began at the Shakespeare buildings by Burk, who made enough thereby to allure others to his imitation.

Oyster Cellars.

These, as we now see them, are the introduction of but a few years. When first introduced, they were of much inferior appearance to the present: were entirely managed by blacks, and did not at first include gentlemen among their visitors. Before that time, oysters were vended along the streets in wheelbarrows only; even carts were not used for their conveyance, and gentlemen who loved raw oysters were sufficiently in character to stop the barrow and swallow his half dozen without the appendage of crackers, &c.

Intelligence Offices.

These offices for finding places for servants, began within a very few years and upon a very small scale, were very little resorted to except by strangers, and were generally conducted at first by blacks. There was, indeed, an "Intelligence Office" advertised in the Pennsylvania Journal before the Revolution, but it combined other objects, gained no imitations, and died unnoticed. A better scheme than any of these has been recently got up by the citizens themselves, to help servants to places and to guard and improve their morals, which promises to be a general benefit.

General Remarks on various Items of Change.

I notice as among the remarkable changes of Philadelphia, within the period of my own short observation, that there is an utter change of the manner and quantity of business done by tradesmen. When I was a boy, there was no such thing as conducting their business in the present wholesale manner and by efforts at monopoly. No masters were seen exempted from personal labour in any branch of business, living on the profits derived from many hired journeymen; and no places were sought out at much expense and display of signs and decorated windows to allure custom. Then almost every apprentice, when of age, run his equal chance for his share of business in his neighbourhood, by setting up for himself, and, with an apprentice or two,* getting into a cheap location, and by dint of application and good work, recommending himself to his neighbourhood. Thus every shoemaker or taylor was a man for himself; thus was every tinman, blacksmith, hatter, wheelwright, weaver, barber, bookbinder, umbrella-maker, coppersmith, and brassfounder, painter and glazier, cedar-cooper, plasterer, cabinet and chair-maker, chaise-maker, &c. It was only trades indispensably requiring many hands, among whom we saw many journeymen; such as shipwrights, brickmakers, masons, carpenters, tanners, printers, stonecutters, and such like. In those days, if they did not aspire to much, they were more sure of the end—a decent competency in old age, and a tranquil and certain livelihood

* Apprentices then were found in every thing;—now they often give a premium or find their own clothes, &c.

while engaged in the acquisition of its reward. Large stores, at that time, exclusively wholesale, were but rare, except among the shipping merchants, so called, and it is fully within my memory, that all the hardware stores, which were intended to be wholesale dealers, by having their regular sets of country customers, for whose supplies they made their regular importations, were obliged, by the practice of the trade and the expectations of the citizens, to be equally retailers in their ordinary business. They also, as subservient to usage, had to be regular importers of numerous stated articles in the dry-goods line, and especially in most articles in the woollen line. At that time, ruinous overstocks of goods imported were utterly unknown, and supplies from auction sales, as now, were neither depended upon nor resorted to. The same advance "on the sterling" was the set price of every storekeeper's profit. As none got suddenly rich by monopolies, they went through whole lives, gradually but surely augmenting their estates, without the least fear or the misfortune of bankruptcy. When it did rarely occur, such was the surprise and the general sympathy of the public, that citizens saluted each other with sad faces, and made their regrets and condolence a measure of common concern. An aged person has told me that when the inhabitant and proprietor of that large house, formerly the post-office, at the corner of Chesnut street and Carpenter's court, suddenly failed in business, the whole house was closely shut up for one week, as an emblem of the deepest family-mourning; and all who passed the house instinctively stopt and mingled the expressions of their lively regret. Now how changed are matters in these particulars! Now men fail with hardy indifference, and some of them have often the effrontery to appear abroad in expensive display, elbowing aside their suffering creditors at public places of expensive resort. I occasionally meet with such, by whom I have been injured, who indulge in travelling equipage, with which they delight to pass and dust me, and who, nevertheless, would feel their dignity much insulted at even a civil hint to spare me but a little of the disregarded debt. It might lower the arrogance of some such, to know, there was once a time in our colony when such heedless and desperate dealers and liveries were sold for a term of years to pay their just debts.

It strikes me as among the remarkable changes of modern times, that blacksmith-shops, which used to be low, rough one story sheds, here and there in various parts of the city, and always fronting on the main streets, have been crowded out as nuisances, or rather as eye-sores to genteel neighbourhoods. Then the workmen stood on ground-floors in clogs or wooden-soled shoes, to avoid the damp of the ground. But now they are seen to have their operations in genteel three story houses, with ware-rooms in front, and with their furnaces and anvils, &c. in the yards or back premises.

"Lines of packets," as we now see them, for Liverpool and for Havre abroad, and for Charleston, New Orleans, Norfolk, &c. 21

home, are but lately originated among us. The London packet in primitive days made her voyage but twice a year. And before the Revolution all vessels going to England or Ireland, used to be advertised on the walls of the corner houses, saying when to sail and where they laid. Some few instances of this kind occurred even after the war of Independence. In those days vessels going to Great Britain, was usually called "going home."

Kahn, when here 80 years ago, made a remark which seemed to indicate that then New York, though so much smaller as a city, was the most commercial, saying, "It probably carries on a more extensive commerce than any town in the English colonies, and it is said they send more ships to London than they do from Philadelphia."

From the period of 1790 to 1800 the London trade was all the channel we used for the introduction of spring and fall goods. The arrival of the London ships at Clifford's wharf used to set the whole trading community in a bustle to see them "haul into the wharf." Soon the whole range of Front street, from Arch to Walnut street, was lumbered with the packages from the Pigou, the Adrianna, the Washington, &c.

Great and noisy were the breaking up of packages, and busy were the masters, clerks and porters to get in and display their new arrived treasures. Soon after were seen the city retailers, generally females in that time, hovering about like butterflies near a rivulet, mingling among the men and viewing with admiration the rich displays of British chintses, muslins and calicoes of the latest London modes. The Liverpool trade was not at that time opened, and Liverpool itself had not grown into the overwhelming rival of Bristol and Hull—places with which we formerly had some trade for articles not drawn from the great London storehouse.

CHANGES

IN PRICES OF DIÉT, &c.

“For the money quite a heap !”

WE cannot fail to be surprised at the former abundance (as indicated in the cheapness of prices) of many articles formerly, which are now scarce and dear.

Sheepshead, now so high-priced, used to be plentiful in the Jersey market. They came over land from Egg-harbour. The price was the same whether big or little, say 1s. 6d. apiece—some weighed six to seven pounds each. The rule was, that he who came first took the biggest. Unreasonable as this seemed, the practice long prevailed. At last the sellers attempted to introduce the sale by weight. They fixed the price at 4d. per lb. (now they are at 1s. 10d. !) but the purchasers stood aloof, and none would buy ! Then they returned to 1s. 6d. apiece again. However, sometime after, they succeeded to sell at 4d. to 6d. per lb. and so continued for years. These things were told to me by Mr. Davenport Merrot, an old gentleman now 80 years of age. Mr. John Warder too, of nearly the same age, related much the same facts, saying, that when he was a boy all their sea fish were brought over land from Egg-harbour and landed at the Old Ferry, (then the first and only one) where a small bell was rung from the top of the house, which was sufficient to inform the chief part of the town that the fish were come. There, he said, sheepshead were always sold at 18d. apiece, without any regard to size ; but the first comers getting always the best.

Wild pigeons were once innumerable. Mr. Thomas Bradford, now aged 84. remembers when they were caught in nets, and brought in cartloads to the city market. He said he had heard his forefathers say they once saw a flock fly over the city so as to obscure the sun for two or three hours, and many were killed from the tops of the houses. They were therefore plentiful enough in general to sell from 6d. to 12d. per dozen.

The same informer stated his recollections of the earliest market prices thus, viz. Butter at 6d. to 9d. fowls 1s. ducks 15d. geese 1s. 10d. eggs 4d. per dozen, beef at 3d. to 6d. per lb. greens, salads, &c. were as much for a penny as is now given for 6d. Shad used to be retailed at 3d. to 4d. and herrings at 1s. 6d. a hundred.

Colonel A. J. Morris, now 90 years of age, has told me of his recollection of shad being sold in several seasons of his early days at 10s. a hundred!

The occasional prices published in the ancient Gazettes state prices as follows, to wit:

1719—Flour per cwt. 9s. 6d. to 10s. tobacco 14s. cwt. Muscovado sugar 40 to 45s. per cwt. pork 45s. per barrel. beef 30s. rum 3s. 9d. per gallon. molasses 1s. 6d. wheat 3s. 3d. to 3s. 5d. per bushel, corn 1s. 6d. and bohea tea—mark it, what a luxury—at 24s. per lb.!

1721—"Flower" 8s. 6d. to 9s. turpentine 8s. rice 17s. fine salt 2s. 6d. bohea tea at 30s. pitch 12s. tar 8s.

1748—the time of war, prices are high, say, wheat at 6s. 4d. to 7s. flour 20s. beef 43s. and pork 60s.

In 1755, hay is named at 40s. a ton, and now it is occasionally at 20 dollars!

1757—Flour is 12s. 6d. wheat 3s. 6d. corn 1s. 9d. beef 40s. pork 60 to 67s. pipe staves 7£. barrel staves 67s. West India rum 2s. 11d. New England rum 2s. 7d. Pennsylvania rum 2s. 7d. molasses 2s. 6d. hemp 5s. pitch 15s. tar 10s. flaxseed 4s. 3d. and last of all bohea is down from 30s. to only 7s.!

In 1760, I notice the fact that several thousand barrels of flour were purchased in London for the American provinces at 8s. 6d. per cwt.

In 1763, I perceive prices of sundry game, &c. incidentally stated, to wit: a quail 1½d. a heath-hen 1s. 3d. a teal 6d. a wild goose 2s. a brandt 1s. 3d. snipe 1d. a duck 1s. a cock turkey 4s. a hen turkey 2s. 6d.

1774—Flour 18s. 6d. wheat 7s. 9d. Indian corn 2s. 8d. pipe staves 10£. barrel staves 70s. West India rum 3s. 1d. pitch 16s. tar 13s. turpentine 18s. rice 17s. Lisbon salt 15d. hemp 5d. cotton 16d. bar iron 26£. pig iron £8 10s. pork £4 5s. beef £2 15s.

The pebble stones used in paving the city, when first paved, cost but 4s. 6d. per cartload, delivered from the shallops.

Changes in Prices of Land.

In such a growing city it was to be expected the occasional changes in the value of lots and property would be very great.

To begin with Gabriel Thomas' account of 1698, he says, within the compass of twelve years that which might have been bought for fifteen or eighteen shillings, is now sold for fourscore pounds in ready silver, and some other lots, that might have been purchased for three pounds, within the space of two years were sold for one hundred pounds apiece, and likewise some land that lies near the city, that sixteen years ago might have been purchased for six or eight pounds the 100 Acres, cannot now be bought under 150 to 200£.

The ancient Mrs. Shoemaker told me that her grandfather,

James Lownes, was offered for 20£. the whole square from High street to Arch street, and from Front to Second street, by William Penn himself. He declined it, saying, how long shall I wait to see my money returned in profit.

The aged Owen Jones, Esq. informed me that he had heard at several times that William Penn offered his hired man, as a coachman, &c. the whole of the square of ground included between Chestnut and Walnut and Front and Second streets, in lieu of one years wages—probably of 15£.

Mr. Abel James, the father of the present Doctor James, used to tell him that one Moore, of Bucks county, a Friend, was the person above alluded to, and that he used to visit Mr. James' family, and told him he had chosen a moderate tract of land in Bucks county in preference to the above mentioned square.*

The same Mr. Owen Jones said the greatest rise of city plots he had ever known were the sales of proprietaries city lots after the sales of his estate. They rising, in hundreds of instances, he said, to have ground rents at more than double the price of the first purchase.

He related to me what he heard from the grandson of the first or second Samuel Powell, that he bought the two whole squares included between Spruce and Pine streets, and Fifth and Seventh streets, for 50£. each—a rise of more than one thousand for one! Even when he gave those prices he bought reluctantly and at two or three several times—for he afterwards, I believe, added, at the same terms, the square from Fourth to Third street. This was originally the property of the "Free Society of Traders," and is certainly one evidence how ill they managed their interests for their eventual good. Powell on the contrary, by holding on, realized a great fortune for his posterity from such slender occasion.

The aged colonel Morris informed me that he heard old Mr. Tratnal say, that Governor Palmer offered him a great extent of Kensington lots, fronting on the river street, at six pence per foot ground rent for ever.

Anthony Duché, a respectable protestant refugee from France, ancestor of the well known Parson Duché, came with his wife over to Pennsylvania in the same ship with William Penn, who had borrowed a small sum of about 30£. from him. After the arrival Penn offered him in lieu of the return of the money "a good bargain," as he said—a square between Third and Fourth streets, with only the exception of the burial ground occupied by Friends on Mulberry and Fourth streets, † the proprietor observing that he knew the lot was cheap, but that he had a mind to favour him, in

* I might mention, that I used to hear a tradition that Penn's coachman had been offered the square on which Lætitia court is located; as that was but half a square it is the most probable story. And possibly the offer to Lownes was the same square also, and mistold in a lapse of years. The other squares were soon out of Penn's disposal, as belonging to purchasers and drawn by lot.

† It was first offered to Thomas Lloyd, whose wife was the first person interred there.

return for his kindness. Mr. Duché replied, "You are very good, Mr. Penn, and the offer might prove advantageous, but the money would suit me better." "Blockhead!" (rejoined the proprietor, provoked at his overlooking the intended benefit,) "Well, well, thou shalt have thy money, but canst thou not see that this will be a very great city in a very short time?" "So I was paid," said Duché, who told this story, "and have ever since repented my own folly!" The above anecdote was told by Charles Thomson, Esq. to Mrs. D. Logan, and to her brother, J. P. Norris, at different times, saying he had received it from the son of Duché.

During the whole time of the carrying trade in the Revolutionary war of France, our city and landed property near it constantly rose in value—as men got rich in trade and desired to invest funds in buildings, &c. In this state of things John Kearney, a taylor, contracted with Mr. Lyle to buy the estate called Hamilton's wharf and stores, near the Drawbridge, for 50,000 dollars. He gave 30,000 dollars in part payment, built 11000 dollars additional buildings thereon, and after all chose to forfeit the whole rather than pay the remaining 20,000 dollars! This was indeed an extraordinary case; but it shows the great reduction of value after the peace.

The same James Lyle, as agent, sold the Bush-hill estate of 200 acres to General Cadwallader and associates, for the laying out of a town. They were to give a perpetual ground-rent of nearly 100 dollars daily—say 36,000 dollars per annum, and after actually paying in 200,000 dollars they surrendered back the whole'

SUPERSTITIONS

AND

POPULAR CREDULITY.



“ Well attested, and as well believ'd,
 Heard solemn, goes the goblin-story round,
 Till superstitious horror creeps o'er all!”

OUR forefathers (the ruder part) brought with them much of the superstition of their “father-land,” and here it found much to cherish and sustain it, in the credulity of the Dutch and Swedes, nor less from the Indians, who always abounded in marvellous relations, much incited by their conjurers and pow-vows. Dean Swift calls “superstition the spleen of the soul.” Facts which have come down to our more enlightened times, can now no longer terrify; but may often amuse, as Cowper says,

“ There’s something in that ancient superstition,
 Which, erring as it is, our fancy loves!”

From the provincial executive minutes, preserved at Harrisburg, we learn the curious fact of an actual trial for witchcraft. On the 27th of 12 mo. 1683, Margaret Mattson and Yeshro Hendrickson, (Swedish women) who had been accused as witches on the 7th instant, were cited to their trial: on which occasion there were present, as their Judges, Governor William Penn and his council, James Harrison, William Biles, Lasse Cock, William Haigne, C. Taylor, William Clayton and Thomas Holmes. The Governor having given the Grand Jury their charge, they found the bill! The testimony of the witnesses before the Petit Jury is recorded. Such of the Jury as were absent were fined forty shillings each.

Margaret Mattson being arraigned, “she pleads not guilty, and will be tried by the country.” Sundry witnesses were sworn, and many vague stories told—as that she bewitched calves, geese, &c. &c.—that oxen were rather above her malignant powers, but which reached all other cattle.

The daughter of Margaret Mattson was said to have expressed her convictions of her mother being a witch. And the reported say-so’s of the daughter were given in evidence. The dame Mattson “denieth Charles Ashcom’s attestation at her soul, and saith

where is my daughter? let her come and say so,"—"the prisoner denieth all things and saith that the witness speaks only by hearsay." Governor Penn finally charged the Jury, who brought in a verdict sufficiently ambiguous and ineffective for such a dubious offence, saying they find her "guilty of having the common fame of a witch, but not guilty in the manner and form as she stands indicted." They, however, take care to defend the good people from their future mal faisance by exacting from each of them security for good behaviour for six months. A decision infinitely more wise than hanging or drowning! They had each of them husbands, and Lasse Cock served as interpreter for Mrs. Mattson. The whole of this trial may be seen in detail in my MS. Annals, page 506. in the Historical Society.

By this judicious verdict we as Pennsylvanians have probably escaped the odium of Salem. It is not, however, to be concealed that we had a law standing against witches; and it may possibly exonerate us in part, and give some plea for the trial itself, to say it was from a precedent by statute of king James I. That act, was held to be part of our law by an act of our provincial Assembly, entitled "an act against conjuration, witchcraft and dealing with evil and wicked spirits. It says therein that the act of king, James I. shall be put in execution in this province, and be of like force and effect as if the same were here repeated and enacted!" So solemnly and gravely sanctioned as was that act of the king what could we as colonists do! Our act as above was confirmed in all its parts, by the dignified council of George II. in the next year after its passage here, in the presence of eighteen Peers, including the great Duke of Malborough himself!*

The superstition, such as it was, may have been deemed the common sin of the day, the enlightened Judge Hale himself fell into its belief. Our sister city, New York, had also her troubles with her witches. Soon after the English began to rule there, in 1664, a man and wife were arraigned as such, and a verdict found by the Jury against one of them, and in 1672, the people of West Chester complained to the British Governor, of a witch among them. A similar complaint, made next year to the Dutch Governor, Colve, was dismissed as groundless. The Virginians too, lax as we may have deemed them then in religious sentiments, had also their trial of Grace Sherwood in Princess Ann county—as the records still there may show. The populace also seconded the court, by subjecting her to the trial of water, and the place at Walks' farm, near the ferry, is still called "witch duck!" The Bible, it must be conceded, always countenanced these credences: but now, "a generation more refined" think it their boast to say "we have no hoofs nor horns in our religion!"

* Nor was the dread of witchcraft an English failing only. We may find enough of it in France also; for six hundred persons were executed there for that alleged crime in 1609! In 1634, Grandiere, a priest of Loudun, was burnt for bewitching a whole convent of nuns! In 1654, twenty women were executed in Bretagne for their witcheries!

An old record of the province, of 1695, states the case of Robert Reman, presented at Chester for practising geomanty, and divining by a stick. The Grand Jury also presented the following books as vicious, to wit: Hidson's Temple of Wisdom, which teaches geomanty. Stott's Discovery of Witchcraft, and Cornelius Agrippa's Teaching Negromancy—another name probably for necromancy. The latter latinized name forcibly reminds one of those curious similar books of great value, (even of fifty thousand pieces of silver,) destroyed before Paul at Ephesus—"multi autem curiosa agentium, conferentes libros combusserunt coram omnibus."

Superstition has been called the "seminal principle of religion," because it undoubtedly has its origin in the dread of a spiritual world of which God is the supreme. The more vague and undefined our thoughts about these metaphysical mysteries, the more our minds are disposed to the legends of the nursery. As the man who walks in the dark, not seeing nor knowing his way, must feel increase of fear at possible dangers he cannot define; so he who goes abroad in the broad light of day proceeds fearlessly, because he sees and knows as harmless all the objects which surround him. Wherefore we infer, that if we have less terror of imagination now it is ascribable to our superior light and general diffusion of intelligence, thereby setting the mind at rest in many of these things. In the mean time there is a class, who will cherish their own distresses. They intend religious dread, but from misconceptions of its real beneficence and "good will to men," they,—

"Draw a wrong copy of the Christian face
Without the smile, the sweetness, or the grace."

We suppose some such views possessed the mind of the discriminating Burke, when he incidentally gave in his suffrage in their favour, saying, "Superstition is the religion of feeble minds, and they must be tolerated in an intermixture of it in some shape or other, else you deprive weak minds of a resource, found necessary to the strongest."

Doctor Christopher Witt, born in England in 1675, came to this country in 1704, and died at Germantown in 1765 at the age of 90. He was a skillful physician and a learned religious man. He was reputed a magus or diviner, or in grosser terms, a conjurer. He was a student and a believer in all the learned absurdities and marvellous pretensions of the Rosie Crucian philosophy. The Germans of that day and many of the English practised the casting of nativities. As this required mathematical and astronomical learning, it often followed that such a competent scholar was called a "fortuneteller." Doctor Witt cast nativities for reward, and was called a conjurer, whilst his friend Christopher Lehman, who could do the same, and actually cast the nativities of his own children, (which I have seen) was called a scholar and a gentleman.

Germantown was certainly very fruitful in credulity, and gave

support to some three regular professors in the mysterious arts of hocus pocus and divination. Besides the Doctor before named, there was his disciple and once his inmate, Mr. Fraily—sometimes dub'd doctor also, though not possessed of learning. He was, however, pretty skilful in several diseases. When the cows and horses, and even persons, got strange diseases, such as baffled ordinary medicines, it was often a dernier resort to consult either of these persons for relief, and their prescriptions, without seeing the patients, were also given under the idea of witchcraft somehow, and the cure was effected!

“Old Shrunk,” as he was called, lived to the age of 80 and was also a great conjurer. Numerous persons from Philadelphia and elsewhere, some even from Jersey, went often to him to find out stolen goods and to get their fortunes told. They used to consult him, to learn where to go and dig for money. Several persons, whose names I suppress, used to go and dig for hidden treasures of nights. On such occasions if any one “spoke” while digging, or ran from terror without “the magic ring,” previously made with incantation round the place, the whole influence of the spell was lost.

An idea was once very prevalent, especially near to the Delaware and Schuylkill rivers, that the pirates of Blackbeard's day had deposited treasure in the earth. The conceit was, that sometimes they killed a prisoner, and interred him with it, to make his ghost keep his vigils there as a guard “walking his weary round.” Hence it was not rare to hear of persons having seen a shpook or ghost, or of having dreamed of it a plurality of times; thus creating a sufficient incentive to dig on the spot.

“—————Dream after dream ensues:
And still they dream that they shall still succeed,
And still are disappointed!”

To procure the aid of a professor in the black art was called hexing; and Shrunk in particular had great fame therein. He affected to use a diviner's rod, (a hazel switch) with a peculiar angle in it, which was to be self-turned while held in the two hands when approached to any sub-terrene minerals. Some still use the same kind of hazel rods to feel for hidden waters, so as thereby to dig in right places for wells.

Colonel Thomas Forrest, who died in 1828 at the age of 83, had been in his early days a youth of much frolic and fun, always well disposed to give time and application to forward a joke. He found much to amuse himself in the credulity of some of the German families. I have heard him relate some of his anecdotes of the prestigious kind with much humour. When he was about 21 years of age, a taylor who was measuring him for a suit of clothes happened to say, “now Thomas, if you and I could only find some of the money of the sea-robbers, (the pirates) we might drive our

coach for life!" The sincerity and simplicity with which he uttered this, caught the attention of young Forrest, and when he went home he began to devise some scheme to be amused with his credulity and superstition. There was a prevailing belief that the pirates had hidden many sums of money and much of treasure about the banks of the Delaware. Forrest got an old parchment, on which he wrote the dying testimony of one John Hendricks, executed at Tyburn for piracy, in which he stated that he had deposited a chest and a pot of money at Cooper's Point in the Jerseys. This parchment he smoked, and gave to it the appearance of antiquity; calling on his German taylor, told him he had found it among his father's papers, who got it in England from the prisoner whom he visited in prison. This he showed to the taylor as a precious paper which he could by no means lend out of his hands. This operated the desired effect.

Soon after the taylor called on Forrest with one Ambruster, a printer, who he introduced as capable of "printing any spirit out of hell," by his knowledge of the black art. He asked to show him the parchment; he was delighted with it, and confidently said he could conjure Hendricks to give up the money. A time was appointed to meet in an upper room of a public house in Philadelphia, by night, and the inn-keeper was let into the secret by Forrest. By the night appointed, they had prepared by a closet a communication with a room above their sitting room, so as to lower down by a pulley the invoked ghost, who was represented by a young man entirely sewed up in a close white dress on which were painted black eyed-sockets, mouth, and bare ribs with dashes of black between them, the outside and inside of the legs and thighs blacked, so as to make white bones conspicuous there. About twelve persons met in all, seated around a table. Ambruster shuffled and read out cards, on which were inscribed the names of the New Testament saints, telling them he should bring Hendricks to encompass the table, visible or invisible he could not tell. At the words John Hendricks "*du verfluchter cum heraus.*" the pulley was heard to reel, the closet door to fly open, and John Hendricks with gastly appearance to stand forth. The whole were dismayed and fled, save Forrest the brave. After this, Ambruster, on whom they all depended, declared that he had by spells got permission to take up the money. A day was therefore appointed to visit the Jersey shore and to dig there by night. The parchment said it lay between two great stones. Forrest, therefore, prepared two black men to be entirely naked except white petticoat-breeches; and these were to jump each on the stone whenever they came to the pot, which had been previously put there. These frightened off the company for a little. When they next essayed they were assailed by cats tied two and two, to whose tails were spiral papers of gunpowder, which illuminated and whizzed, while the cats whawled. The pot was at length got up, and brought in great

triumph to Philadelphia wharf: but oh, sad disaster! while helping it out of the boat, Forrest, who managed it, and was handing it up to the taylor, trod upon the gunnel and filled the boat, and holding on to the pot dragged the taylor into the river—it was lost! For years afterwards they reproached Forrest for that loss, and declared he had got the chest by himself and was enriched thereby. He favoured the conceit, until at last they actually sued him on a writ of treasure trove; but their lawyer was persuaded to give it up as idle. Some years afterwards Mr. Forrest wrote a very humourous play, (which I have seen printed*) which contained many incidents of this kind of superstition. It gave such offence to the parties represented, that it could not be exhibited on the stage. I remember some lines in it, for it had much of broken English and German-English verses, to wit:

“ My dearest wife, in all my life
 Ich neber was so frighten'd,
 De spirit come and I did run
 'Twas juste like tunder mit lightning.”

For many years he had great reputation for hexing, [conjuring.] He always kept a hazel rod, scraped and smoked, with which to divine where money was hid. Once he lent it to a man, who for its use gave a cart-load of potatoes to the poor house. A decent storekeeper once got him to hex for his wife, who had conceited that an old Mrs. Wiggand had bewitched her and made her to swallow a piece of linseywoolsey. He cured her by strong emetics and a piece of woolsey, which he showed dripping wet come out of her stomach! He made his Dutch girl give up some stolen money, by touching her with cow-itch, and after laying down on his couch and groaning, &c. till she began to itch and scratch, he seemed to be enraged and said, now I'll put fire into your flesh, and if you do not immediately tell how and when you took my money I'll burn you up by conjuration, and make your ghost to be pained and tell it out before your face. She made full confession, and the circumstance got abroad and added still more to his fame. He has told me he has been gravely told many times where ghosts had been seen and invited to come with his hazel rod and feel if money was not there. All this superstition has now subsided, and can be laughed at by the present generation as harmless and amusing anecdotes of the ancient day.

Timothy Matlack, Esq. now 95 years of age, a close observer of passing events in his youth, has assured me there was much more of superstition prevalent in olden time than now; wherefore, fortune-telling, conjuration, and money-digging, were frequent in his youth. He declared it was a fact, before his time, that a young man, a stranger of decent appearance from the South, (the rogues lived there in the ancient days, in the transport colonies of Mary-

* A copy of it is now in the Athanæum.

land and Virginia) gave out he was sold to the devil! and that unless the price was raised for his redemption by the pious, he would be borne off at mid-day by the purchaser in person! He took his lodgings at the inn in Lætitia court, and at the eventful day he was surrounded, and the house too, by the people, among whom were several clergymen. Prayers and pious services of worship were performed, and as the moment approached for execution, when all were on tiptoe, some expecting the verification, and several discrediting it, a murmur ran through the crowd of "there he comes! he comes!" This instantly generated a terrible panic—all fled, from fear, or from the rush of the crowd. When their fears a little subsided, and a calmer inquisition ensued, sure enough, the young man was actually gone, money and all! I should have stated that the money was collected to pay the price; and it lay upon the table in the event of the demand! Mr. Matlack assured me he fully believed these transactions occurred. The story was as popular a tale as the story of the "Paxtang boys."

In confirmation he told me a fact which he witnessed. Michael H—, Esq. well known in public life, who lived in Second street above Arch street, gave out (in a mental delirium it is hoped) that he had sold himself to the devil, and would be carried away at a certain time. At that time crowds actually assembled near the premises to witness the denouement and catastrophe! There must have been truth in this relation, because I now see by the Gazette of 1749, a public notice of this public gathering as an offensive act to the family—I see that M. H. is vindicated from some malicious reports, which said he was distracted, &c. and witnesses appear before Judge Allen and testify that he was then sane, &c. It was certainly on every side a strange affair!

Something like this subject occurred when I was a child. I remember very well to have been taken to a house on the south side of Race street, a few doors east of Second street, where was a black man who was stated to have sold himself to the devil, and to have come from Delaware or Maryland peninsula, by the aid of the pious in Philadelphia, to procure his ransom or exemption. I can never forget his piteous and dejected countenance, as I saw him, in the midst of praying people, working fervently at his exorcism in an up-stairs chamber. I heard him say he had signed an instrument of writing with his own blood. It was probably at black Allen's house, as he was among the praying ones. My mother told me since that hundreds went to see him. Among these were the Rev. Dr. Pilmore, who finally took him to his own house, where at last I understood he concluded from his habits that his greatest calamity was laziness. I conclude he escaped translation, as I never heard of that.

Several aged persons have occasionally pointed out to me the places where persons, to their knowledge, had dug for pirates' money. The small hill once on the north side of Coates' street,

near to Front street, was well remembered by John Brown as having been much dug. Colonel A. J. Morris, now in his 90th year, has told me that in his early days very much was said of Blackbeard and the pirates, both by young and old. Tales were frequently current that this and that person had heard of some of his discovered treasure. Persons in the city were named as having profited by his depredations. But he thought those things were not true. T. Matlack, Esq. told me he was once shown an oak tree, at the south end of Front street, which was marked KLP, at the foot of which was found a large sum of money. The stone which covered the treasure he saw at the door of the alleged finder, who said his ancestor was directed to it by a sailor in the Hospital in England. He told me too, that when his grandfather Burr died they opened a chest which had been left by four sailors "for a day or two," full twenty years before, which was found full of decayed silk goods. Samuel Richards and B. Graves confirmed to me what I had heard elsewhere, that at the sign of the Cock in Spruce street, about 35 years ago, there was found in a pot in the cellar a sum of money of about 5000 dollars. The Cock inn was an old two story frame house which stood on the site of the present easternmost house of B. Graves' row. A Mrs. Green owned and lived in the Cock inn 40 to 50 years ago, and had sold it to Pegan, who found the money in attempting to deepen the cellar. It became a question to whom the money belonged, which it seems was readily settled between Mrs. Green and Pegan, on the pretext that Mrs. Green's husband had put it there! But it must appear sufficiently improbable that Mrs. Green should have left such a treasure on the premises if she really knew of it when she sold the house. The greater probability is that neither of them had any conception how it got there, and they mutually agreed to support the story, so as to hush any other or more imposing inquiries. They admitted they found 5000 dollars. It is quite as probable a story that the pirates had deposited it there before the location of the city. It was of course on the margin of the natural harbour once formed there for vessels. In digging the cellar of the old house at the north east corner of Second street and Gray's alley they discovered a pot of money there; also some lately at Frankford creek.

As late as the year 1792, the shipcarpenters formed a party to dig for pirates' money on the Cohocksinc creek, north west of the causeway, under a large tree. They got frightened off. And it came out afterwards that a waggish neighbour had enacted *diabulus* to their discomfiture.

In the year 1762, one Triestram Davies, of Bethlehem, advertises that he has discovered a sure means of ascertaining where any metals of any kind lay in the earth; for, every metal, says he, has an attraction which he can feel after by his instruments. This shows some reason why so many were credulous in digging for concealed money and mines in former days.

Haunted houses were subjects of frequent mention. Some of them were known even down to the time of my early days. On the north east corner of Walnut and Fifth streets once stood a house very generally called "the haunted house," because of Mr. B. having there killed his wife. He gave the property to Hamilton, the Attorney General, to purge him from his sins by pleading his acquittal at the bar. It long remained empty from the dread of its invisible guest—about 85 years ago. Such as I can still remember were these: Emlen's house, at the south west corner of Noble and Second streets; Naglee's house, far out Second street, near the rope-walk—there a man was to be seen hanging without a head; a house out by the Centre Square, where "the five wheelbarrow-men" committed the murder for which they were executed; the country seat (in ruins) at Masters' place, where is now Cook's farm, out north Fourth street, was another haunt of disturbed spirits.

I have seen aged people who well remembered the town-talk of the people about seeing a black coach drove about at midnight by an evil spirit, having therein one of our deceased rich citizens, who was deemed to have died with unkind feelings to one dependant upon him. I suppress names and circumstances; but there were people enough who were quite persuaded that they saw it! This was before the Revolution.

The good people of Caledonia have so long and exclusively engrossed the faculty of "second sight," that it may justly surprise many to learn that we also have been favoured with at least one case as well attested as their own! I refer to the instance of Eli Yarnall of Frankford. Whatever were his first peculiarities he in time lost them. He fell into intemperate habits, became a wanderer, and died in Virginia, a young man. He was born in Bucks county, and with his family emigrated to the neighbourhood of Pittsburg. There, when a child of seven years of age, he suddenly burst into a fit of laughter in the house, saying he then saw his father (then at a distance) running down the mountain side trying to catch a jug of whiskey which he had let fall. He saw him overtake it, &c. When the father came in, he confirmed the whole story, to the great surprise of all. The boy after this excited much wonder and talk in the neighbourhood. Two or three years after this, the family was visited by Robert Verreé, a public Friend, with other visiting Friends from Bucks county. I have heard, in a very direct manner, from those who heard Verreé's narrative, that he, to try the lad, asked him various questions about circumstances then occurring at his own house in Bucks county; all of which he afterwards ascertained to have been really so at that precise time! Some of the things mentioned were these, viz: "I see your house is made partly of log and partly of stone; before the house is a pond which is now let out; in the porch sits a woman, and a man with gray hairs; in the house are several men," &c. When Verreé re-

turned home he ascertained that his mill-pond before his house had just been let out to catch muskrats; that the man in the porch was his wife's brother Jonathan; that the men in the house were his mowers, who had all come in because of a shower of rain. In short, he said every iota was exactly realized.

The habits of the boy, when he sought for such facts, was to sit down and hold his head downward—his eyes often shut; and after some waiting declared what he saw in his visions. He has been found abroad in the fields, sitting on a stump, crying—on being asked the reasons, he said he saw great destruction of human life by men in mutual combat. His descriptions answered exactly to sea-fights and army battles, although he had never seen the sea, nor ships, nor cannon; all of which he fully described as an actual looker-on. Some of the Friends who saw him became anxious for his future welfare, and deeming him possessed of a peculiar gift and a good spirit, desired to have the bringing of him up. He was therefore committed to the mastery of Nathan Harper, a Friend, engaged in the business of tanning in Frankford. There he excited considerable conversation: and so many began to visit him as to be troublesome to his master, who did what he could to discourage the calls. Questions on his part were therefore shunned as much as he could. He lost his faculty by degrees, and fell into loose company, which of itself prevented serious people from having any further wish to interrogate him.

To instance the kind of inquiries which were usually presented to him it may be stated, that wives who had missed their husbands long, supposed by shipwreck for instance, would go to him and inquire. He would tell them (it is said) of some still alive, what they were then about, &c. Another case, was a man, for banter, went to him to inquire who stole his pocket-book, and he was answered—no one; but you stole one out of a man's pocket when at the vendue—and it was so!

His mother would not allow him "to divine for money," lest he should thereby lose the gift, which she deemed heaven-derived. The idea is not novel, as may be seen in John Woolman's life, where he speaks of a rare gift of healing, which was lost by taking a reward.

These are strange things, evidencing matters "not dreamed of in our philosophy." I give these facts as I heard them—I "nothing extenuate, nor ought set down in malice."

SPORTS AND AMUSEMENTS.

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“ We, shifting for relief, would play the shapes  
Of frolic fancy—call laughter forth,  
Deep-shaking every nerve”—————

IT may help our conceptions of the olden time to be led into an acquaintance with the nature of their sports and amusements; to this end, the following facts may be contemplated with some advantage, to wit:

The dances of the polite part of society were formal minuets. Country or contre dances, although understood, were of rarer occurrence. Hipsesaws and jigs were the common dances of the commonalty. It was long before dancing was encouraged in Philadelphia sufficiently to present a school for a dancing master. The aged Mrs. Shoemaker told me she supposed the first dancing master ever named in Philadelphia was one Bolton, who taught about 75 years ago. In the year 1730, Mrs. Ball, in Lætitia court, advertises her school for French, playing on the spinet, and dancing, &c. When Whitfield laboured in Philadelphia, in 1739, such was the religious excitement of the time, that the dancing school, the assembly and concert room were shut up as inconsistent with the gospel. This was opposed by some others; so far so, that some of the gentlemen concerned broke open the doors, but no company went to the assembly room.

In later time, however, the dancing assembly among the gentry had high vogue, partaking, before the Revolution, of the aristocratic feelings of a monarchical government—excluding the families of mechanics however wealthy. The subscription was three pound fifteen shillings, admitting no gentleman under 21 years, nor lady under 18 years. The supper consisted of tea, chocolate, and rusk—a simple cake, now never seen amidst the profusion of French confectionary. For then we had no spice of French in our institutions, and consequently did not know how to romp in cotillions, but moved with measured dignity in grave minuets or gayer country dances. Every thing was conducted by rule, of six married managers who distributed places by lot; and partners were engaged for the evening—leaving nothing to the success of forwardness or favouritism. Gentlemen always drank tea with their partners the day after the assembly—a sure means of producing a more lasting acquaintance, if mutually desirable.

Foxhunting formerly formed the field exercise of some of our

wealthy citizens, within the memory of several of the aged whom I have conversed with. There was a kennel of hounds kept by one Butler, for the company. It was situated then as out of town, but in a place now populous enough—say on the brow of the hill north of Callowhill street, descending to Pegg's run, and at about 60 feet westward of Second street. Butler himself dwelt in the low brick house adjoining the north west corner of Callowhill street on Second street. As population increased their game decreased; so much so, that the establishment had to remove over to Gloucester, so as to make their hunts in the Jersey pines. At the same time the company provided for their old huntsman, Butler, by setting him up, in the year 1756, with the first public stage for New York. Old captain Samuel Morris, dead about 20 years ago, was for many years the life and head of the club. I well remembered to have seen the voracious and clamorous hounds in their kennel near Gloucester ferry.

Horseraces appear to have been of very early introduction, and bringing with them the usual evils—hard to be controlled. They were, at an early period, performed out "Race street,"—so popularly called because of its being the street directly leading out to the race-ground, cleared out for the purpose, through the forest trees, still long remaining there.

As early as the year 1726 I see that the Gand Jury present, "that since the city has become so very populous the usual custom of horseracing at fairs in the Sassafras street is very dangerous to life: also, it is an evil that they who erect the booths, &c. in that street, at the fairs, do sell all sorts of liquors, &c." It is not improbable, from this description, that they then run straight races along the line of the cleared street—then a street but very little used for travelling.

The present very aged T. Matlack, Esq. was passionately fond of races in his youth. He told me of his remembrances out Race street. In his early days the woods were in commons, having several straggling forest trees still remaining there, and the circular course ranging through those trees. He said all genteel horses were pacers. A trotting horse was deemed a base breed! All these Race street races were mostly pace-races. His father and others kept pacing studs for propagating the breed.

Captain Graydon in his memoirs says racing was a great passion of his young days. The racehorses, in 1755, were kept at Mrs. Nicholls' stables, which extended down Fourth street, two-thirds of the way to Chesnut street, from the rear of her tavern then at the corner of High street. "The enthusiasm of the turf (says he) pervaded the academy; and the most extravagant transport of that sport was transferred to the boys' foot-races round the whole square in which the academy stood—stripped to the shirt, the head and waist bound up with handkerchiefs, and with the shoes off, they ran near half a mile at a heat!"



Thomas Bradford, Esq. telling me of his recollections of the races, says he was told that the earliest races were scrub and pace-races, on the ground now used as Race street. But in his younger days (he is now past 80) they were run in a circular form on a ground from Arch or Race street down to Spruce street, and from Eighth street of Delaware to Schuylkill river—making thus two miles for a heat. About the same time they also run straight races of one mile, from Centre Square to Schuylkill, out High street.

In the year 1761. I notice the first public advertisement of a race; wherein is stated the terms of running the intended races “at the centre race-ground—to run three times round the course each heat.” The grounds themselves at the same time were familiarly called “the Governor’s woods.”

At the Centre Square the races used to be continued till the time of the war of 1775. None occurred afterwards there; and after the peace, they were made unlawful.

The first equestrian feats performed in Philadelphia was in 1771, by Faulks; he executed all his wonders alone—himself riding from one to three horses at a time.

Bullbaiting and cockfighting were much countenanced. The present aged and respectable T. M. had once a great passion for the latter, so that some wags sometimes called him Tim Gaff; thereby affecting to slur a latin signature which he sometimes assumed as a political writer, of which T. G. were the initials of his two latin words.

As respectable a person as Doctor William Shippen, in 1735, in writing to Doctor Gardiner, says, “I have sent you a young gamecock, to be depended upon—which I would advise you to put to a walk by himself with the hen I sent you before—I have not sent an old cock—our young cockers have contrived to kill and steal all I had.” This is the same gentleman who speaks of “his beloved friend Mr. Whitfield.”

Very aged persons have told me of a celebrated place of amusement out Third street by Vine street. It was the place of Charles Quinan’s—always pronounced Queen Ann’s place. It stood on the site of Third street, not then opened; and was famous for alluring the citizens of middle life. There he kept “flying coaches and horses;” they were affixed to a whirlingig frame. The women sat in boxes for coaches and the men strode on wooden horses—in those positions they were whirled around!

Aged persons inform that bullbaiting, bearbaiting, and horse-racing, were much more frequent in old time than since the war of Independence. T. B. Esq. tells me that many men of rank and character, as well as the butchers, reared and kept dogs for the sport. John Ord, an Englishman, south east corner of Second and High street, kept a pair of bull-dogs for the purpose of the breed.

In the days of my youth the barbarous sport of bullbaiting was but too frequent on the commons in the Northern Liberties. Hap-

pily, however, they have been quite laid aside for the last twenty years. They were got up and supported by butchers—a class of men much more ferocious and uncivilized than now. They were stopped by Squire Wharton—our spirited Mayor. He went out to the intended sport seemingly as a friendly observer—and so they expected. When all was prepared for the onset of the dogs he stepped suddenly into the ring, and, calling aloud, said he would, at the peril of his life, seize and commit the first man who should begin; at the same time, calling on names present to support him at their peril, he advanced to the bull and unloosed him from the stake. He then declared he would never desist from bringing future abettors of such exercises to condign punishments. They have never been got up since—a happy circumstance, for which we owe him many thanks!

In the year 1724, slack rope and tight rope dancing by men and women is announced in the Gazette as to be exhibited for twenty evenings at the new booth on Society Hill. This was of course then out of town—somewhere near South and Front streets.

They used to have a play at the time of the fairs, called “throwing at the joke.” A leather cylinder, not unlike a high candlestick, was placed on the ground over a hole. The adventurers placed their coppers on the top of the joke, then retired to a distance and tossed a stick at it so as to knock the whole down. The pennies which fell in the pot were to belong to the thrower, those which fell out, to the owner of the joke. The leather was pliable and was easily bent to let the pennies drop. They played also at the fairs the wheel of fortune, nine holes, &c.

In former days the streets were much filled with boys “skying a copper”—a play to toss up pennies and guess heads or tails: “pitch-penny” too, was frequent—to pitch at a white mark on the ground; they pitched also “chuckers—a kind of pewter pennies cast by the boys themselves. All these plays have been banished from our city walks by the increased pavements, and still more by the multitudes of walkers who disturb such plays.

The game for shooters much more abounded before the Revolution than since. Fishing and fowling were once subjects of great recreation and success. Wild pigeons used to be innumerable, so also black-birds, reed-birds, and squirrels. As late as the year 1720 an act was passed, fining five shillings for shooting pigeons, doves, or partridges, or other fowl (birds) in the streets of Philadelphia, or the gardens or orchards adjoining any houses within the said city! In Penn’s woods, westward of Broad street, used to be excellent pigeon shooting.

The skaters of Philadelphia have long been preeminent. Graydon in his memoirs has stated his reasons for thinking his countrymen are the most expert and graceful in the world! quite surpassing the Dutch and English. He thinks them also the best swimmers to be found in the civilized world!

Mr. George Tyson, a broker of Philadelphia, weighing 180 to 190 pounds, is the greatest swimmer (save a companion, who swims with him) we have ever had, not excepting Doctor Franklin himself. He and that companion have swum from Philadelphia to Fort Mifflin and back without ever resting, save a little while floating off the fort to see it! He says he never tires with swimming, and that he can float in perfect stillness, with his arms folded, by the hour. He deems his sensations at that time delightful. He went across the Delaware, drawn by a paper kite in the air. He is short and fat—his fat and flesh aid his specific lightness, no doubt, in the water, and causes him readily to swim high out of the water.

During the old-fashioned winters, when, about New Year's day, every one expected to see or hear of an "Ox Roast" on the Delaware, upon the thick ribbed ice, which, without causing much alarm among the thousands moving in all directions upon its surface, would crack and rend itself by its own weight, without separating, in sounds like thunder—among the then multitudinous throng of promenaders, sliders, and skaters, visible from the wharves daily, for weeks together, all about the river as far as the eye could reach, in black groupes and long serpentine lines of pedestrians, to and from the shores, to the island, and different ferries in Jersey—of the very many varieties of skaters of all colours and sizes mingled together, and darting about here and there, "upward and downward, mingled and convolved," a few were at all times discernible as being decidedly superior to the rest for dexterity, power, and grace—namely, William Tharpe, Doctor Foulke, Governor Mifflin, C. W. Peale, George Heyl, "Joe" Claypoole, and some others, not forgetting, by the way, a black Othello, who, from his apparent muscle and powerful movement, might have sprung, as did the noble Moor, from "men of royal siege." In swiftness he had no competitor; he outstripped the wind; the play of his elbows in alternate movement with his "low gutter" skates, while darting forward and uttering occasionally a wild scream peculiar to the African race while in active exertion of body, was very imposing in appearance and effect. Of the gentlemen skaters before enumerated, and others held in general admiration by all, George Heyl took the lead in graceful skating, and in superior dexterity in cutting figures and "High Dutch" within a limited space of smooth ice. On a larger field of glass, among others he might be seen moving about elegantly and at perfect ease, in curve lines, with folded arms, being dressed in red coat (as was the fashion) and buckskin "tights," his bright broad skates in an occasional round turn flashing upon the eye; then again to be pursued by others, he might be seen suddenly changing to the back and *heel forward* movement, offering them his hand, and at the same time eluding their grasp by his dexterous and instantaneous deviations to the right and left, leaving them to their hard work of "striking out" after him with all their might and main.

The next very best skater, and at the same time the most noted surgeon of the day, was Doctor Foulke, in Front street, opposite Elfreth's alley. Skating "High Dutch," and being able to cut the letters of his own name at one flourish, constituted the Doctor's fame as a *skater*. In the way of business, the Doctor was off-hand, and quick in his speech and manner, but gentlemanly withal.

C. W. Peale, as a skater, was only remarkable for using a remarkable pair of "gutter skates," with a remarkable prong, capped and curved backwards, with which he moved leisurely about in curve lines. They looked as though they might have been brought to him from somewhere about the German ocean, as a subject for his Museum.

"May-days" were much more regarded formerly than now. All young people went out into the country on foot, to walk and gather flowers. The lads too, when the woods abounded, would put up as many as fifty poles of their own cutting, procured by them without any fear of molestation.

The "Belsh Nichel" and St. Nicholas has been a time of Christmas amusement from time immemorial among us; brought in, it is supposed, among the sportive frolics of the Germans. It is the same also observed in New York under the Dutch name of St. Claes. "Belsh Nichel," in high German, expresses "Nicholas in his fur" or sheep-skin clothing. He is always supposed to bring good things at night to good children, and a rod for those who are bad. Every father in his turn remembers the excitements of his youth in Belsh-nichel and Christ-kinckle nights, and his amusements also when a father, at seeing how his own children expressed their feelings on their expectations of gifts from the mysterious visiter! The following fine poetry upon the subject must gratify the reader.

It was the night before Christmas, when all through the house  
 Not a creature was stirring, not even a mouse;  
 When what in the air, to my eyes should appear,  
 But a miniature sleigh and eight tiny reindeer;  
 With a little old driver so lively and quick,  
 I knew in a moment, it must be Saint Nick!  
 Soon, on to the house top, his coursers, they flew,  
 With the sleigh full of toys and Saint Nicholas too—  
 As I roll'd on my bed and was turning around,  
 Down the chimney Saint Nicholas came with a bound!  
 He was dressed all in fur, from his head to his foot,  
 And his clothes were all tarnished with ashes and soot:  
 The stump of a pipe he held fast in his teeth,  
 And the smoke it encircled his head like a wreath.  
 He had a broad face and a little round belly,  
 That shook when he laughed, like a bowl full of jelly.  
 He spoke not a word, but went straight to his work:  
 Soon filled all the stockings, then turned with a jerk;  
 And laying his finger aside of his nose

And giving a nod, up the chimney he rose.  
He sprang to his sleigh, to his team gave a whistle  
And away they all flew like the down of a thistle ;  
And I heard him exclaim, ere he drove out of sight,  
“ Happy Christmas to all, and to all a good night !

In my youthful days it was a great sport with the boys to sled down hills in the city, on the snow in winter. Since the population and the wheel-carriages have increased, the danger of being run over more than formerly, and the rarity of the snow, has made boys leave it off for some years. Thirty to forty boys and sleds could be seen running down each of the streets descending from Front street to the river. There was also much sledding down the streets and hills descending to Pegg's run.

The boys at Friends' school in south Fourth street were formerly (although gravely disciplined) as mischievous and sportive as others. Some still alive may be amused to be reminded of their puerilities. When they were taught by Jonah Thompson, who was a man of good military port and aspect, accustomed to walk at the head of his corps of scholars to week-day meetings in a long line of “ two and two.” On such occasion the town was surprised to see them so marching with wooden guns, (a kind of received Quaker emblem) and having withal a little flag ! These they had succeeded to take up as they walked out of school without the knowledge of their chieftain, who had preceded them without deigning to look back on their array. On another occasion when Robert Proud, the historian, was their teacher, and was remarkable for retaining his large bush-wig, long after others had disused them, they bored a hole through the ceiling over his sitting place, and by suspending a pin-hook to a cord, so attached it to his wig as to draw it up, leaving it suspended as if depending from the ceiling. At another time they combined at night to take to pieces a country wagon which they lifted on to a chimney wall then building, there replacing the wheels, awning, &c. to the astonishment of the owner and the diversion of the populace. Some of those urchins lived, notwithstanding their misapplied talents and ingenuity, to make very grave and exemplary members of society. Youth is the season of levity and mirth, and although we must chide its wanton aberrations, we may yet feel sensations of indulgence, knowing what we ourselves have been, and to what they with ourselves must come, —

“ When cherish'd fancies one by one  
Shall slowly fade from day to day ;—  
And then from weary sun to sun  
They will not have the heart to play !”

The time was when the “ uptown” and “ downtown boys” were rival clans, as well understood in the city precincts as the bigger clans of feds and anti-feds. They used to have, according to the streets, their regular night-battles with sticks and stones, making

the panes of glass to jingle occasionally. But the appearance of "old Carlisle" and the famous West (the constable) would scatter them into all the hiding-places—peeping out from holes and corners when the coast was clear. Those from the south of Chestnut street were frequently headed by one whose naval exploits, since that time, in the Mediterranean and on the Atlantic have secured to him imperishable fame; also by his faithful friend and ardent admirer, well known since throughout the community for his suavity and exquisitely polished manners. They were the Achilles and the Patrocles of the "downtowners."

The Northern Liberties about Camptown and Pegg's run used to be in agitation almost every Saturday night by the regular clans of "rough and tumble" fighting, between the shipcarpenters from Kensington, and the butchers from Spring Garden—the public authority not even attempting to hinder them, as it was deemed an affair out of town.

All this spirit of rivalry and fighting was the product of the war of Independence. Their ears, as boys, were filled with the echoes of battles lost or won. They felt their buoyant spirits inspired with martial ardour too, and having no real enemies to encounter, they invented them for the occasion. In this way the academy boys were accoutred as young soldiers, and they much piqued themselves as the rivals of another class of school-boys. Each had their officers, and all of them some emblems *a la militaire*—all aspiring to the marks and influence of manhood; burning to get through their minority, and to take their chances in the world before them!

"Then passions wild and dark and strong,  
And hopes and powers and feelings high  
Ere manhood's thoughts, a rushing throng,  
Shall sink the cheek and dim the eye!"

## Education.

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“ Thus form the mind by use of alphabetic signs.”

IT is greatly to the credit of our forefathers, that they showed an early and continued regard to the education of their posterity. They were men of too much practical wisdom not to foresee the abiding advantages of proper instruction to the rising generation. What they aimed to impart was solid and substantial. If it in general bore the plain appellation of “reading, writing and arithmetic” only, it gave these so effectively as to make many of their pupils persons of first-rate consequence and wisdom in the early annals of our country. With such gifts in their possession, many of them were enabled to become their self-instructors in numerous branches of science and belles lettres studies. In that day they made no glaring display, under imposing names and high charges, of teaching youth geography, use of maps and globes, dictionary, history, cronology, composition, &c. &c. &c. All these came as matter of course, by mere readings at home, when the mind was matured and the school-acquirements were finished. They then learned to read on purpose to be able to pursue such branches of inquiry for themselves; and having the means in possession, the end as certainly followed without the school-bill charge as with it. They thus acquired, when the mind was old enough fondly to enlist in the inquiry, all they read “by heart,” because, as it was mental treasure of their own seeking and attainment, it was valued in the affection: They therefore did not perplex their youth by “getting” lessons by head or dint of memory—of mere facts, forgotten as fast as learned, because above the capacity of the youthful mind to appreciate and keep for future service. All they taught was practical; and, so far as it went, every lesson was efficient and good. The generation has not yet passed away who never “committed” a page of dictionary-learning in their lives, who as readily attained the common sense of words by use and reading, as any of their offspring now possess them by lessons painfully comed memoriter.

It is gratifying to add that the mass of our forefathers were also an instructed and reading community. A letter of Mr. Jefferson's, of the year 1785, well sustains this assertion, saying, “In science the mass of the people in Europe is two centuries behind ours; their literati is half a dozen years before us. Books, really good, acquire just reputation in that time, and so become known to us. In

the mean time, we are out of reach of that swarm of nonsense which issues from a thousand presses and perishes almost in issuing." But since then solid reading is less sought after—"the press must be kept going" even as abroad. The ephemera of England flutter across the ocean and breathe once more a shortlived existence ere they finally perish.

As early as 1683. Enoch Flower opened the first English school. The prices were moderate—to read English four shillings, to write six shillings, and to read, write, and cast accounts eight shillings, and for teaching, lodging and diet 10*l.* per annum. A curious autograph letter from his ancestor is preserved in my MS. Annals, page 334, in the Historical Society.

In 1689, the Friends originated the Friends' public school in Philadelphia—the same which now stands in Fourth below Chestnut street. It was to be a grammar-school, and to teach the learned languages. George Keith, a Scotch Friend and public preacher, (afterwards an Episcopal clergyman and a bitter foe to Friends!) became the first teacher, assisted by Thomas Makin, who in the next year became the principal. This Makin was called "a good latinist;" we have the remains of his ability in that way in his long latin poem "descriptive of Pennsylvania in 1729." His life was simple, and probably fettered by the "res angusti domi:" for his death occurred, in 1733, in a manner indicative of his painstaking domestic concerns. In the Mercury of November, 1733, it is thus announced: "Last Tuesday night Mr. Thomas Makin, a very ancient man, who for many years was a schoolmaster in this city, stooping over a wharf end to get a pail of water, unhappily fell in and was drowned." He appears to have passed Meeting with Sarah Rich in 1700, the same year in which he became principal to the academy or school. During the same time he served as the clerk of the Assembly.

At this early period of time, so much had the little Lewistown at our southern Cape the preeminence in female tuition, that Thomas Lloyd, the deputy Governor, preferred to send his younger daughters from Philadelphia to that place to finish their education.

Our first most distinguished seminaries of learning began in the country before the academy in Philadelphia was instituted. The Rev. William Tennent, who came from Ireland, arrived at New York in 1718, and in 1721 removed to Bensalem in Bucks county; soon after he settled in a Presbyterian church, of small consideration, at "the forks of Neshamina," (he had been ordained a churchman) where he opened a school for teaching the languages, &c. There he formed many of the youth of early renown. From its celebrity among us, it received the popular name of the "Log College." He died in 1743, and was buried there. His four sons all became clergymen, well known to most readers, especially his sons Gilbert and William—the former was remarkable for his ardour in Whitfield's cause and the schism he formed in the first Presbyte-

rian church in Philadelphia, which led to the secession and the building of the church on the north west corner of Third and Arch streets.

In connexion with this subject we are to introduce the name of James Logan, Esq. already so favourably known to the public as the patron of learning in his valuable gift of our public library. As early as 1728 we find him the patron and endower of this "Log College:" for, he then bestows fifty acres of his land there to the above named Rev. William Tennent, his cousin by his mother's side—this to encourage him to prosecute his views and make his residence near us permanent. The early fare of Mr. Tennent accorded with the rude materials of his house and school; for, it appears from the correspondence of James Logan, that he was obliged to procure and send him provisions, at his first settlement, from Philadelphia. Such was the proper *alma mater* of the chief scholars of that early day.

The next school of preeminence was that of the Rev. Francis Allison, another Irishman, who came to this country in 1735, and in 1741 opened his school at New London, in Chester county, where he taught the languages, &c. Several clergymen, of subsequent reputation, were educated there. He was zealous and benevolent; and educated some young ministers gratuitously. At one time he resided at Thunder Hill in Maryland, and there educated such men as Charles Thomson, George Reed, Thomas M'Kean, &c.—men who were remarkable in our Revolutionary struggle for their abilities and attachment to the cause of their country. In later life, Mr. Allison became the provost of the college of Philadelphia, and was, when there, accustomed to assist his pupil Doctor Ewing, the pastor of the first Presbyterian church in High street, in occasionally serving his pulpit. He died in 1777, "full of honours and full of years."

In 1750, about the time that the Philadelphia academy and college began to excite public interest and attention, the City Council expressed some sense of the subject on their minutes, to wit: A committee report on the advantages to be gained by the erection of an academy and public school, saying, "the youth would receive a good education at home, and be also under the eye of their friends; it would tend to raise able magistrates, &c. It would raise schoolmasters from among the poorer class, to be qualified to serve as such in the country under recommendation from the academy, and thus prevent the employment of unknown characters, who often prove to be vicious imported servants, or concealed papists—often corrupting the morals of the children." Upon the reading of this report, the board decided, unanimously, to present the trustees towards such a school 200£. also 50£. per annum to charity schools, for the next five years; also 50£. per annum, for five years, for the right of sending one scholar yearly from the charity school to be taught in all the branches of learning taught in said academy. ✓

The city academy, began in 1750 under the exertions and auspices of Doctor Franklin, was originally built for Whitfield's meeting-house in 1741; the academy started with a subscription sum of 2600*l*. In 1753, it was created "a college," and in 1779, "the university." For further facts concerning "the academy" see that article.

In 1770, a Mr. Griscom advertises his private academy, "free from the noise of the city," at the north end. It may surprise some to learn that this was a long stone building on Front and Water streets a little above Vine street, being two stories high on Front street, and three stories on Water street, once beautifully situated, when no population was crowded near it, and having a full and open view to the river: it afterwards stood a desolate, neglected-looking building, filled with numerous poor tenantry, until a few years ago, bearing with its inmates the name of "the College," although they had long lost the cause of such a name.

This Mr. Griscom may be regarded as the first individual among us who ventured to assume the title of "Academy" to any private institution. The simple, unassuming appellation of "school" was the universal name till about the year 1795; after that time "academies," "seminaries," "lyceums," "institutes," &c. were perpetually springing up in every quarter among us. Before those days "ladies' academies and Misses boarding-schools" were unknown: boys and girls were accustomed to go to the same schools.

Mr. Horton first started the idea of a separate school for girls, and with it the idea of instructing them in grammar and other learning; and about the year 1795, Poor's "academy for young ladies," in Cherry street, became a place of proud distinction to "finished" females; and their annual "commencement days" and exhibition in the great churches was an affair of great interest and street parade.

My facetious friend, Lang Syne, has presented a lively picture of the "schoolmasters" in the days last referred to, when "preceptors," "principals, &c." were yet unnamed. Those who can recollect those instructors which he describes, in connexion with their own boyhood and school discipline, will feel the force of many interesting associations—long forgotten emotions will revive in the mind as they look on the painted picture so feelingly touched to the life, to wit: About that time there were no boarding-schools, nor "didactic seminaries" in the city. The young ladies' academy, by Mr. Poor, used to hold its commencement in the Moravian meeting-house. The old academy on Fourth street was the only one (as such) in the city for young gentlemen. The principal of the academy, in person, was middle size, round, and strongly built, habited as a clergyman in parson's gray suit, cocked hat, and full-bottomed powdered wig—with an imperturbable stare, and prominent gray eyes. Of single schools, Lyttle, Gartly, and Yerkes, were the only ones remembered. What is now known as

"Friends' Academy," in Fourth, below Chesnut, was at that time occupied by four different masters. The west room, down stairs, by Robert Proud, Latin master; the one above him, by William Waring, teacher of astronomy and mathematics; the east room, up stairs, by Jeremiah Paul; and the one below, "last not least in our" remembrance, by J. Todd.—severe he was. The State-house clock, being at the time visible from the school pavement, gave to the eye full notice when to break off marble and plug top, hastily collect the "stakes," and bundle in, pell mell, to the school-room, where, until the arrival of the "master of scholars,"* they were busily employed, every one, in finding his place, under the control, for the time, of a short Irishman, usher, named Jimmy M Cue. On the entrance of the master, all shuffling of the feet, "scrougeing!" hitting of elbows, and whispering disputes, were hastily adjusted, leaving a silence which might be felt, "not a mouse stirring." He, Todd, dressed after the plainest manner of Friends, but of the richest material, with looped cocked hat, and was at all times remarkably nice and clean in his person—a man of about 60 years, square built, and well sustained by bone and muscle.

After an hour, may be, of quiet time, every thing going smoothly on—boys at their tasks—no sound, but from the master's voice, while hearing the one standing near him—a dead calm—when suddenly a brisk slap on the ear or face, for something or for nothing, gave "dreadful note" that an irruption of the lava was now about to take place—next thing to be seen was "strap" in full play, over the head and shoulders of Pilgarlic. The passion of the master "growing by what it fed on," and wanting elbow room, the chair would be quickly thrust on one side, when, with sudden gripe, he was to be seen dragging his struggling suppliant to the flogging ground, in the centre of the room—having placed his left foot upon the end of a bench, he then, with a patent jerk, peculiar to himself, would have the boy completely horsed across his knee, with his left elbow on the back of his neck, to keep him securely on. In the hurry of the moment he would bring his long pen with him, griped between his strong teeth, (visible the while) causing the both ends to descend to a parallel with his chin, and adding much to the terror of the scene. His face would assume a deep claret colour—his little bob of hair would disengage itself, and stand out, each "particular hair," as it were, "up in arms, and eager for the fray." Having his victim thus completely at command, and all useless drapery drawn up to a bunch above the waistband, and the rotundity and the nankeen in the closest affinity possible for them to be, then, once more to the "staring crew," would be exhibited the dexterity of master and strap. By long practice he had arrived at such perfection in the exercise, that, moving in quick time, the 15 inches of bridle rein (alias strap) would be seen, after every cut, elevated to a perpendicular above his head: from whence it descended like a flail upon

* John Todd.

the stretched nankeen, leaving, "on the place beneath," a fiery red streak at every slash. It was customary with him to address the sufferer at intervals as follows :—Does it hurt ?—(O ! yes, Master, O ! dont, Master,) then I'll make it hurt the more—I'll make thy flesh creep—thou shan't want a warming pan to night—intolerable being !—Nothing in nature is able to prevail upon thee, but my strap. He had one boy named George Fudge, who usually wore leather breeches, with which he put strap and its master at defiance. He would never acknowledge pain—he would not "sing out." He seized him one day, and having gone through the evolutions of strapping, (as useless in effect as if he had been thrashing a flour bag,) almost breathless with rage, he once more appealed to the feelings of the "reprobate," by saying—Does it not hurt ? The astonishment of the school and the master was completed on hearing him sing out No !—Hurray for Leather Crackers !—He was thrown off immediately, sprawling on the floor, with the benediction as follows : Intolerable being ! Get out of my school—nothing in nature is able to prevail upon thee—not even my strap !

'Twas not his "love of learning was in fault" so much as the old British system of introducing learning and discipline into the brains of boys and soldiers by dint of punishment. The system of flogging on all occasions, in schools, for something or for nothing, being protected by law, gives free play to the passions of the master, which he, for one, exercised with great severity. The writer has at this moment in his "memory" a schoolmaster, *then* of this city, who, about five years ago, went deliberately out of his school to purchase a cow-skin, with which, on his return, he extinguished his bitter revenge on a boy who had offended him. The age of chivalry preferred ignorance in its sons, to having them subjected to the fear of a pedagogue—believing that a boy who had quailed under the eye of the schoolmaster, would never face the enemy with boldness on the field of battle; which, it must be allowed, is a "swing of the pendulum" too far the other way.

PRIMITIVE COURTS AND TRIALS.

“Where gross misconduct meets the lash of law.”

IN the first judicial proceedings of the city, the Governor and council exercised a general jurisdiction, so that all matters, whether original or appellate, down to the most trivial events, were subject to their decision. The punishments too, were such as they might choose to decree. These earliest records are preserved. The first are dated Philadelphia, 10th of 1st mo. 1682-3. Some cases which I deem most curious I here preserve, to wit:

20th of 1st mo. 1683, Nathaniel Allen complained to the Governor and council that he had sold a servant to Henry Bowman for six cwt. of beef, with the hide and tallow, and six pounds sterling; also that he had hired his boat to the said Bowman, and another for one month, which they detained 18 weeks. The beef, tallow, hide and money were all detained. He prayed redress of those grievances; whereupon it was ordered that William Clarke, John Simcoe and James Harrison should speak to Henry Bowman concerning this matter. The simplicity of the subject, brought before the Governor of a great country, reminds one strongly of the Patriarchal tribunal of Moses, when he was worried with petty complaints, until he got him seventy of council to help him!

9th of 4th mo. 1683, a proclamation issued by the Governor and council, saying, that ye constables in this city should go to public houses to see good order kept, and the people should not stay longer at an ordinary than such an hour.

20th of 4th mo. 1683, the County Court of Philadelphia is fined forty pounds “for giving judgment against law.” The property for which action was brought, was a tract of land in Bucks county. The case was brought before the Governor and council by appeal. It was decided by “the board” that an appeal did not lie. They ventured, however, while the matter was fresh in their memory, to fine the County Court of Philadelphia as above stated,

On the 26th of 4 mo. 1683, Nicholas Bartlett, plaintiff, vs. F. Whitwell, who claims redress for an underrated appraisement, receives a decree that the defendant pay three cows and calves.

As a sample of the condescension of the Governor and council of Pennsylvania, take the following extract, viz.

8th of 7 mo. 1683, Philip England made his complaint against James Kilner, who denieth all alleged against him, only the kick-

ing of the maid, and that was for spilling a chamber-pot upon the deck: otherways he was very kind to them.

On the 24th of 8 mo. 1683, Charles Pickering, Samuel Buckley and Robert Fenton, "for putting away bad money," are put to their trial. The foreman of the jury desired that the prisoner, C. P. would tell him who he had the money of that he paid to several people; but he sought to evade, saying "the money any person received of him he would change it, and that no man should lose by him." The Governor (William Penn) charged the jury, and afterwards (the verdict of the jury being given) gave the sentence of the court, that "Charles Pickering should make full satisfaction in good and current pay to every person that shall within the space of one month bring in any of this false, base, and counterfeit coyne, (to be called in by proclamation) and that it shall be melted into gross before returned to thee, and thou shalt pay a fine of *fourty* pounds towards the building of a court-house in this *towne*, and stand committed till *payd* and *fined* security for thy good *abearance*." The sentence of Samuel Buckley was, that "the court, considering thee more ingenious than he who went before thee, hath thought fit to fine thee ten pounds towards a public court-house." And Robert Fenton, "because of his being a servant and of his ingenuity [candour] in confessing the truth, is to set an hour in the stocks on the next day."

16th of 2 mo. 1684, William Penn being present, the council determined that there shall be a Provincial Court of five Judges to try all criminal cases and titles to land, and to be a court of equity to decide all differences upon appeals from the County Courts. And it being afterwards conceded that the Governor had the power by charter to choose Judges for life, he therefore,

On the 4th of 6 mo. 1684, did appoint the first Judges, to wit: Nicholas Moore, William Welsh, William Wood, Robert Turner and John Eckley, of whom Nicholas Moore was Chief Justice. These were first appointed for but two years. In the next year it appears the council appointed Judges, and in the absence of some of them the council sat for making decisions. After this time, the same Judges often received renewed commissions under the Broad Seal.

The 10th of 3 mo. 1684, the Governor informs council that he had called the Indians together and proposed to them to let them have rum if they would be contented to be punished as the English were, which they did agree to, provided that the law of not selling them rum be abolished.

13th of 3 mo. 1684, "Andrew Johnson *vs.* Hanse Peterson. There being a difference depending between them, the Governor and council advise them to shake hands and to forgive one another, and ordered that they should enter into bonds for fifty pounds apiece for their good *abearance*, wh. accordingly they did. It was also

ordered, that the records of court concerning that business should be burnt."

15th of 3 mo. 1684. "Ordered that four of the members of this board acquaint the Assembly of their breach of privilege, and that they send their amendments in, short; and reprov'd Henry Stretcher for being disordered in drink."

26th of 5th mo. 1684. "Thomas Lloyd, Thomas Holmes, and William Haignes appointed to draw up a charter for Philadelphia, to be made a burrough, consisting of a Mayor and six Aldermen, and to call to their assistance any of the council."

11th of 3 mo. 1685. proclamation of James II. and the papers relative to ye death of Charles II. and the speech of his successor, solemnly read "before ye Governor's gate in ye towne of Philadelphia."

18th of 3 mo. 1685. "The speaker with the Assembly attended this board, and declared that they were abused by Patrick Robinson, who said 'you have drawn up an impeachment against President Moore at *hab nab*.* for which they desire satisfaction."

"The President and council taking into consideration the words spoken by Patrick Robinson, clerk to this board, concerning the Assembly, that the impeachment against Judge Moore was drawn *hab nab*, which expressions of his we doe unanimously declare to be undecent, unallowable and to be disowned."

This subject was taken up in council a few days after, when it was decided that Patrick Robinson could not be removed from "his clerk's office" until he was legally convicted of the offence; after which, "it is resolved that he shall be readily dismissed from any public office of trust in this government," and which was eventually done.†

17th of 9 mo. 1685. all the families living in caves, ordered to appear before ye council. (What a groupe for the pencil of a Hogarth!) This order was occasioned by the representations of the Magistrates of Philadelphia, and enforced by a letter they had received from the Governor, who was then in England. No one, however, thought proper to obey the order. The council gave "further notice, that the Governor's orders relating to the caves, will be put in execution in one month's time."

9th of 11 mo. 1685. (erroneously '89 in the record,) all retailers of "strong liquor" in Philadelphia, ordered to hand in their licenses to the council, which were to be void after the day appointed for giving them in, which was "the 15th instant," to be renewed by "such as think fit."

The preceding examples of cases are extracted through the politeness of James Trimble, Esq. from "the minutes of the Provincial Executive," preserved at Harrisburg, where more of similar

* Random.

† The above Patrick Robinson's house was rented by the Sheriff as the prison. I see him on another occasion acting as a lawyer, at the court in Bucks county.

ancient story remains to be explored by the industry of others, favourable to this kind of research.

I have had access to some of the court records still preserved in Philadelphia; being those of the Quarter Sessions and Common Pleas, written in curious and difficult black-letter hand. I extract the following facts, to wit:

Year 1685—John Rambo is indicted, and gives Peter and Gunner Rambo securities in 500*£.* for his appearance, to answer an indictment preferred by Peter Cock of Kiphah [all Swedish families I think] for his having had criminal intercourse with his daughter Bridget. The witnesses testify that about the time of Christmas, 1684, the said John Rambo came at midnight to the house of her father, and by pulling off a plank of the house, on the loft, near the chamber, he jumped down to the floor, and directly after got into the bed wherein said Bridget and her two sisters (aged 16 and 19) were also laying; saying he was resolved to be the husband of Bridget, (even as his brother had before taken another sister) and must therefore lie there. Whereupon, there being a crowded place, the two sisters, with strange submission, withdrew and lay upon the floor all night in a cold December! The court, after the verdict of the jury, adjudged John Rambo to marry Bridget before she be delivered, or then maintain the child. Both to be fined 10*£.* each. This Bridget was sister to Lassey Cock—a name before mentioned in Penn's council, and was a Justice of Peace. Afterwards said Rambo was fined 150*£.* for noncompliance. Some may wonder who and where are now the descendants of this disputed love! The name of Rambo is still among us: but the last of the whole blood of that name was Jonas Rambo, a good man, of Upper Merion, who died last year in his 70th year, at the same farm held by his family 140 years.

The court about this time appointed the justices, constables, road overseers, &c. from time to time. William Orion is fined five shillings for being twice drunk.

The Grand Jury present Joseph Knight, for suffering drunkenness and evil orders in his cave, and several drinking houses to debauch persons are also presented. They present also the want of a prison, also the want of a convenient road from Schuylkill ferry to Darby. They present the County Attorney, Samuel Herset, for not securing a robber in fetters when committed to him. They present the want of a bridge in the road at the north end of the town [meaning at Poole's.] They present all caves by the water side as unfit for houses of entertainment, and as giving many an occasion there to forestal the market.

All deeds for conveyances of land are acknowledged in this court, and the names, dates and quantities are recorded on its minutes.

John Moon is fined 20*£.* and his servant, Martha Williams, 10*£.* for fornication, and to be obliged to be married before the

delivery of the child. William Penn had a servant of this name who settled in Bucks county—a Friend.

April, 1686—The Grand Jury present several names for selling drink to Indians. They present the want of a finished road by the new bridge (Poole's) to the Governor's mill—Globe mill; several for encroaching on the streets; and a gate in the road towards the said mill.

The court, at the request of William Carter, the appointed Weigher of Bread, affix the value of the loaf by the price of wheat then current.

The earliest attornies named in the actions are Samuel Herset, Pickering, David Lloyd, Thomas Clarke, John Moore, and P. Robinson. The Pickering just named is supposed to be the same Charles Pickering the counterfeiter, and probably the same who was first settled at Pickering creek in Chester county. He was drowned at sea, on a voyage to England, and left none of his name in that neighbourhood.

Year 1700—In the court of Quarter Sessions, William Penn being present, after his return, the Justices of Peace disputed about their willingness to be sworn into their new commission—some alleging they could not in conscience take an oath, and others insisting it was their duty. The court was adjourned from time to time to determine the case, and, finally, the dilemma was settled by the Governor, in substituting new names in the place of those who demurred, and then all were sworn.

Lewd men and women and disorderly drinking-houses are very often presented. Elizabeth Glann is presented for fornication with Peter Packonet. She is fined 10*l.* or to be lashed 21 strokes. Nothing is said of Packonet! Perhaps he was not then before the court!

In 1703, the court appoint four persons to report the cost of a new prison and court-house.

In 1703, John Bowling, Esq. is confirmed Collector of his Majesty's Customs for the Port of Philadelphia, he having made, as was required, his abjuration of the Prince of Wales. This is the first Collector on record. In this year many roads are appointed to be made about the city to the country, especially of cross-roads from township to township. It may seem strange to many to be informed that the early records of Friends' monthly Meetings in Philadelphia show that committees were frequently appointed by that Meeting to lay out roads.

I have seen a pamphlet of 19 pages, printed by William Bradford at Philadelphia in 1691-2, containing "the first case of this nature happening in this part of the country before"—the whole published under the sanction of the clerk of the court, Samuel Hedge. It elucidates several facts of local interest: it is entitled, "Blood will out, or an Example of Justice in the Tryal, Confession and Execution of Thomas Lutherland, who murdered John

Clark, of Philadelphia, Trader.—Tried and Executed at Salem, W. J. the 23 Feb. 169½." The whole points in the trial are too long to be given in this place; but the facts and proceedings, of an unusual character, are preserved in my MS. Annals, in the Historical Society, page 194 to 196. All the jury took their averment. The "clark" asketh: Art thou guilty? He answers—"not of the murder, but of the felony." When first apprehended, he was confronted with the corpse and bid to touch it, which he did, saying, "If I have murdered him he will bleed afresh, and saying, poor innocent man, why should I destroy him—if I hurt him I wish the earth may open and swallow me up!"

Bold and hardened as he thus appeared, and although he had no direct witnesses against him, he betrayed himself, by answering questions, into so many contradictions concerning himself at the time of the murder, that he got confused, and finally came to open and general confession, saying the deceased was in his own little vessel, alone by the creek side, when he passed a rope round his neck in his cabin, telling him I would not destroy him, whilst he said, I think you intend to choke me. I then asked him if he had got some money, and he said he had some wampum, a piece-of-eight and some double bits. He cried—spare my life and take all; but I pulled both ends of the rope together, whilst he cried, Lord have mercy upon my soul, repeatedly, even till he was dead. It does not appear that there was any attorney or pleadings in behalf of the prisoner: but the court had some one as "King's Attorney." When he demanded judgment after the verdict of guilty, the court was much perplexed to pass sentence of death, they being only Justices of Peace: but as there were "no superior courts in the province," the Coroner's Inquest, the jury, and the most part of the country then present, joined in a written petition to the court to give their sentence, which was thereupon done accordingly, and in five days afterwards he was executed, a penitent, &c.

In the year 1705, men were fined (by law) 20 shillings for labouring on the Sabbath-day, and 10 shillings for being found tipping in a tavern on that day.

The same year (1705) there was made an act against fornication and adultery. For the latter, the parties received 21 lashes and hard labour for one year, or pay 50*l.* fine, (the injured party had a right of divorce) and for a second offence seven years imprisonment. For fornication, 21 lashes or pay 10*l.* fine each. Severe laws! as the lecherous would judge now! At that time men were fined 12 pence for smoking in the streets! Think of this, ye moderns!

In 1720, Edward and Martha Hunt, man and wife, are sentenced to death for making and passing counterfeit dollars. It is said to be the first case in which death was inflicted in the colony for a like offence.

CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.

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“ Self-banished from society, prefer  
Their hateful crime to honourable toil.”

WE have been so long happily delivered from the former exhibitions of the pillory, whipping-post, ducking-stool, wheelbarrow-men, and even hanging itself, that it may serve to show the aspect of quite another age, to expose the facts in the days of our forefathers, as derived from the presentments of Grand Juries, trials in the Mayor's court, or from the Gazettes, to wit :

1702—John Simes, ordinary, and others, are prosecuted “ for keeping a disorderly house to debauch the youth.—John Smith was disguised in women's clothes walking the streets openly, and going from house to house, against the laws of God and this province, to the staining of holy profession, and against the law of nature.—Edward James, a like offender, at an unreasonable time of night.—Dorothy, wife of Richard Canterill, is indicted also for being masked in men's clothes, walking and dancing in the house of said John Simes at ten o'clock at night.—Sarah Stiver, wife of John Stiver, was also at the same house, dressed in men's clothes, and walked the streets, and went from house to house, to the encouraging of vice,” &c.—the house was in Front street. Probably there was no further attempt at “ Masquerade Ball” from that time till about 14 years ago, when some foreigner publicly proposed to introduce them at his dancing room. It was promptly suppressed by an act of the Legislature, got up, before the night of intended execution, by John Sargent, Esq. It was then supposed for a while that the steady habits of our citizens would have frowned down any future attempt ; but the inroads of luxury have since succeeded to evade the force of law, by getting through two “ Fancy Balls,” so called, without molestation, and even without any expose by themselves of their rare enactments in “ monstrous novelty and strange disguise.” We have heard, however, it was a strange medley of strange personages and habiliments.

“ Oh, a Fancy Ball's a strange affair,  
Made up of silks and leathers,  
Light heads, light heels, false hearts, false hair,  
Pins, paint, and ostrich feathers :  
There dullest wight in all the town  
One night may shine a droll one :  
And rakes, who have not half a crown,  
Look royal with a whole one.”

1702—George Robinson, butcher, is indicted as a common swearer and drunkard, “for swearing three oaths in the market-place, and for uttering two very bad curses.”

They afterwards present the same George Robinson for “uttering a grievous oath, on the 13th of 7 mo. and another on the 10th day of the 8th month.” In those days all cases of drunkenness and profane swearing were punished.

A riot was committed at Israel Townsend’s inn, sign of the Broad Axe, in Chesnut street, [close by Hudson’s alley] where they beat the constables with clubs.

1702—The Grand Jury present, to wit: Sons and servants robbing orchards on the First or Lord’s day; the ill consequence of many negroes assembling and acting tumultuously on the same day; the loss of sheep by unnecessary quantity of dogs; the evil of having so many hay and reed stacks in the yards of city houses in case of fires; the great annoyance, daily occurring, of butchers killing their meat in the street, [at the market-place probably] and leaving their blood and offals there.

1703—The Grand Jury present Henry Brooks, the Queen’s Collector at the Hore-kills, [Lewestown] and three others, for raising a great disturbance and riot in the city at the dead of night. They present all houses and persons individually known to play at cards publicly, and they give the names of all the persons so concerned. They present nine persons at one time, for selling strong drink without license.\* Three barbers are presented for trimming people on First-day. John Walker is presented for using Sassafras street as a rope-walk for the last year; and John Jones, Alderman, is presented for making encroachments on Mulberry street, by setting up therein a great reed stack, and making a close fence about the same. These Grand Juries, almost all of them affirm—very few swear.

1704—1st of 7 mo.—The Grand Jury present some of the young gentry, for an assault on James Wood, constable, and James Dough, watch,—making a riot at the inn of Enoch Story by night—[in Combes’ alley.] The names were William Penn, jun. (Proprietary’s son.) John Finny, the sheriff. Thomas Gray, scrivener, and Joseph Ralph. [Quondam infidel, and friend of Benjamin Franklin?] It is stated that young Penn called for pistols to pistol them, &c. Their host, Story, was also of their party.

1705—They present Thomas Docherty, barber, for trimming, about three weeks ago, on the first day of the week.

1715—The Grand Jury find 35 true bills against unlicensed taverns, in one session.

1717—Women are publicly whipt for having an illegitimate child; and poor runaway apprentices and others, who are whipt, are charged six shillings for the unwelcome service.

\* All tavern licenses are petitioned for, and granted generally to widow-women—occasionally to decrepit or unfortunate prudent men.

1718—William Wright, merchant, is presented for publicly and maliciously declaring aloud that our Saviour was a bastard.

1721—Nicholas Gaulau, (a foreigner, by his name) “by colour of his art, as a butcher, did, with his breath and wind, blow up the meat of his calf, whereby the meat was made unwholesome to the human body.” He was fined thirteen shillings and four pence for introducing this odious practice—still known among some of us.

1729—Charles Calaghan was convicted of intent to ravish a child of 10 years—he was whipt round the town at the cart’s tail, and received 35 lashes. Another man, at the same time, received 21 lashes for stealing a saddle.

Several executions occasionally occur, as mentioned in the Gazette. Prouse and Mitchell, who were to be executed together, were reprieved under the gallows.

1730—G. Jones, an Indian, stood an hour in the pillory, and were whipt round the town, at the cart’s tail—both for assaults, with intent to ravish—the one, a girl of six years of age. Margaret Cash is also whipt for stealing.

I find it remarked, that the number of criminal offences occur from the great emigration of evil persons, who bought their passages by servitude.

1731—At New Castle, Catharine Bevan is ordered to be burned alive, for the murder of her husband; and Peter Murphy, the servant who assisted her, to be hanged. It was designed to strangle her dead by the previous hanging over the fire, and before it could reach her; but the fire “broke out in a stream directly on the rope round her neck, and burnt off instantly, so that she fell alive into the flames, and was seen to struggle therein!” A shocking spectacle for our country!

1733—December—There was the greatest number of felons arraigned for crimes, ever known in Philadelphia, at one Quarter Sessions. Thirteen men and women were convicted of grand larceny, and sentenced to be whipt.

1738—Three negro men were hung for poisoning sundry persons in Jersey. They said they had poisoned Judge William Trent, the founder of Trenton, among that number—but when he died, none were then suspected. A lad of five years of age, who had heard much of their hanging, took it into his head to make some imitations, and actually hung himself to death from the stake of a fence!

A negro man of Robert Hooper’s, Esq. of Rocky Hill, in Somerset, New Jersey, was executed by fire, for having killed the child of his overseer, and firing his master’s barn.

1743—A black man, brought up to the whipping-post to be whipt, took out his knife and cut his throat before the crowd, so that he died immediately—in Philadelphia.

1750—1—About this time, a great deal of hanging occurs. They hang for house-breaking, horse-stealing, and counterfeiting. It

seems that imported criminals swell the list, and many evil persons come out as redemptioners. This remark is made, to wit: "When we see our papers filled so often with accounts of the most audacious robberies, the most cruel murders, and other villanies, perpetrated by convicts from Europe—what will become of our posterity! In what could Britain injure us more, than emptying her jails on us! What must we think of those merchants, who, for the sake of a little paltry gain, will be concerned in importing and disposing of these abominable cargoes!" It is probable they got premiums abroad for bringing them out here.

1759—I observe that the number of criminal offences and executions appear much diminished for some time—so far as the silence of the Gazettes respecting them may be evidence.

1761—A strange freak seized the minds of some of the young citizens, which was shown "in several women being stabbed in the streets," in the evening, "by some unknown persons." The terror being great, the Governor offered a reward for their apprehension. The evil was probably magnified according to the terror of the relaters. In time, however, it was so far brought to light as that the Wardens got hold of the facts. The venerable Charles Thomson having been one of those city officers, and acquainted with the facts, ventured to tell them after many years had elapsed and the parties concerned were likely to pass unmolested. It was to the following effect, to wit:

The insulting of several women in the streets, by cutting their gowns and petticoats with a razor, rendered it dangerous for them to appear therein without protection, as also breaking of knockers and bells, cutting the spouts, &c. was nightly committed, and caused considerable alarm. The soldiers in the barracks were at first blamed for it, but by an arrangement with their commanding officer it was immediately discovered they were not implicated. The Wardens then silently increased the watch more than one half, and soon came across these blades in their depredations. They proved the sons and relations of some of the most respectable citizens, and whose parents and friends thought them absent from the city, as at New York, Lancaster, Chester county, &c. By day they lay concealed and slept in the tavern at the south west corner of Chesnut and Fourth streets; and from thence sallied forth at night to commit their depredations. Robert M. had a brother among them; Anthony W. a son; Doctor A. a son; Mr. W. a brother, &c. In the morning they were carried before the Mayor, appeared penitent, received a very serious lecture, and their friends gave high bail for their good behaviour and appearance, and made restitution to all persons who had been injured by them. On this discovery the city instantly became safe and orderly as usual, and the thing was suffered to sleep. I believe they were never prosecuted.

## THE EXCELLENCIES OF PENN'S LAWS.

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“—————To the general good
Submitting, aiming, and conducting all.
For this the patriot council met—the full,
The free, and fairly represented Whole;
And with joint force, oppression chaining—set
Imperial justice at the helm.”

THERE is probably no subject within the scope of our history, to which a Pennsylvanian may look with more just pride and satisfaction, than to the whole tenor of the laws instituted for the welfare of the people by the Founder and his successors.

Every thing in our laws has been popularly constituted, even from the beginning. The Founder, although born and brought up within the precincts of an arbitrary Court, was essentially a republican in its best acceptation. In this his wisdom was advanced a century beyond the light of his generation. It was not learned of his cotemporaries; but was a beam of light derived from that book of gospel statutes, rarely regarded by Rulers, but which he made his manual. Following its plain dictates, that we were all children of one common Father, and “all ye are brethren,” he struck at once upon the disinterested and magnanimous effort of framing a form of government, which, while it should “be an example,” should also “show men as free and happy as they could be!”

Freedom of mind and conscience had here free operation, leaving it solely to “the Almighty, the only lord of conscience, to judge.” “Privilege and toleration,” words of such deep import in Europe, were terms unknown to Penn’s laws. We possessed the right, without the grant, to worship freely.

His first frame of government provided instantly for universal suffrage. No distinctions of rank, fortune, or freehold, then obtained; and the ballot-box, which, where it is indulged, produces more valuable revolutions than the sword, was introduced, “probably for the first time, on this continent.”

The controlling power of the Governors was restrained with the most cautious limitations. They had no other influence in the passage of the laws than what they could derive from presiding at the council-board.

The Judges were even more limited in their dependence on the

people than has since been claimed by any free people. They were at first appointed annually by the Governors, from lists elected by the Provincial Council. The people at the same time might appear and "plead their own causes!" They could say—

"The toils of law, laid to perplex the truth,
And lengthen simple justice into trade,
How glorious was the day—that saw thee broke,
And every man within the reach of right."

Even the children were the subject of public care. They should early learn their duties to society, by reading "the laws that shall be printed, and taught in schools." It was expressly provided that "all children of twelve years of age, without discrimination, should be taught some useful trade." It was also enacted that "all children should be taught to read and write by twelve years of age—thus determining betimes that all should be first educated, and then usefully employed!

With a mind so intent on the happiness and just freedom of men, we are prepared to expect that the evils of "woful Europe" should find some marked correctives in his statutes: We, therefore, find such beneficent novelties in legislation as the age had not elsewhere produced. We may name such as follow, to wit:

Aliens, who by the laws of England are debarred of almost every common benefit and privilege, were here made integral members of the common stock. In England an alien is disabled from holding land, either by lease or purchase; and, if a manufacturer or mechanic, he is forbidden to work on his own account. If he be even naturalized by special act, at much expense, he can never be admitted to any office of whatever kind. Penn early perceived the hardship of such restrictive laws, and made it the law of his new country that the property of an alien should be held entire and sacred to the alien and his heirs.

He excluded every thing like the "game laws" of his own country—declaring, that "the food and sustenance which God hath freely afforded" should be freely used; wherefore, all might "fowl and hunt upon the lands they hold, and fish in all the rivers and rivulets."

The English laws seize upon the estate of all suicides, leaving their helpless families in penury and want; but the good sense of our Founder rejected this severity, by enacting that "if any person, through temptation or melancholy, shall destroy himself, his estate shall, notwithstanding, descend to his wife and children or relatives."

At a single stroke of his pen he struck off all the sanguinary laws of his parent country respecting felonies, substituting, in lieu of death, temperate punishment and hard labour—the Great Law saying, "all prisons shall be workhouses." Indeed, in former times "the workhouse" was the prevalent name of our jails. These

mild laws, however, caused the offence and severe rebuke of the Privy Council in England—they ordered that the English laws should be enforced. Our Assembly, thus resisted, continued to re-enact, and to so retain their first principles as to preserve a mitigation of punishment for many years; and, finally, when they had to yield to the necessity of the case, they took the earliest occasion, produced by the Revolution, for establishing codes of prison discipline and reformation, which has made this State peculiar among the nations.

He suffered not in this land the English law of descents, whereby, when a son dies leaving a real estate, it cannot go to his father, although he had no children, but must pass to other relatives, however remote they may be. But Penn's law declared, in such case, one half should go to the parents, and the other half to his next of kin.

He introduced a simple means of making lands pay debts, notwithstanding all English precedents were against such a measure; and, to avoid the wordy redundancy of English conveyancing, briefer forms of transfer were enacted, and used until repealed by a later Assembly.

The law of primogeniture, so grateful to the lordly feelings of great families, was excluded from our Great Law at the very outset. It declared the equal distribution among all the children. So very early was the spirit of aristocratical selfishness and pride repressed by the wholesome and distributive rules of equal justice to all.*

With such marked condescension and good feeling in the Ruler, and such cherished freedom in the governed, it was but matter of course that changes from good to better and to best should occur, where all were intent on the general good. Penn's charters, therefore, soon underwent three several changes, to wit:

In the beginning of his colony, say on the 2d of April, 1683, he gave his second charter, to supersede the first, before formed in theory when still in England, and which was found encumbered with an inconvenient number of Assemblymen, it calling for 200 from the then six counties, which were only able to furnish 72 members. Although this second charter reduced the council to 18, and the Assembly to 36, a third charter, granted in November, 1696, reduced that number to one-third less; at the same time the former general right of suffrage was restricted to such as were worth 50*l.* or possessed of 50 acres of land, and had been two years before the Election resident in the province; it also admitted the right of affirmation. On the 28th of October, 1701, the Founder himself being in the colony, and just before his final leave, granted his people his last and final charter—the same which endured till dissolved by our Revolution.

*As early as 1705, and subsequent, measures were repeatedly taken to restrain, and finally to prevent the importation of slaves, which were as often defeated by the Privy Council.

The liberal and enlightened expression of principles which governed and directed this distinguished Founder, deserve, for his just fame, to be engraved in capitals of gold. In his first frame of government, he says: "We have, with reverence to God, and good conscience to man, to the best of our skill, contrived and composed the frame and law of this government, viz. to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power; that they may be free by their just obedience, and the magistrates honourable for their just administration; for liberty without obedience, is confusion, and obedience without liberty, is slavery. Where the laws rule, and the people are a party, any government is free; more than this is tyranny, oligarchy, or confusion." In his letter of 1681, he says: "For the matters of liberty and privilege, I purpose that which is extraordinary, and to leave myself and successors no power of doing mischief—that the will of one man may not hinder the good of a whole country."

Embued with such maxims of government, it was to be expected that the efficiency of his practical philosophy should have an instructive and benign influence on other communities of men,—wherefore this article may properly conclude in the energetic eulogy of a modern observer, (T. I. Wharton, Esq. *) to wit: "In the early constitutions of Pennsylvania are to be found the distinct enunciation of every great principle—the germ, if not the development, of every valuable improvement in government or legislation which have been introduced into the political systems of more modern epochs. Name to me, says he, any valuable feature in the constitutions of our confederacy, or for which patriots are contending in other quarters of the globe, and I will show you that our Pennsylvania statesmen before the Revolution, had sought out the principle, and either incorporated it with their system, or struggled with the rulers of the darkness of the old world for its adoption."

We mean no disparagement in comparing facts. The facts were, that there was in Penn's institutions a general adherence to equality, not seen among the other colonies at any given time in the same degree: for, if we advert to the South, there was a Baronial and Lordly style of ascendancy over the poor and the enslaved, while in New England there was, from the beginning, a dictatorial control in the Congregational and Presbyterian clergy. While these assumed a rigid control of religious sentiments there, the ministers of the established church ruled the minds of the people of the South, until the Revolution, by divesting them of their salaries, destroyed their power.

* See his able and instructive discourse before the Penn Society, 1826.

THE PHILADELPHIA BAR.



“Theirs be the task to mark with awe
The mighty edifice of law !”

IT would have been gratifying to have been able to make some notices of the gentlemen composing the Bar of Philadelphia from its earliest known period; but although unusual efforts were bestowed, and applications made to those who should have imparted something, almost nothing was attained. It was certainly once a diminutive concern, compared with the present, when all the courts managed their business in the chambers of the small court-house on Second and High streets—now used for city watchmen. This building was used for some of the courts long after the present state-house was built, and afforded some of the bar a more enlarged and genteel accommodation.

The earliest names of attorneys which have come to my knowledge, as pleaders or counsellors in the primitive city, were Samuel Herset, David Lloyd, P. Robinson, Thomas Clarke, Nicholas and John Moore, Judge Mompesson, and Pickering. This last I have suspected to have been the same person, called Charles Pickering, who was prosecuted for uttering base money. I supposed he was the same person who owned lands at Pickering creek in Charles township in Chester county, and a large city lot in Front street, between High and Chesnut streets. If it was him, he was drowned at sea in going to England, and has left no posterity among us. The Patrick Robinson above-named was also clerk to the Provincial Council, and owner of the first hired prison. In 1685 he gave offence to the Council, and they resolved, “that the words spoken by him concerning the impeachment against Judge Moore was drawn *hab nab*, which expressions of his we do unanimously declare to be undecent, unallowable, and to be disowned.” Soon after it was further resolved, that Patrick Robinson could not be removed from his clerks-office until he was legally convicted of the offence. They, however, determine “that he shall be readily dismissed from any public office of trust in this government.”—The same was eventually done. He appears afterwards named in suits in Bucks county.

The MS. correspondence of Secretary R. Peters with the proprietaries, which I have seen, for ten years—say from 1739 to '47, often speaks disparagingly of the Philadelphia Bar—whether truly or from umbrage is not made out, as they are but simple declarations of opinion, without the reasons assigned. From his letters I perceive that in July, 1740, Mr. Murray and Mr. Smith, lawyers of eminence, were engaged from New York to cope with Mr. Andrew Hamilton, then the best lawyer at Philadelphia. In 1743, he speaks of John Ross as being successful beyond his merit, by engrossing as much as all the others, Hamilton only excepted. In 1749, he says of them generally—"all of whom, except Francis and Moland, are persons of no knowledge, and, I had almost said, of no principle." Hamilton was always represented as a man of high honour and ability, both by Mr. Peters and by James Logan. The Bush-hill estate was given to him, by the advice of Logan, for his retained services for the proprietaries' interest. John Ross acquired a good estate, and had his dwelling "well out of town,"—the building now the Farmer's and Mechanic's Bank.

The bringing of lawyers from New York to manage an important cause had been before matched by our furnishing the New York Bar with one of our champions, who acquitted himself with great eclat. The case was this: In 1735, the above-named Andrew Hamilton went on to New York a volunteer in the case of the persecuted printer, J. P. Zenger, whom he succeeded to bring off triumphant "from the arbitrary Governor and Council," to the great joy of the people. The City Council was so grateful to Hamilton, that they presented him the freedom of the city—in a gold snuff-box with many classical inscriptions. Where is it now?

When lawyers practised in the old court-house, lawyers Ross and Lawrence held their offices in the small alley called since Chancery Lane—a name derived from them. It would now be deemed an ignoble place for such an honoured profession; but it marked "the day of small things," and verified the toast called for by the same John Ross of Mark Watson: (both being wits and jesters)—"The day he hoped for—when two lawyers should have to ride on one horse!"

In the absence of more substantial facts I may here supply a little of the comic of the bar. A fragment of poetic wit, by Collinson Reed, has fallen into my hands, and which we shall call, by way of distinction, the *Case of Catharine Kutzen*.

Mr. Collinson Read was cotemporary with Joseph Thomas and Edward Tilghman, at the Philadelphia Bar, or a little before them. He was not very distinguished, but had a respectable rank in the profession; he was the author of the first "Digest" of the Laws of Pennsylvania, from which the Digests of Mr. Purdon are evidently formed. He was a man of considerable wit, and well read as a classical scholar. The following sprightly latin sapphic verses were written by him, for a Mr. J. C. a subordinate, but a decent lawyer, whose morals were much more

respectable than his learning or judgment. He had not a quick sense to see the point and humour of the lines, and it is said either actually did or attempted to file them, as a declaration in an action of slander which he had instituted, and which this declaration states with much drollery. It may be added merely, that it is in fact almost an exact translation into latin of the ordinary declaration or plaint in suits for slander

Narr. de Termino Decembri, 1763.

Catherina Kutzen attachiata fuit—
 Ad respondendum Johanni Currie
 De placito transgressionis super
 Casum, & c'a.
 Et unde idem quæritur Johannis
 Quod eam sit bonus, verus et fidelis.
 Subditus status bonorum nominis
 Atque gesturæ.
 Ac per totum tempus vitæ retroactum
 Ab omni modo sceleris nec stupri,
 Totius intactus, liber et immunis,
 Adhuc remansit.
 Per quod favorem ac benevolentiam
 Omnium vicinorum, nec non aliorum
 Quibus natus erat, sibi non immerito
 Conciliavit.
 Cumque per multos annos jam elapsos,
 Fuit, et adhuc est, unus alternatum
 De communi banco, ad Philadelphiam
 Legi peritus.
 Rationi inde diversis sectis
 Magni mementi, in eadem curia,
 Tam prosequendo, quam defendendo
 Retentus fuit.
 Unde, profectus magnos, et ingentes
 Denariorum summas acquiesivit,
 In meliorem manutenentiam,
 Ejus famitiæ.
 Predicta tamen Catherina Kutzen
 Sciens premissa, sed malitiose
 Intendens ipsum Johannem Currie
 Scandalizare.
 Vigenti die mensis Decembri
 Anno predicto, ad Philadelphiam
 Hæc falsa ficta scandalosa verba
 De illo dixit.
 Scilicet "He, eandem Johannem
 Currie, innuendo, is a whoremaster
 And has a bastard, at his mill in Saucon,
 And I can prove it."
 Quarum pretextu idem Johannis
 Non solum bonis nomine et famâ
 Quibus præantea reputabatur
 Læsus existit

The Philadelphia Bar.

Verumque multæ graves personæ
Ipsum in sectis suis retinere
Nec non cum eo, quicquid habere,
Penitus recusant.
Undeque dixit quod sustinuit damna
Centum Librorum et produxit sectam
Sunt atque plegii de prosequendo
John Doe et Richard Roe.

We shall close this article with the outline characters of such gentlemen of the bar as flourished about the period of the Revolution. Their names, persons and talents are such as still dwell upon the memory of many of our aged citizens—such as Wilson, Sergeant, Lewis, Ingersoll, Edward Biddle, George Ross, &c. Their cotemporary, the elder Rawle, still among us, has drawn his recollections of them to the following effect, to wit :

“ Mr. Chew was one of the prominent characters of earlier times. In 1772, he was preferred to the bench. Perhaps no one exceeded him in an accurate knowledge of common law, or in the sound exposition of statutes—His solid judgment, tenacious memory, and persevering industry, rendered him a safe and steady guide. At the bar his language was pertinent and correct, but seldom characterized by effusions of eloquence—his arguments were close and frequently methodised on the strict rules of logic; his object always seemed to be to produce conviction, not to obtain applause.

“ But in those times the sphere of the lawyer was somewhat limited. In provincial courts no great questions of international law were discussed—no arguments on the construction of treaties—no comparisons of legislative powers with constitutional restrictions—even admiralty cases had little interest—every thing great and imposing was reserved for the mother country. Till the ebullitions produced by the stamp act, political interests were local and confined.—Pennsylvania was divided between two parties, that of the proprietaries, and a considerable section of the people.

“ Two lawyers, Galloway and Dickinson, took active parts in this controversy. Each published a speech which he had delivered in the legislative assembly; and it was remarkable that the introduction to each (one composed by Dr. Franklin, who co-operated with Galloway in opposing the proprietary interest, and the other by Dr. Smith, the coadjutor of Dickinson,) were at the time more admired than the principal compositions. Yet they were both men of talents.

“ Of Galloway's manner I have no personal knowledge; from inspection of the dockets his practice appears to have been extensive. He adhered to the royal cause, and migrated to England, where, after exciting considerable public attention, by attacks on the conduct of Sir W. Howe in this country, he remained till his death.

“ Very different were the opinions and conduct of Dickinson. At the commencement of our difficulties with Great Britain, he displayed his powers with fervour and courage in defence of what he deemed his country's rights. Assuming the title of a *Pennsylvania Farmer*, he assailed with a due proportion of learning and an irresistible agency of

argument the unjust attempt of the British legislature to impose internal taxation on the colonies.

“These publications had the happiest effect. The resistance which seemed at first to be founded rather on natural impulse than deliberate research was clearly shown, not only to be meritorious in itself, but justifiable under the laws and constitution, by which all British subjects ought to be governed.

“Of Dickinson’s manner of speaking I have some recollection—he possessed, I think, considerable fluency, with a sweetness of tone and agreeable modulation of voice, not well calculated, however, for a large audience. His law knowledge was respectable, though not remarkably extensive, for his attention was more directed to historical and political studies. In his defensive publications against the attacks of Valerius, in 1783, the man of taste will be gratified by a pure and elegant style, though the statesman must discover some political errors. Wholly engaged in public life, he left the bar soon after the commencement of the Revolution.—At this period a new band arose.

“They contributed with other instances to prove, notwithstanding the arrogance of European prediction, that America, even at the instant of putting on the toga virilis was equal to the duties of mature and accomplished man.

“I have already given some names, I will more particularly describe two or three others.

“Perhaps few of those now present can recollect Wilson in the splendor of his talents, and the fullness of his practice.

“Classically educated, and in the outset employed as a tutor in a public seminary, his subsequent success in a narrow circle of country courts, encouraged him to embark in the storm which after the departure of the British troops agitated the forum of Philadelphia.

“The adherents to the royal cause were the necessary subjects of prosecution, and popular prejudice seemed to bar the avenues of justice.

“But Wilson and Lewis, and George Ross, never shrunk from such contests, and if their efforts frequently failed, it was not from want of pains or fear of danger.

“Other questions of the highest moment also became the daily subject of forensic discussion, questions for which previous study no doubt had qualified them, but with which no previous practice had familiarized them.

“In respect to them, Wilson soon became conspicuous. The views which he took, were luminous and comprehensive. His knowledge and information always appeared adequate to the highest subject, and justly administered to the particular aspect in which it was presented. His person and manner were dignified, his voice powerful, though not melodious, his cadences judiciously though somewhat artificially regulated.

“His discourse was generally of a reasonable length; he did not affect conciseness nor minuteness, he struck at the great features of the case, and neither wearied his hearers by a verbose prolongation, nor disappointed them by an abrupt conclusion.

“But his manner was rather imposing than persuasive, his habitual effort seemed to be to subdue without conciliating, and the impression left was more like that of submission to a stern, than a humane conqueror.

“It must, however, be confessed, that Mr. Wilson on the bench, was not equal to Mr. Wilson at the bar, nor did his law lectures entirely meet the expectation that had been formed.

“The talents of George Ross were much above mediocrity. His manner was insinuating and persuasive, accompanied with a species of pleasantry and habitual good humour. His knowledge of the law was sufficient to obtain respect from the court, and his familiar manner secured the attention of the jury. But he was not industrious, and his career after the commencement of the Revolution was short.

“The powers of Reed were of a higher order. His mind was conspicuous, his perceptions quick, his penetration great, his industry unremitting. Before the Revolution he had a considerable share of the current practice. His manner of speaking, was not, I think, pleasing; his reasoning, however, was well conducted, and seldom failed to bear upon the proper points of controversy. When he had the conclusion of a cause, he was formidable. I have heard an old practitioner say that there was no one at the bar whom he so little liked to be behind him, as Joseph Reed.

“Bradford was the youngest of those who flourished at this active and interesting period, and his history merits the attention of the younger part of my brethren, as indicating that however discouraging the prospects may be, one should never despair.

“I have understood, that for three or four years after his admission, he had scarcely a single client, his circumstances were so slender, and his hopes so faint, that he had at one time determined to relinquish the profession, and go to sea; but his abilities, though known to few, were justly appreciated by Mr. Reed, then President of the Supreme Executive Council.”

“On the resignation of Mr. Sergeant, in 1780, he was unexpectedly appointed Attorney General. At that time, the office required no feeble hand. The executive administration was involved in the most serious responsibilities. The ability of his predecessor had been eminently useful to them. If Bradford had proved unequal to its duties, the appointment would have covered both him and the administration with disgrace—if otherwise, it elevated him to honour, while it highly promoted the political interests he belonged to—the latter was the result.

“Those of his brethren who had only noticed him as a mute and humble attendant on the courts, now watched his progress with political if not professional jealousy, and soon perceived with surprise the first displays of eloquence in a style not common, of knowledge not suspected, of judicious management not frequent in youth.

“He advanced with a rapid progress to an eminence of reputation which never was defaced by petty artifices of practice, or ignoble associations of thought—his course was lofty as his mind was pure—his eloquence was of the best kind—his language was uniformly classical—his fancy frequently interwove some of those graceful ornaments which delight when they are not too frequent, and do not interrupt the chain of argument.

“His temper was seldom ruffled, and his speeches were generally marked by mildness.—The only instance in which I remember much animation was in a branch of the case of *Gerard vs. Basse and Soyer*, which is not in print. The principal case is in 1 *Dallas*, 119; he was concerned for the unfortunate Soyer.”

All those lawyers once exercised in the small old court-house on Second and High streets.

MILITIA

AND

COLONIAL DEFENCE.



“Where duty placed them at their country’s side.”

IT has been long a received opinion that the first militia of Pennsylvania was originated by the exertions of Dr. Franklin, in opposition to the pacific wishes of the Friends employed in the colonial government. This misconception most probably arose from the first act for a militia which he procured to be passed in the year 1755. But we learn from facts derived from several sources that there was such a thing as a voluntary militia, deriving commissions from the Governors, at much earlier periods.

A letter from William Penn, of 1703, says, “Colonel Hamilton (the Governor) did grant a commission to raise a militia on purpose to quell the complaints, to government, of Colonel Quarry; and then it was, that Quarry and his party fiercely opposed it!” He opposed it on the pretext of its inequality in resting the defence on those who would fight, while it would exempt those, like the Friends, who were averse to defence.

In 1704 “they raised three companies in town, three in New Castle, two in Kent, and two in Sussex.” And when Colonel Markham, the former deputy, died in Philadelphia, they buried him with the honours of war.

James Logan’s letter, 1702, to Penn says, “The Governor, (Andrew Hamilton) upon publishing his commission in 1701, put the people in expectation of a militia. This he always intended after he should learn that his office had been confirmed. However, it will be found shortly necessary, both in the opinion of the government at home and many here, that some defence of this place should be provided. Should we be attacked by the Iroquois, (we,) who are quite destitute of Indians, are in the worst condition. I am sure it is worth thy consideration.” He further adds, “Thy dispute at home, the war without defence here, the example of the Jerseys’ surrendering, (back to the crown) makes this government too precarious to be called one.”

It is manifest from the preceding and other facts [derived from the Logan MSS.] that James Logan, although he was a Friend, held it admissible to sustain defensive war.

In 1707, Governor Evans had a kind of fort constructed at New Castle, and there required a tribute from vessels passing to pay, for "powder money." A spirited Friend went down in his vessel and resisted the claim valiantly. Evans tried some expedients but without success, to raise a militia spirit.

It might serve to show the simplicity of the time and the defenceless state of the city and river to cite a fact from the records of the Common Council of May, 1706. to wit: "Whereas, the Governor having received an express from the Governor of Maryland of several vessels lately seen some few leagues off the Capes of Virginia, and two of them chasing and firing several shots at an English vessel bound to Virginia or Maryland, which are supposed to be French vessels, and probably may have a design upon some of the Queen's colonies, it is therefore *Ordered* that the watch of this city be carefully and duly kept, and that the constables at their peril take care of the same; and in case there appears any show of danger of the enemy, that they give the alarm by ringing of the market bell!—and further, that every night one of the Aldermen see the watch, and see that two constables be set thereon, till further orders."

In 1718, William Penn, jun. in writing to Governor Keith, speaks for a militia, saying—"if you can procure a militia to be settled by law." About the same time Sir William celebrates the death of the father in a martial funeral, with his city militia of volunteers!

In the year 1744, the time of the war with France, there being then no law for a militia, Benjamin Franklin proposed the scheme of voluntary associations, to be founded upon their individual subscriptions. Immediately 1200 signers were found in Philadelphia, and Franklin was nominated to the colonelcy but declined the service. It was said the paper gained 10,000 signers in the province!

In the year 1748, there was great efforts made in Philadelphia to raise a defence for the city. Some of the Friends, then in government, admitted the right of defensive war—among these the most conspicuous was James Logan. I have seen several letters on this subject from Benjamin Franklin to James Logan, recorded in the Logan MS. selections. Franklin appeared to be a leading man in this measure,* having seen, he said, similar efforts at Boston, in 1743, by the volunteers there training in like manner at the Castle, &c. He expressed great satisfaction at finding James Logan "approved of their proceedings." They proposed to fortify at Red Bank, because of the difficulties there from a narrow channel. The soldiers were all to be volunteers—"much unanimity prevailed in all ranks." They called themselves "the Association"—800 persons signed at the outset. "The Dutch (i. e. Germans) were as hearty in the measure as the English," and one

* Secretary Peters, in his letter to the Penns, in 1747, says he concerted the first measures, by a meeting held at Chancellor's sail loft.

entire company was formed of Dutchmen. They trained men to be their gunners, by forming an artillery club to go down weekly to the battery to exercise the cannon. "In this, following the example of the Bostonians, who by similar exercises formed from their tradesmen and shopkeepers the best engineers against Cape Breton." The soldiers of Philadelphia were described as making fine reviews—as meeting as often as once a week in general muster, and several of them in squads three or four times a week. They purchased 39 battering cannon, of Spanish make, at Boston, for 1500*£*.—15 of them of 28 pounders, and 24 of them of 14 pounders. They were brought over land from New York for fear of a Spanish armed vessel off the coast. Secretary Peters says fourteen of the battery guns were borrowed from New York.

At this time they erected the "Association Battery," of 400 feet long, a little below the Swedes' church. They had before erected another battery, called "the Battery on Attwood's wharf," consisting of 13 guns of 6 and 9 pounders.* Its situation was, I presume, under the bank of Society Hill in Southwark. I observe that as early as 1734, "the guns on Society Hill, probably then a redoubt on the hill, were then fired because of the arrival of the Governor, John Penn. The shot for all those cannon were cast for them by John Pass.† The cartridges, &c. were prepared by a committee of citizens. The expenses of these defences were defrayed mostly by lotteries, and by individual subscriptions.‡ The Germans (called Dutchmen then) were influenced by addresses called "Plain Truth," "The Association," &c. translated and printed in German. It was a time of great excitement in Philadelphia among all ranks—it disturbed many of the Friends—it brought out John Churchman to some public acts as a public Friend against defence, and, under his advice and leadings, some public declarations from the Society, to advise Friends to refrain from participating in war measures, &c.

For the same reasons that the new battery was called "the Association Battery," the regiments of volunteers, formed in the winter of 1747-8, were also called the "Association Regiments"—to form 13 companies in Philadelphia, and as many in the counties as 100 companies in all; all being understood as done by the voluntary contrivance of the people, without the legislative sanction, which was still too much under the spirit and influence of the Friends' Meetings to come into such a measure by any public sanction of the Legislature. Thus showing the majorities of Friends

* This is said to be the place, afterwards Cuthbert's wharf, between Pine and South streets—so remembered by Colonel Morris, who, 75 years ago, recollects that he used to go with boys to swim thereabouts, at a place they then called "the Battery," though no signs of defence then existed. It had probably been erected as a water battery—below the supposed redoubt, above it, on the hill, where "the flag staff" is often mentioned as a preaching place for Whitfield, &c. The petition of the Common Council, of 1744, to the King, says, however, "the city is without batteries or any kind of fortifications."

† The same who re-cast the state house bell.

‡ The City Corporation subscribed for 2000 tickets in the lottery

that still ruled there, and their firmer dependence on "the arm of the Lord," and the "Great Watcher of Israel."

The regiments of association of the winter of 1748, had the colours given to them by the ladies, who procured their material by their subscription. Some of their mottos or devices were striking. I name such as these, (told in the Gazette of the day) to wit: "A Deo Victoria,"—"Deus adjuvat Fortes,"—"In God we trust,"*—"Pro Aris et focis," &c. The drums were also given by them.

An old gentleman, B. L. tells me he remembers to have seen several of the stockades still standing in his youth. They were of heavy pieces of timber 20 feet long. Every county also raised volunteers in companies, and it was concerted with them that in case the city was menaced by a foe, they should all march to Philadelphia and be there quartered gratis among the people.

The exciting cause of these military measures arose from frequent threats given out in the West Indies and at Havanna, that their privateers should come and sack Philadelphia; also from the fact of a French privateer coming into the bay in December, 1747, and there committing some depredations nearly as high up as New Castle. The citizens thereupon met at the "new Meeting house," now at the north west corner of Third and Arch streets, and concerted their resolves of defence—they projected a lottery to raise 3000*£*. The Rev. Gilbert Tennent, the minister there, soon afterwards preached them a sermon on the lawfulness of war, and in favour of the association for defence. To this the Friends published a rejoinder. On the whole it was a moving and busy time of deep excitement.

Several publications appeared at the same time, says Kalm, pro and con, and when the danger appeared imminent, many withdrew their opposition. They feared that French and Spanish privateers had combined an expedition in the West Indies.—So was the town talk and alarm!

Familiar as the public became with military parade, and embued, as the rising youth felt, with "the pomp and circumstance of war" from seeing its operations for a few years, with much to allure the eye, and no experience of disaster, the mind grew better prepared in time to approbate any legal enactments which might be suggested for a permanent defence at the public expense. This period arrived in the year 1755, by the occasion of Braddock's defeat. The panic then became extreme in the country from the fear of savage inroads. Alarms were frequent at Tulpehocken—at the present Harrisburg—at Lancaster, &c. They had fearful rumours of French and Indian invaders! On this exciting occasion Franklin dexterously introduced a militia law and procured it to be passed, he became at the same time the colonel of a regiment of 1200 men

* The very mottos the Friends would have used without the arms!

in Philadelphia. How very few of the admirers of his character and renown have ever named him as Colonel Franklin!

This memorable first militia act was passed on the 25th of November, 1755, and was of peculiar construction. It was so formed as to pass the sanction of the Legislature, even while a majority of the Assembly were Friends, and for whom therefore the act itself provided a salvo for conscience. It declares that to compel men to defence against the will, would be a violation of their constitutional rights; and that as men formerly chose officers without law, the present is to sanction them with law. The militia, therefore, were to be volunteers and to choose their own officers, &c. At the same time they vote 50,000 £. to raise additional troops by voluntary enlistment, and offer 200 acres of land severally to such as bounty. These were all strange things for the pacific and reluctant Friends—but the world around them was fast growing beyond their control and management. Yet it was a part of the original grant to the pacific Penn himself—that he and his heirs should “muster and train—make war and vanquish, or put to death all enemies by sea and land!” Vide his patent.

We are not, however, to presume that the preceding notices of military citizens formed the only array of war which our forefathers had witnessed. There had been occasional enlistments for the crown for foreign countries, and often very active exertions and armaments in the way of privateering, as will be briefly stated, to wit:

In 1740, eight companies of infantry go from Philadelphia county under captains appointed over them by the Governor. They go out to the West Indies to join Admiral Vernon in his expedition against the Spaniards. Similar companies, under voluntary enlistments, go also at the same time from Virginia and Carolina—all of them to rendezvous at Jamaica. It was probably on this occasion that our General Washington once purposed to join Admiral Vernon as a midshipman.

In the French war of 1744, the Governor of Jamaica sends his lieutenants to Philadelphia to enlist for his regiments there. The men were to have six shillings sterling per week extra, and after the term of their service to receive land there. Families were to go passage free. The recruiting officer gave his attendance for enlistments at the widow Roberts' coffee house in Front street.* At the same time recruits are solicited by the Gazette—for recruits to join Dalzel's regiment in Antigua.

In June, 1744, proclamation is made at Philadelphia of war with France, and vessels are promptly fitted out as cruisers. Several advertisements forthwith appear for “gentlemen sailors.” They soon compute 113 privateers sent out by the colonies! Soon after this, prizes appear named in almost every Gazette. During the years 1747–8, almost every column under the Philadelphia and

* Then a little below Blackhorse alley.

New York head, is filled with privateer news. It would seem as if this pursuit engrossed the attention of all. The peace occurs in October, 1748.

In 1745, the rejoicings were excessive all through the colonies for the American prowess displayed at the capture of Louisburgh,—it is called “a perpetual honour to his Majesty’s American arms.” The New Englanders held themselves very high on this event—an expedition planned by a lawyer, and executed by a farmer, with a merchant to lead them on! Our self-gratulation was so high it rather alarmed Great Britain to see our rising military ability and ardour, and they, to mortify us as it was then believed by many, gave it up at the peace of 1748. It was then a heart-burning surrender to the Americans. Every child of that day was familiar with “the Walls of Breton”—singing in the streets, “Here we go round—here we go round the walls of Bretoon, the walls of Bretoon,” &c. Great fireworks were exhibited on floating machines on the Delaware to commemorate the important conquest!

In 1748, the Governor recommends measures to be taken to support a vessel of war at our capes. Then John Churchman, the public Friend, goes, by permission, “with a message” to the Assembly to advise them against such measures of defence as is incompatible with true Friends’ principles.

About the same time it appears that the Otter sloop of war is up at Philadelphia—a novel sight, I presume, there! and the city authorities, to animate gallantry in their behalf, (vide Council proceedings) present her captain with a pipe of wine and other stores.

Captain Ballat, however, notwithstanding his good cheering, soon gave great umbrage by his backwardness to help their cause: for a Spanish privateer (as represented in Secretary Peters’ letter to the Penns, of 1748) stole up as far as Elsenborough, “35 miles from the city,” near Salem, and intended to sack and burn New Castle. But an Englishman on board leaped overboard and swam ashore in the night, and so prepared the people by the morning. In this extremity, the authorities applied to Captain Ballat to be their champion, but no entreaties could avail with him till his careening should be accomplished. Thus tardy he was, although every assistance was offered him, and he was purposely sent for their protection!

As early as the year 1744, the citizens for themselves, and the Common Council in behalf of the city, (vide the minutes in this book) prepared and forwarded a petition to the king to send them a military force, saying, as a part of their argument, that the prevalence of the Quaker principle “denies them that security which is the main end of society.” The citizens’ petition is signed by several names, well known as nominal Friends at least. Their names may be seen to the copy of the petition in my MS. Annals in the Philadelphia Library, page 245.

The first foreign military, however, that ever reached our peace-

ful city of brotherly love, was those arriving and preparing for Braddock's expedition to the West. All the Highlanders encamped in the Northern Liberties—whence the popular name of "Camping-town,"—and all the British were arrayed in Southwark. After the defeat, in 1755, such troops as returned, occupied for a time the same positions. Those in Southwark, under Colonel Dunbar, were located several months on the ground west of Fourth street, and between Pine and South streets. It was soon after this that the long ranges of barracks in the Northern Liberties were constructed. The history of which, and the occurrences there, before their demolition, will be found under its appropriate head.

I should have mentioned also that after the peace, in 1750, the proprietaries' present of fourteen new pieces of cannon (18 pounders) arrived at Philadelphia for the use of the Association Battery—thus making them upwards of 50 pieces of cannon in all. There was among them a 32 pounder, presented by the Schuylkill Company, which, in after years, was called the Old Schuylkill. This got its trumions broken off by us when abandoning the city to the British, and it has since had its rest at Fort Mifflin.

In April, 1765, there was much surprise and uneasiness excited at Philadelphia by finding that all the great guns at the fort, (at Wiccacoa) and all those at the barracks, in the Northern Liberties, were found to be spiked up!—Many conjectures were abroad—finally it was deemed the act of mere wantonness, and a person was arrested as the perpetrator.

As a conclusion to the whole, I give the following facts of more modern times, as the reminiscences of my friend Lang Syne, to wit:

City Volunteers.

From the peace of 1783, until the famous western expedition of 1794, the pride, pomp, and circumstance of the glorious war of independence, continued to be shadowed out in this city on muster days, and on the glorious fourth of July, by two regiments of militia, flanked on the parade ground, by the only two volunteer companies (1791) then in the city.—During this "piping time of peace" the only command obtainable was in the militia; and such command, it seems, was sought after, and held by gentlemen of the first respectability at the time, either for wealth, or services rendered by them during the war. Every thing relative to uniform or tactics still partook, largely, of the old school, colonial, or revolutionary models, framed by that oracle in the art of war, in this country, Baron Steuben. Tradition says, the regiment "down town" was commanded by Colonel Daniel Smith, Majors Joseph Sims and Philip Pancake. The one "up town" by Colonel William Will, (Sheriff at the time) Majors Andrew Geyer and Alexander Boyd. The two regiments forming the one, and the only brigade in the city, under the command of Brigadier-General Francis Gurney.

In this article it is intended merely to revive in the memory of some, and to place before the mind's eye of others, but now in their majority, who are "*natives here*, and to the manner born." who, consequently, may have a sympathetic feeling, and relish for the recollections of Lang Syne, in our beloved city: as articles snatched, like drift wood, floating on the stream of time, which otherwise would naturally seek the ocean of oblivion forever, and be to them as the unrecorded years before the flood.

The "Buck Tail Company" was commanded originally by Captain Sproat, who was viewed at the time by the ladies, and others who spoke of him, as a model, in his day, of smartness and military elegance on parade. The uniform consisted of a short dark blue cloth coat, lappelled with red, and turned up with red at the skirts: white dimity vest, and breeches, (tights,) white cotton stockings, black knee-bands, short gaiters, sharp pointed, long quartered shoes, and buckles. The Captain, and every member of the company, wore a long cue, or club of powdered hair, pendent behind. The head was surmounted by a felt hat or cap, the front presenting a flat surface, being turned up smartly, in an oval shape, above the crown, and ornamented by way of plume or pompon, with a tail (Buck Tail) separated from the dried undressed hide of the forest buck or deer. The other flank company was of the artillery, commanded by Captain Jeremiah Fisher. He, and some of his company, had served during the war, having fought in famous battles, under the gallant Colonel Proctor. The artillery uniform consisted of a long dark blue coat, lappelled, with gilt buttons down the front, and turned up with red at the skirts, and reaching almost to the heels: yellow vest and breeches; stiffened wide ruffles; white cotton stockings, and black leggings, buttoned down the side; sharp-toed shoes, and large buckles, almost covering the toes. In conformity with the universal fashion at the time, they all wore long hair, powdered, clubb'd or cued, and dangling below the shoulder blade. They also wore the large "artillery cocked hat," square to the front, in marching, with a long black feather waving aloft at every step.

Duels.

“The world accounts an honourable man,
Because, forsooth, his courage has been tried
And stood the test,—perhaps on the wrong side.”

HARD is the force of tyrant custom, which constrains men to seek its sanctions, even when opposed to their better reason and against the common feelings of nature and humanity. The “world’s dread laugh which scarce the firm philosopher can scorn” has its frequent victims, in those chiefly who make its applauses their all. The combatant, seeking “the bubble reputation,” feels sensibly his flinging away his life in the midst of his years, even while the allurements and blandishments of the world he is about leaving, or, perchance, the fond family he is about bereaving, may be still clinging to his heart. Yet he must wrap himself up in his solitary and secret misery—making himself of sterner stuff than his common nature, and freezing with the necessary dread that in a few hours he may be a cold and bloody corpse. This is appalling enough, and all further fate he smothers, as needs he must, in “heroic want of thought.” Cheerless they go to their appointment with countenances pale and scowling, or reddened with internal emotions—wrapped in moody silence, and inwardly cursing the silly custom to which they thus sacrifice present and future peace. The heartless apathy of some, whose indifference proceeds from atheism—who believe in no offended God, and rest their hope “in an eternal sleep,”—these may scout “the anguish of a wound,” and brave death on terms too unequal for a better informed mind. On whatever terms they occur, they are always an evil deeply to be deplored. Many aged persons have deemed them of such rare occurrence among our citizens as not to have been known before the Revolution, but as I have found here and there a trace of them in all former times, I have been induced to note them, not for commemoration or perpetuity, but as marking the state of society at every time, and in all its relations, to wit:

It may sound “passing strange” that a gentleman of the holy office, should possess the scandalous pre-eminence of being the first on the list in the peaceful city of Penn. He did not indeed fight.

but his demeanour was so far secularized as to provoke and receive a challenge. The case was this, to wit :

In the year 1715, the court enter proceedings against Peter Evans, gentleman, for sending a challenge to Francis Phillips, clergyman. The original challenge in the clerks office has been in my possession, and, as a curiosity, reads as follows, to wit :

“To Mr. Francis Phillips, Philadelphia.—Sir, You have basely scandalized a gentlewoman that I have a profound respect for. And for my part shall give you a fair opportunity to defend yourself to-morrow morning on the west side of Joseph Carpenter’s garden, [the present Arcade, I believe,] betwixt seven and eight, where I shall expect to meet you *gladio cinctus*, in failure whereof, depend upon the usage you deserve from—y’r ever—

PETER EVANS.

at the Pewter Platter, [Inn.]

At the same time a *billa vera* is found against the clergyman himself, for some mal conduct, and not long after, his people, sensible of his misconduct, dismiss him from his pastoral care.

1721—The Grand Jury present the case of Selom Fry, mariner, who challenged Francis Jones to fight with swords—and both were wounded.

1750—Thomas Crosse, gentleman, challenges Hugh Davy to fight with swords, whereby the latter was wounded.

About the time of the Revolution there were three cases of duels : Colonel Cadwallader accepted the challenge, and fought General Conway ; the latter was wounded. Doctor W. fought a duel with another gentleman about a young Quaker lady.—The former shot his pistol in the air, and so made it a bloodless case and a drawn battle. A singular case of duel occurred in 1778 or ’79, between Henry Laurens, President of Congress, and John Penn, member of Congress from North Carolina. The parties were fellow boarders, and breakfasted together the same morning. They started to go out Chesnut street to the vacant lot *vis a vis* present Masonic Hall. In crossing at Fifth street, where was then a deep slough, Mr. Penn kindly offered his hand to aid Mr. Laurens, who was much the oldest, and when it was accepted he suggested to him that their meeting (solicited by Laurens) was a foolish affair, &c.—to which Mr. L. assenting it was made up on the spot. This Penn was no relative of William Penn.

While the Congress sat in Philadelphia, about the year 1798-9, the Hon. James A. Bayard, then a member, fought a duel with another member in a disused saw-pit shed, then standing at the north end of Front street, at the corner where the roads lead over the stone bridge to Kensington. It was a rainy day, and they took shelter there. Both this place, and that above-mentioned, present themselves to our minds now as strangely exposed places, by present public resort, for fighting duels ! But these facts evince

how surprisingly population has extended westward and northward.

In the year 1824, there appeared in the Philadelphia "City Register," and other Gazettes, a detailed account of all the known duels occurring in the United States from the year 1801—published with a design "to awaken more attention to the wide-spread and overwhelming misery occasioned by duelling." I notice it for the purpose of preserving the fact of such an unusual record; but especially to notice a comparison of cases between Philadelphia and New York. The black list exhibits the names of nearly 100 killed. Of the duellists more than thirty were officers of the navy, and nearly thirty were officers of the army: This too, although the rules and articles of war say "the parties shall be cashiered." In the list we see the names of candidates for the late Presidency, to wit: In 1802, William H. Crawford kills Peter Van Allen, in Georgia. In 1804, the same Mr. Crawford challenged General Clark, and was prevented by the civil power.—In 1806, they fight, and Crawford is wounded. In 1806, General Andrew Jackson fights and kills Charles Dickerson, at Nashville. Another candidate, the Hon. Henry Clay, in 1809, fights and wounds H. Marshall, in Kentucky.

List of Duels at Philadelphia, or by Philadelphians, from the beginning of this century, compared with New York for the same time, to wit: [Note—k. for killed, w. for wounded.]

Philadelphia.

1809—P. A. Browne—R. Rush.

1809—Sir George Macklin, of Great Britain, fought at Philadelphia with Capt. F. of the French army—both wounded.

1816—P. M. Potter, k. Lieutenant Nathans—*Levi*.

1823—General T. Cadwallader, w. Patison.

New York.

1801—Livingston, k. Williamson, at Basseterre, (Midshipman.)

K. Van Rensselaar, k. G.R. Turner,—Cape Francaise, (officer.)

Philip Hamilton, k. Eacker, at Hoboken, (son of Gen.)

1802—Thomas Swartwout, k. Midshipman—Algesiras.

Colonel Swartwout, w. Gov. De Witt Clinton—N. Y.

1804—Gen. A. Hamilton, k. A. Burr—New York.

1808—Eli E. Danielson, k. P. P. Schuyler, (Midshipman.)

1815—Isaac Gouverneur, k. Unknown—New York.

1816—Benjamin Price, k. Green, w.—New York.

1817—J. Gibbs, k. Unknown—New York.

Heath, k. J. Hopkins—New York.

1818—Heath—O. H. Perry—New York.

1821—Unknown, k. Unknown, (navy officer.)

In the foregoing comparison New York has a distinction—"all her own;" and we, as *Phila-Delphians*, with more consistency of character, have shown the least breach of "brotherly love."

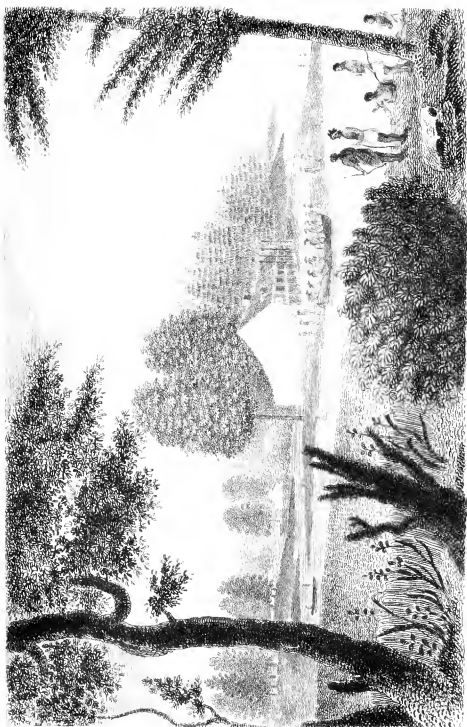


FIGURE 1. A VIEW OF THE TROPICAL ISLAND OF HAWAII.

THE DRAWBRIDGE AND DOCK CREEK.

[ILLUSTRATED BY A PLATE.]



AS early as the year 1691 it appears from "the petition of the inhabitants of Philadelphia to the Governor and Council," signed by 32 inhabitants, that there was then a request made that the open area of Dock swamp, &c. might be forever left open as a public highway for the general benefit of the citizens. The petition appears to have been occasioned by Jeremiah Elfreth, and others, attempting to build on some parts of it. I abstract the pith of the reading in the words following, to wit :

"Whereas, Philadelphia was located because of its natural advantages of easy landing and contiguous coves, that by little labour might be made safe and commodious harbours for vessels, safe from winter and storms. [This alludes to Dock swamp, and probably the area from Green street to Kensington Point Pleasant.] Accordingly the first settlers, invited by those conveniencies, seated them there, in the year 1682, and landed their goods at that low sandy beach, since called the Blue Anchor—(tavern.) [This beach means the lot of 100 feet breadth on Front street, in front of Budd's row, (as then called) being the first ten houses north of the Drawbridge, and extending 250 feet into the river.] Since then all persons have used it as a common free landing for stones, logs, hay, lumber, and such other goods as could not with like ease and safety be landed at any other wharf and place—We, the inhabitants, to our great grief, have been informed that some persons, obtaining a grant from the Commissioners, have encroached on a part of that public flat sandy beach, and thus diminishing the common landing—and knowing no landing is so convenient, we beseech the Governor and Council would be pleased to order the bounds and breadth of the same."

"And we also further beg, that all, or at least so much of the cove, at the Blue Anchor, [the house now Garrett's tobacco store, north west corner of Front and Dock streets,] as possible may be laid out for a convenient harbour, to secure shipping against ice or other dangers of the winter,—there being no other place by nature so convenient for the ends proposed."

Signed, by—Humphrey Murrey, [called "Mayor,"] John Holme, [Surveyor General,] David Lloyd, [Speaker of Assembly, and clerk of court,] Thomas Budd, [owner of the row,] William Bradford, [the first printer, and who was printer of the New York government for fifty years,] James Fox, Nathaniel Allen, Philip Howell, William Say, Thomas Griffith, Andrew Griscom, Philip Richards, and 20 others.

It appears that a meeting of the Governor and Council was according-

ly convened on the 3d of 6 mo. 1691.—Present, Thomas Lloyd, Deputy Governor, and John Simcock, John Delavall, Thomas Duckett, Griffith Owen, William Stockdale, and John Bristow,—and they proceed to decree and order “that in consequence of the application of the Mayor, Humphrey Murrey, in behalf of the said city,” praying them “to regulate the landing place, the end of the street, near the Blue Anchor, being the only cartable landing place to serve the south end of the town, and has been so used and enjoyed, till of late it was granted away by the Commissioners of Property; whereupon it is ordered, that the said Mayor and Aldermen [of course it is probable the preceding petition signed by thirty-two inhabitants were them] have notice to attend the Governor and Council, to view the same—[which was done accordingly.] And upon the subject of a harbour for shipping, &c. near where the Blue Anchor stood, the Governor and Council duly weighing the powers granted by the King to Governor Penn for erecting keys, harbours, and landing, it is hereby declared and ordered, that there shall be left a vacancy between the north side of John Austin’s frame of a house, upon the bank, and Society Hill, extending about 400 feet in breadth towards the point of said hill, for a public landing place and harbour for the safety of ships and other vessels, and the same so to continue, until the proprietary’s pleasure be known to the contrary,(which it is certain he never did signify, and more especially as his city charter, of 1701, did confirm this very area,) notwithstanding any encroachments, grants, or patents, made of the said vacancy by the Commissioners of Property to any person whatsoever.”

“And it is further ordered, that Jeremiah Elfreth, and all other persons concerned, pretending to have any title or right to the said vacancy or landing place, [meaning in front of Budd’s row, and north of the Drawbridge] shall desist and forbear encumbering the same,—but that they be repaid for their materials put upon the same.”

It appears, respecting the premises, that the Commissioners of Property, who had granted the above invasions, became dissatisfied with the above supreme decree of the Council, they therefore did what they could, by a nugatory protest under date of the 19th of 11 mo. 1691, to wit: Captain William Markham, Robert Turner, and John Goodson, saying, “Whereas, complaint was made to us by William Salloway, Griffith Jones, and Jeremiah Elfreth, that Thomas Lloyd, (Governor) Humphrey Murrey, (Mayor) and others, did often last summer come on their bank lots, and commanded their workmen to desist, to their delay and damage; and whereas, William Salloway was refused by David Lloyd, clerk of court, to have his patent recorded—all which enormities we consider to infringe on the rights of the proprietary to dispose of all lots and lands within this province, &c. by his commission to us; therefore, we do in his name assert the patents granted by us to the above-named persons to be good and sufficient to them.”

[It now becomes a question, which are the places referred to above—I should judge that John Austin’s frame house must have stood on the area, now open, north of the Drawbridge, on the east side of Front street; and that the 400 feet was to extend from the north side of that house, down town, southward, to the extreme projecting point (towards the river) of Society Hill, (which lay below Spruce street) and had its boundary northward, about the 6th house below Spruce, in Front street, and

thence it inclined south-eastward, over Water street to the river, having its margin watered by the Dock swamp. We ought, therefore, by this grant, to have had now an open view, from about the present Hamilton's wharf and store, down towards Pine street, of as much extent, as it now is, from Front to Second street, which is so near 400 feet as to be 396 feet. I infer, that what was called the "sandy beach," before Budd's row, was called also the bank lots, because it was in the line of Front street, which are, and were, so called; and especially because the complaints of Elfreth and others, who encroached on the beach, said they were molested on their bank lots.]

In the year 1701, October 25, William Penn grants the charter of the city of Philadelphia, and therein ordains, that the landing place now and hereafter used at the Penny-pot house, [Vine street] and the Blue Anchor, [Drawbridge] saving to all persons their just and legal rights and properties in the land so to be open: as also the swamp, between Budd's buildings and the Society Hill, shall be left open and common for the use and service of the said city and all others, with liberty to dig docks and make harbours for ships and vessels in all or any part of said swamp.

"The first house (says R. Proud) was built by George Guest, and not finished at the time of the proprietor's arrival." This house of Guest's was in Budd's row, and was kept by him as a tavern, called the Blue Anchor—the same afterwards called the Boatswain and Call, and lately superseded by a new building as a large tobacco-house, by Garrett.

Robert Turner, in his letter of 1685 to William Penn, says, John Wheeler, from New England, is building a good brick house by the Blue Anchor—Arthur Cook is building him a brave brick house, near William Trampton's, on the Front street—and William Trampton has since built a good brick house by his brewhouse and bakehouse, and let the other for an ordinary.

Mrs. Lyle, an ancient inhabitant, seen by Charles Thomson, who had come out with William Penn, said they chose to locate on the Dock creek as a place of business, because of its convenient and beautiful stream, which afforded them the means of having vessels come up close under their bakehouse, located below Second street. The ancient Mrs. Claypole, too, who lived on the north side of Walnut street, east of Second street, spoke much of the beautiful prospect before their door, down a green bank to the pretty Dock creek stream.

Henry Reynolds, of Nottingham, Md. a public Friend, lived to the age of 94 years, and at his 84th year came to Philadelphia with his grandson Israel, who since told me of it.—He there showed him an old low hipp'd-roof house in Front street, above the Drawbridge, (western side) at which place he said he had often cultivated corn. He said he often used to sit in a canoe in Dock creek, at the back end of that lot, (which belonged to him,) and there caught many an excellent fish. He told him also of many occasions in which he

was in the company and converse of William Penn, both before and after his leaving Chichester in England, from which said Henry came.

What is curious in the above case, is, that the above-described lot of Henry Reynolds, which ran from Front to Second street quite across the creek, was at first so little regarded by him (who had gone to his lands, of 1000 acres, at Nottingham, near the line, and deemed at the time as within Penn's province,) that he took no measures nor pains to exclude the city squatters. It was assumed by others; and the pacific principles of the owner would not allow him to contend for it. The holders had procured a fictitious title, from two maiden women of the name, in Jersey, but they were not relatives, and had made no claim! The present Israel Reynolds, of Nottingham, and other heirs, where the family is numerous, tried the case of ejectment some years ago before Judge M'Kean, who charged the jury not to allow such long unmolested possession to prevail, as a necessary means of preventing numerous other contentions; for, in truth, many of the country settlers who became entitled to corresponding city lots, so little regarded their value, as to utterly neglect them—or, at best, they leased them for a trifle for 100 years, which they then deemed equivalent to an eternity; but which now, in several cases, I am told, is becoming an object to reclaim by unexpected heirs, or, more properly, by sordid persons with no better titles than their knowing the defects in the titles of present and long undisputed occupants.

In 1699, the only two tanyards, then in the city, were then on Dock creek, viz. Hudson's and Lambert's, and but few houses near them; and yet, from those few houses, many died of yellow fever, communicated from Lambert, who sickened and died in two days!

In 1704, the Grand Jury present "the bridge, going over the dock at the south end of the town," as insufficient and dangerous to man and beast. It was for awhile before used as a ferry place.

In 1706, the Grand Jury again speak of the place of the bridge, saying they have viewed the same and found the bridge had been broken down, and carried away by storm, and recommend it to be rebuilt.

They present also the wharves between Anthony Morris' brew-house [above the bridge] and John Jones', as very injurious to the people along King street—[now Water street.]

In 1712, they again present the public kennel there as full of standing water.

In 1713, they present, as not passable, the Drawbridge [the first time so named!] at the south end of Front street, and the causeway at the end of said bridge.—And again, they say "the bridge at the dock mouth," and the causeway betwixt that and Society Hill, want repair—so also the bridge over the dock and Second street.

In 1739, the citizens present a petition that the six tanners on

Dock creek shall be obliged to remove their yards out of the town, and as being nuisances and choking up the dock, which used to be navigable formerly as high as Third street. They compromise, by agreeing to pave their yards, &c. and not thereafter to burn their tan on the premises, so as to smoke the neighbourhood.

In 1739, Hamilton's fine new buildings near the bridge [the same place now bearing his name, on the north side of the dock,] took fire, and were called a great loss, as an ornament to the town. They were consumed before they were finished. Only three years before, Budd's long row took fire, but was extinguished.

In 1741, the Grand Jury present the streets laid out along each side of the dock between Second and Third streets, as well as the said dock, as much encumbered, by laying great heaps of tan therein. In High street the water-course, from the widow Harman's to the common-shore across High street, is very much gullied and dangerous. Thus intimating, as I conceive, that there was then a common-shore or landing for wood, &c. as high up Dock creek as to the corner of Fourth and High streets.

In 1742, John Budd, as heir to "Budd's long row," claims the ends of the lots bordering on the dock, and publicly proposes to convey "the whole swamp" (the present Dock street) to any who will buy his titles.

In 1747, the Grand Jury present that it is the universal complaint of all the neighbours adjacent to the dock, that a swamp, near it, for want of cleansing, &c. [by not draining along Spruce street, I presume,] has been of fatal consequence to the neighbourhood in the last summer.

In 1747—October—On a representation made to the Common Council, that "the swamp between Budd's row and Society Hill," as it now lies, is a great nuisance, and injurious to the health of those near it, it was resolved to appoint Benjamin Franklin, William Logan, &c. as a committee to consider of the best means of removing the nuisance, and of improving the said swamp—[laying along on the north side of Spruce street, where is now the city lot.] At the same time an address was moved to the proprietor on the same occasion. Afterwards, in February, 1748, the committee report, that there be a convenient dock of sixty feet wide as far as the said swamp extends westwards,—a branch of thirty feet wide on the south west, and forty feet wide on the north west, to be left open for the reception of flats, boats, and other small craft—that the remainder ought to be filled up above the side, and walled in with a stone wall, and made landing places for wood, &c.—that the said dock be dug out, so deep that the bottom may always be covered with water—that the common sewer on the south west branch (Little Dock street now) be continued to the dock. They further add, that the owners, adjoining to the dock, have agreed to dig out their respective shares, provided the city bear the expense of the floodgates at the several bridges.

In 1748, Secretary Peters, in writing to the proprietaries, speaks of filling up the dock swamp ground on the northern side of Spruce street, by using the ground from the neighbouring hills. As the Dock creek, by neglect, was suffered to fill up, and so have its bottom exposed to the eye and to the sun-beams, it was deemed by some likely to be pernicious to health. Such physicians as were unfriendly to its continuance open declared it pernicious. Doctor Bond, for instance, asserted that fewer ounces of bark would be used, after its filling up, than pounds before! Doctor Rush, after him, in later time, gave his influence to have it filled up, by exciting the people to an alarm for their health: for some time he stood quite unsupported. On the other hand, those who thought a stream of water, changing with the tide, an ornament to the city, (among whom Tench Francis appeared as a leader and a writer,) were strenuous in endeavouring to preserve the original creek. In the present day, we are aware that a dredge could keep it deep enough, and the rich deposit for the use of land might defray the expense.

In 1750, they present the arch over the Dock creek, on Chesnut street, as fallen down and dangerous.—and

In 1751, they present that part of Front street southward of the Drawbridge, and opposite to the city lots, as impassable for want of filling up, &c.—and

In 1753, they present Spruce street, from Front to near Second street, as impassable.

In 1753, "The Mayor and Commonalty of Philadelphia" propose to let the lot of ground of 100 feet in breadth on the east side of Front street, north of the Drawbridge, thence 250 feet into the river. In consequence of this, the Wardens, Commissioners, Assessors, and Overseers of the poor, at the request of the Freemen of this city, present a memorial to the Mayor and Commonalty, assembled on the 16th of February, 1753; an abstract of which reads, to wit: "That by the mutual consent of our worthy proprietary and the inhabitants, the two public landing places, at the Penny-pot house and Blue Anchor, were appointed to be left open and common, for the use of the inhabitants, and as much so as any of the streets."—

"That the landing place at the Blue Anchor, was at first very large and commodious, and of much greater extent than it is at present.—That in or about the year 1689, the proprietary commissioners made grants to several persons for lots on the river Delaware, which were a part of the said landing place."—

"That the Mayor and inhabitants, knowing these grants were an infraction of their rights in the same, petitioned the Governor and Council for redress: that therefore, the said Governor and Council decreed the removal and clearance of materials from the same, so as to restore the same to the original design of a public and common landing; that therefore, the landing place remained

free and open upwards of 60 years—that the charter of 1701 ordained the said landing places to be left open and common.—That by long experience, the said landings appear to be of great service, affording landing for fire-wood, charcoal, bark, timber, boards, stones.—That the inhabitants are much dissatisfied with the proposal to let the said landing place on ground-rent for ever, and therefore, hope they will rescind their Resolutions to let the same.” It was not let.

In 1764, the Common Council resolve to build a fish market, “for the purpose of filling up the vacancy between the new stone bridge on Front street and the wooden bridge on King street, (Water street)—The stone bridge was built the year preceding. About this time parts of Front and Water streets were paved. The same building which was the fish market is still standing, in altered condition, as a store.—It was raised chiefly by subscription.

The present aged Colonel A. J. Morris told me he remembered, in his youth, seeing men digging for the foundation of the Second street bridge over Dock creek, to make a bridge of stone. There he saw the Irish diggers rejoicing, and saying they had dug up pure Irish turf! He saw lumps, from a great depth, having a congeries of black roots. This agrees with the fact of having to drive piles for the Insurance Office on the north east corner, and also with the fact of having to dig seventeen feet for the foundation of F. West’s house in Dock street, where, at twelve to thirteen feet, they came to complete turf.

1767—The Walnut street and Third street bridges, across the Dock creek, existed as late as this time, because both are publicly referred to then, in relation to a bill of sale for ground there. Very lately too, remains of the Third street bridge were found under ground in digging near Girard’s Bank.

The aged Charles Thomson, Secretary of the Congress, told me he remembered an acquaintance who came out at the first settlement with Penn, and wintered his vessel at the lower part of Dock harbour, as a security against the ice. He also told me that he had himself seen sloops and schooners loading and unloading flour, grain, &c. in all the length of Dock creek, up to Second street bridge. The foot-pavements of Dock street are much higher now than then, probably as much as 4 to 5 feet. Some of the old houses lately in Dock street would prove this, by going down steps to the first floor, where they originally were up a step or two above ground. The making a great tunnel through Dock creek, and filling up so much earth, was a labour of great magnitude, in the year 1784, when it was executed. Tanyards on Third street, south of Girard’s Bank, adjacent to Dock creek, remained there until a few years ago, resting full three feet lower than the level of Third street.

I am much indebted to the intelligence and observation of the late Samuel Richards, a long resident of “Budd’s row,” for his accurate knowledge of facts and occurrences in his neighbourhood.

He was a silversmith—of the Society of Friends—died in September, 1827, in his 59th year. I connect his communications with the following facts, to wit :

Budd's row was formerly ten houses in all. Five houses on the west side of Front street nearest to the Drawbridge, on the north end, were built first; then five more in continuation and further north. They were the first built houses in Philadelphia—(that is, the first five, and the "sixth house" was the house, now down, the second door north of Walnut street, on the west side of Front street.) The houses of Budd's row, were all two stories, were first framed of heavy timber and filled with bricks; the wood was, however, concealed, and only showed the lintels or plate pieces over the windows and doors, which were covered with mouldings; the uprights for windows and doors were grooved into that cross timber, and looked like ordinary door and window frames. The whole buildings were founded under ground on a layer of sap slab-boards, and yet, strange to tell, when some of them were taken up, 12 years ago, by Richards, to build his present three story brick house, No. 136, they were all hard and sound; but after a week's exposure to the sun and air, crumbled into dust!

This "row" of houses were so much lower than the present Front street, that for many years (I remember it) the paved carriage-street was three to four feet higher towards the Drawbridge than the foot-pavement along the row, and therefore there was at the gutter-way a wall of defence, to keep the pebble pavement from falling in on the foot-pavement, and a line of posts and hand-rail also protected it. At the south end of the foot-pavement, to ascend up into the Dock street, there was a flight of four steps and a hand-rail—this was before the old tavern then called the Boatswain and Call, but which was originally Guest's "Blue Anchor," the first built house in Philadelphia, and where William Penn first landed from Chester.

The houses now numbered 126 and 128, are the only houses now remaining of the original row, and they were of the second row. They have heavy girders exposed along the ceiling over head, and have had their lower floors raised, and they are still below the street; they are very respectable looking houses, now modernized with large bulk windows. The whole row of ten houses went up to the "stone house" of Andrew Doe, now plastered over. All the houses once had leaden framed windows, of diagonal squares, and all the cellars were paved, and used to have water in them occasionally.

The houses on the east side of Front street, too, of the first day, were all lower than the street, and had also a wall of defence; the descent of Front street began at the "stone house" on the west, and on the east side as high up as the present high observatory house—(probably the tenth house from the present south end.) Morris' malthouse was there, and his brewhouse was on the east side of Water street. In one of these the Baptists, in 1700, kept their Meeting.

Dock street was left open, forming a square (oblong) at the Drawbridge, so as to be dug out, down to Spruce street, for ships; but while it was in a state of whortleberry swamp (or unchanged from that, its original state) old Benjamin Loxley, who died in 1801, at the age of 82, filled it up, when a young man, for his board-yard. Old John Lownes

(who lived in Budd's row) told Richards that he often gathered whortleberries in the swamp, on the north side of Spruce street. He and others told Richards too, that Dock creek, before directed out under the present bridge, used more naturally, or at least equally so, to go out to the river across Spruce, west of Front street, and then traversed Water street, north of Sims' house.

Samuel Richards, when digging down the old cellar to lay a deeper foundation to build his present house, (No. 136,) at the depth of ten feet, came to the root or stump of a tree 18 inches diameter, and in its roots, at their junction with the stump, he found a six pound cannon ball, of which he made me a present; it was not imbedded, but appeared to have been shot into the cluster of roots.

At the house, No. 132, Front street, where John Crowley now lives, which was built up in 1800, and Budd's house taken down, for Judge Mark Wilcox, near the first cellar wall, and deeper than the first foundation, (below the slabs,) they came to an entire box of white pipes! Richards saw them.

Richards' father, and others, often told him that tidewaters used to go as high up Little Dock street water as to St. Peter's church. The tunnel now goes there in the old bed and under the lot which was Parson Duche's house. They also told Richards, that when Penn first came to the city, he came in a boat from Chester, and landed at Guest's Blue Anchor tavern—this was an undoubted tradition, and was then, no doubt, the easiest means of transportation or travelling.—[Guest was a Friend, and was in the first Assembly.] When Richards was a boy (and before his time,) the Blue Anchor was kept by three Friends in succession—say, Rees Price, Peter Howard, and Benjamin Humphreys—they told of Penn's landing there.

In rebuilding Garrett's house, on the site of the Blue Anchor inn, they had to drive piles thirty to forty feet deep to get a solid foundation; they cost 800 dollars. [Does not this indicate a much deeper original creek in Dock street than is generally remembered!]

A foot bridge used to cross Dock creek, from the west end of Garrett's stores, (on the south end of Dock street) over to near Hollingsworth's stone house. It was a bridge with hand-rails, and was very high to permit vessels to pass under it.

In the cellar door area of Levi Hollingsworth's stone house there was formerly a very celebrated spring, which was much resorted to; and John Townsend, aged 78, an uncle of Richards', told me he often drank excellent water from it—it still exists, and is covered over in Hollingsworth's cellar. Formerly there was a frame house directly in front of the stone house—both were owned by William Brown—a Friend.

A little north of this spring stood a high mast pole surmounted at the top with what was called "the nine gun battery," being a triangle, on each angle of which were three wooden guns, with their tomkins in, &c. Isaac Vannost was a pumpmaker, and this was his sign; before his yard lay many pine logs floating in the dock.

The lots appertaining to Budd's row all run out to Dock street, and now one of the ancient houses remain there, a two story brick; which is three feet below the pavement.

Mr. Menzies, a watchmaker, at the south west corner of Spruce and

Front streets, and Paul Freno, a neighbour, aged 65, told me that Loxley told them, that about 20 years ago at digging the pump-well in Spruce street, before B. Graves' door, the diggers dug into something like the stern part of a vessel, and that the blue earth which came up, when dried and put to the fire, inflamed like gunpowder, which he believed it was. Menzies seemed to discredit this; but Freno believed, and so did the sisters of Loxley, (son of the old Captain Loxley) whom I consulted, and who said they saw the blue earth, and heard it said it would inflame.

These stories, being somewhat current, induced a belief that when Graves, some six years ago, took down the old buildings along Spruce street there to rebuild his present three houses, that he should probably find some remains of a vessel, and also that it would prove a boggy foundation. He, therefore, prepared large flat stones to found his foundation upon; but, to his surprise, it was not necessary, and he found at a proper depth good sand. But as the imagination was active, some of the workmen, whom I saw, told me they had actually come to the deck of a vessel! But I am satisfied it was merely the remains of a kind of tanyard, which had sunk hogsheads and such slender vats for lime-pits, as Mr. Graves assured me he was satisfied they were. Some of the boards there they took for a deck!

There is direct evidence that the river came, in some early day, up Spruce street, probably to Little Water street, because all the houses on the south side of Spruce street have now to have very shallow cellars, and as high up as P. Freno's house, No. 28, (three doors west of Graves') water still occasionally overflows his shallow cellar; Graves' cellars are all very shallow. The houses on both sides of Front street, below Spruce street, to the fifth house on the west, and to the sixth house on the east, have all water in their cellars, and some have sink wells, and others have wells and pumps in them. The bakehouse, No. 146, (an old house on the west side) is now emptied every morning of some water, and the house at the south east corner of Spruce and Front streets is pumped out every day. None of these houses on the east side of Front street have any privies in their cellars, because of the inability to dig them there. The house on the east side of Water street, No. 135, at the corner of the first alley below Spruce street, has a drain, running down that alley (Waln's) to the river. It was discovered by Mr. P. Freno, 20 years ago, while he lived there; he told me he found the pebble pavement to cave in just in front of the sill of his cellar door, and he had the curiosity to dig down to it—at two feet below the cellar level, he found a wooden trunk of two and a half feet square, somewhat decayed; before he came to it, he could distinctly hear the flapping of fish in it from the river; he believed it traversed Water street, and was an original drain from the dock water in Front street, &c. Other persons tell me that that alley has since several times caved in and been filled up, but without digging down to examine the cause. I expect the wharf has now cut off the drain.

Mr. Freno told me, that in laying the water pipes, they found in Spruce street, near Graves', small brick tunnels as if intended for drains originally from the houses, and at the corner of Spruce and Front streets there appear two or three drains of flat stones, inclining towards the

river. At about the sixth house in Front below Spruce street, the *gravel hill* of Society Hill begins to show itself in digging to lay the water pipes.

Mrs. Jones, aged 60, and Mrs. Rees, aged 50, daughters of old Captain Benjamin Loxley, who died in 1801, at 82 years of age, related to me that they were told by their father, that when he built the row of three 3 story brick houses in which they dwell, called Loxley's Court, (probably 130 feet back from the south side of Spruce street) he built it near the margin of Society Hill, and there were then no houses in advance of him on Spruce street, as there is now. His court yard, now of thirty feet depth, in which used to be a fine green bank and beautiful fruit trees, (which the British cut down,) went to the extreme margin of the original swamp ground. His houses were cut into the hill, for the garden of his house in the rear is full five feet higher than the front lot yard.

He told his daughters, that all the open square on the north side of Spruce street, from Front up to Little Dock street, he had filled up at great expense and with many thousand loads of earth, for the use of the area for a term of years for a lumber yard. [I find he advertises lumber there for sale in 1755.] He told them it was all a whortleberry swamp before he began to fill it up.

He told them he had gone in a boat up the south west branch of the dock water, in high tides, up as high as Union and Third streets.

He told them he had heard Whitfield preach from the balcony of his house, No. 177, south Second street, at the corner of Little Dock street, and that there was a spring open then opposite, at the foot of a rising ground, on the lot where Captain Cadwallader lived, and where Girard has since built four large houses. He had to drive piles to make the foundation over the spring. Samuel Coates confirmed this same fact to me of the spring, and Whitfield's preaching there.

Some amusing traits of old Captain Loxley's usefulness as an artillery man, to defend the city against the Paxtang boys, is told by Graydon in his memoirs. He was made a lieutenant of artillery, in 1756, on the alarm of Braddock's defeat the year before.

Mr. Thomas Wood told me he remembered Dock street water—the sides of the water passage were all of hewn stone, and had several steps occasionally down to the water. He remembered several tanyards on the western side, near to the southern end, viz. Morris', Rutherford's, Snowden's; and next to these was Isaac Vannost's pump and block shop, having many pine logs laying before it in the water.

At Thomas Shield's house, No. 13, Dock street, in digging for a foundation, they came to a regular hearth and chimney; the hearth lay $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet below springtide mark. It might be questioned whether tides rose so high formerly as since.

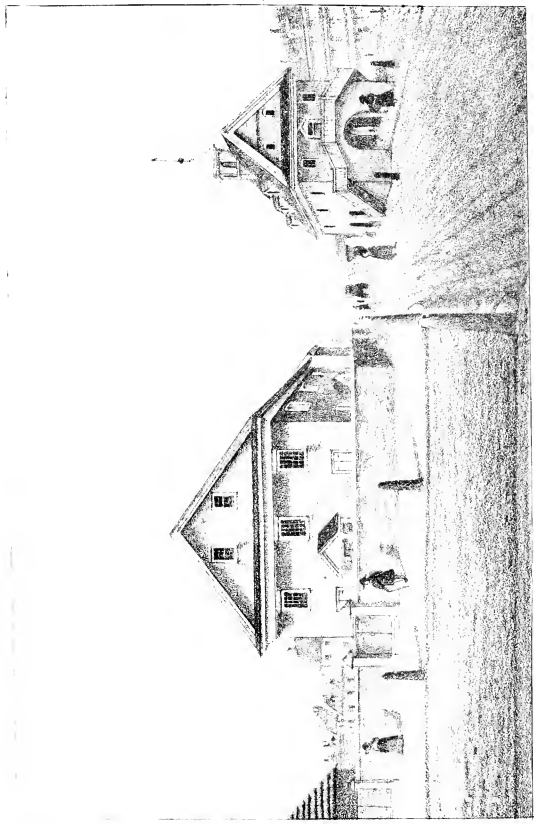
On page 279 of my MS. Annals in the City Library is a draft of the general neighbourhood of Dock creek landing—the houses in it, representing Budd's long row, were constructed of frame work, and filled in with small bricks, imported with the first settlers, as was much of the lighter part of the more intricate frame work. The windows were all lattice-paned in lead, and all the buildings

in the rear were formed of boards of more modern construction. Over the Dock creek to the western side of Dock street was a narrow foot bridge, over which single horses sometimes went. A lofty mast was erected at the western end of the bridge surmounted with a pump and a triangular frame, on each of which angles projected 3 wooden guns—the whole bearing the popular name of Vannost's "nine gun battery." It was all intended as his sign, as a mast-maker, pumppmaker, &c.

Those houses, called "the row," although originally so elevated above the common surface of the surrounding earth as to have steps up to their first floors, became in time, by the raising of the Front street, fully 3 feet lower than the street at its southern end.

The streets verging to Dock street had formerly a very considerable descent—thus down Walnut street, from Third street, was once a hill, and the same could be said of its going downhill from Walnut street towards Girard's Bank. Where Little Dock street joins to Second street some of the houses, still there, show that the street has been raised above them fully 4 feet; there was originally a hollow there.

Mr. Samuel Richards told me he saw the laying of the first tunnel (in 1784) along the line of Dock creek—it is laid on logs framed together and then planked, and thus the semicircular arch rests upon that base. He thinks nothing remarkable was seen or dug out, as they did not go deeper than the loose mire required. He said boys were often drowned there before it was filled up. Much of the earth used in filling it up was drawn from Pear street hill, and from Society Hill—from that part of it which lay on the west side of Front street, between Lombard and South streets. It was there 10 feet higher than the present street. While digging there the bank fell in and smothered four boys in their play!



The old Court House & Friends Meeting.

THE OLD COURT HOUSE

AND

FRIENDS' MEETING.

[ILLUSTRATED BY A PLATE.]



THIS once venerable building, long divested of its original honours by being appropriated during the years of the present generation to the humble purposes of offices and lumber rooms for city watchmen and clerks of the markets, &c. had long been regarded by many as a rude and undistinguished edifice,—

But this structure, diminutive and ignoble as it may now appear to our modern conceptions, was the *chef d'oeuvre* and largest endeavour of our pilgrim fathers. Assessments, gifts, and fines, were all combined to give it the amplitude of the “Great Town House,” or “Guild Hall,” as it was occasionally at first called. In the then general surrounding waste, (having a duck pond on its northern aspect,) it was deemed no ill-graced intrusion to place it in the middle of the intended unencumbered and wide street:—an exception, however, to which it became in early days exposed, by pamphlets, pasquinades, &c. eliciting on one occasion “the second (angry) address of Andrew Marvell,” &c.

Before its erection, in 1707, its place was the honoured site of the great town bell, erected upon a mast, whence royal and provincial proclamations, &c. were announced. That bell, now the centenary incumbent of the cupola, could it rehearse its former doings, might, to our ears, “a tale unfold” of times and incidents by-gone, which might wonder-strike our citizens!—

T’would tell of things so old, “that history’s pages
Contain no records of its early ages!”

Among the relics which I have preserved of this building, is a picturesque view, as it stood in primitive times, having a pillory, prison cage, &c. on its eastern side, and the “Great Meeting-house” of Friends on the south, secluded within its brick wall-enclosure, on ground bestowed by the Founder “for truth’s and Friends’ sake.” I have, too, an original MS. paper, giving in de-

tail the whole expenses of the structure, and the payments, "by the penny tax," received for the same, and showing, in that day, a loss of "old currency" of $\frac{1}{3}$. to reduce it to new,—and withal, presenting a curious exhibit of the prices of materials and labour in that early day—such as bricks at 29s. 6d. per m. and bricklaying at 14s. per m. making, in all, an expense of 616£. Samuel Powell, who acquired so much wealth by city property, was the carpenter.

The window casements were originally constructed with little panes set in leaden frames—and the basement story, set on arches, had one corner for an auction room, and the remainder was occupied by the millers and their meal, and by the linen and stocking makers from Germantown. Without the walls on the western side stood some moveable shambles, until superseded, in 1720, by a short brick market house.

We have long since transferred our affections and notices to its successor, (the now celebrated "Hall of Independence," i. e. our present State-house,) now about to revive its fame under very cheering auspices,—but, this Town House was once the National Hall of legislation and legal learning. In its chambers sat our Colonial Assemblies: there they strove nobly and often for the public weal; opposing themselves against the royal prerogatives of the Governors: and though often defeated in their enactments by royal vetos or the Board of Trade, returning to their efforts under new forms and titles of enactments, till they worried kingly or proprietary power into acquiescence or acknowledgement.—Within those walls were early cherished those principles of civil liberty, which, when matured, manifested themselves in the full spirit of our national Independence. Here David Lloyd and Sir William Keith agitated the Assemblies as leaders of the opposition, combining and plotting with their colleagues, and forming cabals that were not for the good of the people nor of the proprietaries. Here Isaac Norris was almost perpetually President, being, for his popularity and excellence, as necessary an appendage of colonial enactments as was the celebrated Abram Newland to the paper currency of England. Here came the Governors in state to make their "speeches." On some occasions they prepared here great feasts to perpetuate and honour such rulers, making the tables, on which they sometimes placed their squibs and plans of discord, become the festive board of jocund glee and happy union. From the balcony in front, the newly arrived or installed Governors made their addresses to the cheering populace below.—On the steps, depending formerly from the balcony on either side, tustled and worried the fretted Electors; ascending by one side to give in their votes at the door at the balcony, and thence descending southward on the opposite side. On the adjacent ground occurred "the bloody Election" of 1742—a time, when the sailors, coopers, &c. combined to carry their candidates by exercise of oaken clubs, to the great terror and scandal of the good citizens—when some said

Judge Allen set them on, and others that they were instigated by young Emlen; but the point was gained—to drive “the Norris partisans” from “the stairs,” where, as they alleged, they “for years kept the place,” to the exclusion of other voters. I have in my possession several caricatures, intended to traduce and stigmatize the leaders in those days. Two of them, of about the year 1765, give the Election groupings at the stairs and in the street; and appended to the grotesque pictures, pro and con, are many verses:—One is called “the Election Medley and Squire Lilliput,” and the other is “the Counter Medley and Answer to the Dunces.” In these we see many of the ancestors of present respectable families portrayed in ludicrous and lampooned characters. Now the combatants all rest in peace, and if the scandal was revived, it would be much more likely to amuse than to offend the families interested. Then arrests, indictments and trials ensued for the inglorious “riot,” which kept “the town” in perpetual agitation! A still greater but more peaceful crowd surrounded that balcony, when Whitfield, the eloquent pulpit orator, stirred and affected the crowd below, raising his voice “to be readily heard by boatmen on the Delaware!”—“praising faith,” and “attacking works,” and good Bishop Tillotson; and incensing the papists among us greatly. The Friends, in many instances, thought him “not in sober mood”—and, among themselves, imputed much of his influence on the minds of the unstable “to priestcraft, although in himself a very clever conversable man.” From the same stand, stood and preached one Michael Welfare, “one of the christian philosophers of Conestoga,” having a linen hat, a full beard, and his pilgrim staff, declaring himself sent to announce the vengeance of the Almighty against the guilty province! and selling his “warning voice” for 4d.

Such were the various uses to which this Towne House was appropriated, until the time of “the new State-house, erected in 1735; after which, this before venerated Hall was supplanted and degraded to inferior purposes; but long, very long, it furnished the only chambers for the courts of the province. There began the first lawyers to tax their skill to make “the worst appear the better cause.”—enrolling on its first page of fame the names of David Lloyd, Samuel Herset, Mr. Clark, Patrick Robinson, the renter of the first “hired prison,” and Mr. Pickering, for aught we now know, the early counterfeiter. Then presided Judges “quite scrupulous to take or administer oaths,” and “some, for conscience sake,” refusing Penn their services after their appointment. In aftertimes John Ross and Andrew Hamilton divided the honours of the bar—the latter, in 1735, having gone to New York to manage the cause of poor Zenger, the persecuted printer, (by the Governor and council there) gave such signal satisfaction to the city rulers and people, that the corporation conferred on him the freedom of the city, “in an elegant golden snuff-box with many classi-

cal allusions." Descending in the scale to later times, and before the Revolution, we find such names, there schooled to their future and more enlarged practice, as Wilson, Sergeant, Lewis, Edward Biddle, George Ross, Reed, Chew, Galloway, &c.—This last had much practice—became celebrated in the war for his union to Sir William Howe when in Philadelphia, suffered the confiscation of his estate, and, when in England, wrote publicly to disparage the inefficient measures of his friend the General, in subduing "the unnatural rebellion" of his countrymen.—These men have long since left their renown and "gone to their reward," leaving only, as a connecting link with the bar of the present day, such men as Judge Peters, and William Rawle, Esq. to give us passing recollections of what they may have seen most conspicuous and interesting in their manners or characters as public pleaders.

Finally, "the busy stir of man," and the rapid growth of the "busy mart," has long since made it a necessary remove of business from the old court house. Surrounding commerce has "choked up the loaded street with foreign plenty." But, while we discard the venerable pile from its former ennobling services, let us strive to cherish a lively remembrance of its departed glory, and with it associate the best affections due to our pilgrim ancestors, though disused, not forgotten.

The following facts will serve still further to enlarge and illustrate the leading history of the building, to wit :

High street, since called Market street, was never intended for a market place by Penn.—Both it and the court house, and all public buildings, as we are told by Oldmixon, were intended to have been placed at the Centre Square. When the court house was actually placed at Second and High streets, they were complained of by some as an infraction of the city scheme, and as marring of its beauty. Proud calls it and the market buildings "a shameful and inconvenient obstruction."

In the year 1705, the Grand Inquest resolved to recommend a tax of 1d. per £. to be levied, to build a court house on pillars where the bell now stands. They also before present the market place as a receptacle for much rainwater. On another occasion they present a dirty place in Second street over against the "Great Meeting-house," and a low dirty place in High street over against the free pump, near Doctor Hodgson's house.

As early as the year 1684, (1st of 2d mo.) William Penn and council determined there should be a Provincial Court, of five Judges, to try all criminal cases, and titles to land, and to be a Court of Equity, to decide all differences upon appeals from the county courts. Soon after the first Judges were appointed, to wit : Nicholas Moore, Chief Justice ; William Welsh ; William Wood ; Robert Turner, and John Eckley.

In the year 1717, the court house being then ten years built, the Grand Jury present the county and city court house as very scan-

dalous for want of being finished; and whereas the several sums heretofore raised, for bridges, &c. have not been enough, they recommend a further tax, for those objects and to complete the court house, of 1d. per £.

In the year 1736, Mr. Abel Noble preached, on Monday, from the court house steps, to a large congregation standing in Market street, on the subject of keeping the Sabbath. In the same year Michael Welfare appeared there to give his "warning voice." What was done by the celebrated Whitfield in this way will be found under his proper name.

In the year 1740, the Gazette describes "the customary feast at the court house, at the expiration of the Mayoralty," at which were present—the Governor and council, the corporation, and many of the citizens.

In 1742, on the vacation of the office of "Public Vendue, formerly held under the court house in Second street," John Clifton proposes to pay for it 110£. and Reese Meredith proposes to give 100£. per annum, to be allowed to enjoy the privilege.* This office seems to have been in the north west corner. The general vacancy was a meal market; and in the south east corner, in Timothy Matlack's time, they had a temporary prison under the steps;† in the north east corner, in T. Bradford's early days, was the stocks.—Both of these were under the stairs on Second street, depending on either side from the balcony over the arch, making an angle at the corner, so as to land the people in High street.

On page 328 of my MS. Annals in the Historical Society is an original manuscript, showing the first cost of materials, &c. employed in the construction of the court house, to wit: 616£.

"The Great Meeting House" of Friends,

At the south west corner of Second and High streets, was originally constructed in 1695; and "great" as it was in the ideas of the primitive population, it was taken down in 1755, to build greater. That, in time, became so shut in, and disturbed by the street-noise of increased population, that it was deemed expedient to sell off the premises, in the year 1808, and construct the large Meeting on their Arch street ground.

This "Market street Meeting," as it was often called, had its original lot through the gift of George Fox, "for truth's and Friends' sake," he giving at the same time the lot at Fairhill for a like purpose. His idea was, that it might be located in the centre of the town, and have as much as two acres as a ground to put their horses in! The land itself was due to him under some promise

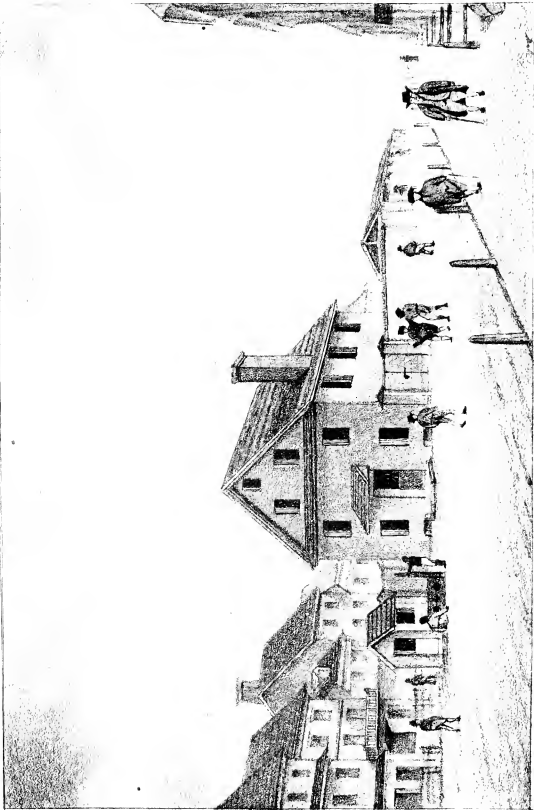
* The vendue room in the north west corner, was rented by Council to Patrick Baird, in 1730, at 8£. per annum.

† This place under the steps in Second street, was originally constructed by an order of the City Council, of the year 1711, "for a shop, to be let out to the best advantage."

of William Penn, and it is known that Penn was reluctant to have it chosen where it was, saying he was not consulted on the occasion by his commissioners, &c. In the final sale of it, for the present dozen houses which stand upon the original site along High street and Second street, it produced a large sum of money to the Society.

The first meeting-house was surmounted on the centre of its 4 angled roof, by a raised frame of glass work, so constructed as to pass light down into the Meeting below, after the manner of the former Burlington meeting-house.

The few facts concerning this house, in some instances, have fallen into other portions of this work. Only one anecdote remains to offer here: When the Friends were rebuilding in 1755-6, for the purpose of enlargement, one Davis, who had been expelled, seeing the work progressing, waggishly observed to the overseers: —“Only continue to weed the garden well, and you may yet find room enough!”



High Street - Chamblis

HIGH STREET PRISON

AND

MARKET SHAMBLES.

[ILLUSTRATED BY A PLATE.]

“The gloomy jail where misery moans,—
Spotted with all crimes.”——

IN primitive days, when culprits were few, and society simple and sincere, the first prisons were small and of but slender materials. There was at first a small cage for offenders—next a hired house with bars and fetters—then a brick prison on the site of the present Jersey market, fronting towards the old court house, at 100 feet of distance. The facts are these, viz.

Year 1682—16th of 11 mo.—The Council ordered that William Clayton, one of the Provincial Council, should build a cage against the next council-day, of seven feet long by five feet broad.

1685—The High Sheriff declared in court, that the hired house of Patrick Robinson, [the clerk of the Provincial Council, &c.] used by him as a prison, was refitting, and that, with the fetters and chains, &c. and his own attendance and deputies, he has a sufficient gaol; and if any escapes occurred he would not blame the county, for want of a gaol, nor for the insufficiency of said house; whereupon, at the request of said Robinson, the yearly rent began this day for said house.

It became a matter of curiosity in modern times to learn the primitive site of such a hired prison. No direct testimony could be found; but several facts establish the idea that it occupied the ground on the western side of Second street, between High street and the Christ church—for instance, Mr. C. Graff, the present owner of the house on the north west corner of Second and High streets, (the premises first owned by Arthur Cook) has a patent of the year 1684, which speaks of the prison on his northern line, to wit: “I, William Penn, proprietary, &c. Whereas, there is a certain lott of land in said city, containing in breadth 50 feet, and in length 102 feet, bounded northward with the prison, eastward with the Second street, southward with the High street, westward with a vacant lott, &c.”—Then grants the same to Arthur Cook, by patent dated “6 mo. 14th 1684.—Signed William Penn.”

The foregoing prison is confirmed by some modern facts:—Some years ago, when pulling down an old house which stood upon

Second street, on the site on which S. North, druggist, built the house No. 14, north Second street, they discovered the party walls, as they supposed, of the old jail—it was of four inch poplar plank, dove-tailed at the corners. Old Isaac Parrish, who told this and witnessed the disclosure, was pleased to add, that as he was showing it to Judge M'Kean, the latter remarked:—Times are changed indeed—formerly wood was sufficient for confinement; but now, stone itself is no match for the rogues! On searching the original patent for North's lot, it appears to have been granted by Penn on the 1st of December, 1688, and makes no reference to a prison. Mr. North has informed me that in digging along the northern line of his yard he has found, under ground, a very thick stone wall—such as might have been a prison wall.

As late as the year 1692, we have facts to evince that there was a prison held within a private dwelling-house,—for, at that time it appears in George Keith's Journal, that William Bradford, the first printer, and John Macomb, were then its inmates, for Keithien measures, and they refusing to give securities in their case. Keith says, their opponents pretended they were not so imprisoned, but that he, to make out an affecting story for them, went to the porch of the prison to sign and date a paper of complaint against the Quakers, just as if he had been its inmate! To repel this, he adduces the paper of their Samuel Jennings, to show that he there admits that they, Bradford and Macomb, “signed a paper from the prison, when they signed it in the entry common to the prison and the next house.” Thus evincing, as I presume, that in the hired house of Patrick Robinson the prison was held on one side of a common entry, and the family lived on the other side of it. George Keith proceeds to say, that the real facts were, that as Bradford and Macomb were delayed to be brought to trial, the jailer, after some time, granted them “the favour to go home,—and, as they were still prisoners, when they wished to petition for their trial at the next sessions, they then went to the prison to write and sign it there; but it happened the jailer was gone abroad and had the key of the prison with him; so, as they could not get in, they signed that paper in the entry or porch!” Such was the simple character and state of the first prison used in Philadelphia. Something more formidable is about to be told of the

Prison on High street, viz.

It seems that something more imposing than the hired house was desired as early as the year 1685, and was afterwards, from time to time, laid aside, till its execution about the year 1695.

In 1685, the Court of Quarter Sessions receives a report on the subject of building a prison, to wit: Samuel Carpenter, H. Murray, and Nathaniel Allen, &c. report that they have treated with workmen about the many qualities and charges of a prison, and have advised with Andrew Griscomb, carpenter, and William

Hudson, bricklayer, about the form and dimensions, which is as followeth: The house 20 feet long and 14 feet wide in the clear, two stories high—the upper 7 feet, and the under 6½ feet, of which 4 feet under ground, with all convenient lights and doors, and casements—strong and substantial, with good brick, lime, sand and stone, as also floors and roofs very substantial; a partition of brick in the middle through the house, so that there will be four rooms, four chimnies, and the cock-loft, which will serve for a prison; and the gaoler may well live in any part of it, if need be—the whole to cost 140.£.

The late aged Miss Powell, a Friend, told me her aged mother used to describe to her that prison as standing once in the middle of High street, eastward of the court house on Second street.

On the 3d of February, 1685-6, the Grand Jury then present the want of a prison.

In 1702, the Grand Jury present the prison-house and prison-yard, as it now stands in the High street, as a common nuisance.

In 1703, the Court of Quarter Sessions appoints four persons to report the cost of a new prison and court house.

In 1705—July—the Common Council order that Alderman Carter, and John Parsons, do oversee the repairs of the old cage, to be converted into a watch-house, for present occasion. They had before ordered, in December, 1704, that a watch-house should be built in the market place, of 16 feet long, and 14 feet wide.

In September, 1705, the same Alderman Carter is continued by the Council to see the repairs of the watch-house, and is also appointed to take care of the building a pair of stocks with a whipping post and pillory, with all expedition.

In 1706, a petition of 44 poor debtors, (some of them imprisoned) all wrote in their proper hands, in good easy free style, is offered to Governor John Evans, stating their great objections to the fee bill for debts under 40 shillings, creating an expense, in case of Sheriff's execution, of 17 shillings each, which was formerly, when in the Magistrate's hand, but 3 shillings; and "some of your poor petitioners (say they) have been kept in the common gaol until they could find persons to sell themselves unto for a term of years to pay the same, and redeem their bodies!" See act of Assembly in the case. It might surprise many moderns, who see and hear of so many, now a days, who "break" with indifference, to learn, that fifty years ago it was the custom to sell single men for debt; and it had then a very wholesome restraint on prodigals—few then got into gaol, for then those who saw their debts burthensome would go betimes and seek a friendly purchaser, and so pay off their debts.

In 1707, the Grand Jury present the gaol of this city, in that the upper and middle windows of the said gaol are not sufficient. And they present the want of a pair of stocks, whipping post, and pillory.

In 1712, the Grand Jury present "as a nuisance the prison and wall standing in the High street, and the insufficiency of the county gaol not fit to secure prisoners." This latter clause might seem to intimate two characters of prisons at once. The words "common jail" in the following paragraph might intimate some one different from that of "county gaol."

In 1716, the Grand Jury "present the common gaol as insufficient, and concur and agree with the County Grand Jury that the same be removed from the place it now stands upon; and we do all concur with the County Grand Jury, in laying a tax of one penny per pound, to be assessed and levied on the inhabitants—April 4th, 1716. Two years after this the act for a big prison, on the corner of Third and High Street, was passed.

In the year 1717, sundry persons offered large subscriptions for erecting a new prison at the new site.

The Grand Jury present at this time (1717) the great need of a ducking stool, saying, that whereas it has been frequently and often presented by several former Grand Juries, the necessity of a ducking stool and house of correction for the just punishment of scolding drunken women, as well as divers other profligates and unruly persons, who are become a public nuisance,—they therefore earnestly pray the court it may no longer be delayed. I have never understood that it was adopted.

In 1719, the Grand Jury present "the prison and dead walls in the street."

In 1722—April—It was ordered by the Common Council "that the old prison be sold to the highest bidder," &c. Perhaps there are houses at this day in the use of part of those materials!

At or about the year 1723, the new prison, at the south west corner of Third and High streets, was finished, and about the same time the Grand Jury present "the old prison much in the way and spread over the street."

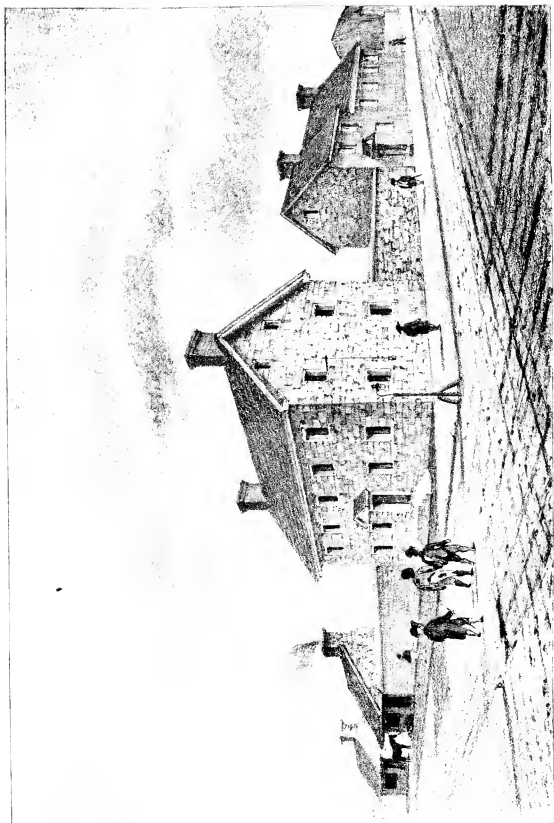
As appurtenant to the High street prison there stood the market shambles, on the site of the present Jersey market. They were at first moveable, and were not placed there in the line of the prison till about ten years after the town had erected the permanent brick market at the western end of the court house. The facts are these, to wit:

In 1729—January—The Common Council agreed to erect twenty stalls, for the accommodation of such as bring provisions from the Jerseys—to be erected between the court house and the river, at 100 feet eastward from the court house, and

In October, 1740, the Council agreed to place moving stalls on the east side of the court house as far as Lætitia court, and it is ordered that the middle of the street, from the pillory to the said Lætitia court, be forthwith posted and gravelled, to the breadth of twenty feet.

Mr. Davenport Merrot, an aged person, told me the permanent Jersey market, when finally built about the year 1765, was many years without a foot-pavement on the inside of it.

In May, 1763, the Common Council, having put the Market street, eastward from the Second street, under regulation and pavement, the former wooden stalls of the "Jersey market" being ruinous, they order that they shall be pulled down, and their place supplied with stalls, brick pillars, and roofed—the eastern end to serve the purpose for greens and roots, as a "green market," and also at the end thereof an Exchange, and that the sum of 500£. be applied out of the "Exchange Stock," to defray the expense. The latter, however, was not attempted—but the fund was applied afterwards to the City Hall.



Stone Prison at Philadelphia, 1728.

THE STONE PRISON,

SOUTH WEST CORNER OF THIRD AND HIGH STREETS.

[ILLUSTRATED BY A PLATE.]

“ There see the rock-built prison’s dreadful face.”

POEM. [1729.]

AS the city enlarged its bounds by increase of population it became necessary to seek out a new prison establishment of greater dimensions, and with more room about it—such as could be then found well out of the town. All those advantages were deemed sufficiently attained when they accomplished this stone prison, under the act of Assembly of 1718. As it was a very popular measure, it appears that in the year 1717, sundry persons offered large subscriptions towards defraying the expense of it, and “to be made upon the ground intended for that use,”—besides this, the Grand Jury joined in recommending a tax on the city and county for effecting the same.

When finished, about the year 1723, the pile consisted of a two story stone building, fronting on High street, for the debtors jail, and another two story similar building, fronting on Third street, for the criminals, called the workhouse—the latter some distance from the former, but joined to it by a high wall forming a part of the yard-enclosure. The buildings were of hewn stone; half of the cellar story was above ground; the roofs were sharp pitched, and the garrets furnished rooms for prisoners. As population increased, even this place was found too much in the town, and another remove had to be made to the Walnut street prison by Sixth street. This was done in 1784—the year in which the prisons spoken of in this article, were demolished.

The aged Mrs. Shoemaker, who died in 1825, at the age of 95 years, told me, when she was a girl she could easily, from Third street near the prison, look over to Fourth street, so as to see the people walking the streets—meaning thereby there were not houses enough then built up to intercept the view. The Dock creek was also open then, and showed a considerable gully. There were also several paths by which to make a short cut across the square.

I observed several evidences on the old houses on the northern side of High street near this prison, to indicate that the former

grounds in this neighbourhood were originally three feet higher than now. As early as the year 1708, it was complained of by the Grand Jury, as having no proper water-passage then, so that the crossing there was much impeded "by a deep dirty place where the public water gathers and stops for want of a passage, to the great damage of the neighbourhood."

In 1729, some city poet has given some graphic touches of the neighbourhood, to wit :

"Thence half a furlong west, declining pace,
And see the rock-built prison's dreadful face,
Twixt and beyond all these, near twice as far
As from a sling a stone might pass in air,
The forging shops of sooty smiths are set—
And wheelwrights' frames—with vacant lots "to let"—
A neighbourhood of smiths, and piercing dins
From trades—from prison grates—and public inns!"

Kalm, who was here in 1748, speaks of those furnaces, saying "they have several about the town for melting iron out of ore."

The barbarous appendages of whippingpost, pillory and stocks were placed full in the public eye, hard by, on High street directly in front of the market, and on the eastern side of Third street. The last remembered exhibition there was that of a genteel storekeeper,—quite as clever as several who now escape. He had made too free with other names to support his sinking credit, and there made his amends, by having his face pelted with innumerable eggs, and his ears clipt adroitly by the "delicate pocket scissors" of the Sheriff—he holding up his clippings to the gaze and shouts of the populace!

These barbarous measures of punishment were not in accordance with the spirit and feelings of our forefathers, who early aimed at commuting work and confinement for crime; but the parent country, familiar with its sanguinary code, always revoked the laws formed upon our schemes of reformation. They therefore generally prevailed till the time of our self-government, when measures were speedily taken, first by societies of citizens, and afterwards by the Legislature, to introduce those reforms into prison discipline, &c. which have made our city and State to be celebrated for its early "Penitentiary System." The measures pursued by the Society formed in 1787, "for alleviating the miseries of public prisons," form already a small history, which may be profitably read in the book called "Notices of the Prison," &c. by Roberts Vaux, Esq.

MARKET HOUSES.



PHILADELPHIA has long been distinguished for its long range of market buildings, and equally so for the general excellence of its marketing. It is not much known, however, that it was not according to the original plan of the city to have such an extended market house, and still less to have had it located in High street. Penn expected it to have been placed at the Centre Square, in the event of settling the chief population there. We shall see in the course of the present notice, that objections were from time to time made against the extension of markets in High street: and Proud has called it "a shameful and inconvenient obstruction."

The first notice of a permanent market house appears in the minutes of City Council in July, 1709, to wit:—"The new market house being thought to be of great service to the town. 'twas put to the vote how money should be raised for the doing thereof, and voted that every Alderman shall contribute and pay double what the Common Council-men should do." And in May, 1710, it was unanimously agreed that it should be built up with all expedition. It appeared that the members severally subscribed the fund necessary as a loan, to be repaid to them out of the rents from the butchers. The market so made extended from the court house about half-way to Third street.

In January, 1729, the Council agreed to erect twenty stalls on the site of the present Jersey market, for the accommodation of such as brought provisions from the Jerseys.

In 1737, the Clerk of the market complained to the Council of several nuisances—"that of persons who blow their meat—selling goods—bringing empty carts and lying of horses in the market place."

In a poetic description of High street in 1729, the court house and market house are thus described, to wit:

"An yew bow's distance from the key-built strand
Our court house fronts Cæsar's pine tree land,
'Through the arch'd dome, and on each side, the street
Divided runs, remote again to meet.
Here, eastward, stand the traps for obloquy
And petty crimes—stocks, posts, and pillory."

And, twice a week, beyond, light stalls are set,
 Loaded with fruits and fowls and Jersey's meat.
 Westward, conjoin, the shambles grace the court,
 Brick piles, their long extended roof support.
 Oft, west from these, the country wains are seen
 To crowd each hand, and leave a breadth between."

At a subsequent period the market was extended up to Third street, where, for many years, its Third street front was marked with the appendages of pillory, stocks, and whippingpost.

About the year 1773, the subject was agitated for constructing another market, to extend in continuation from Third to Fourth street—a measure much opposed by property-holders along High street, who preferred an open wide street. In some of the paper discussions, which appeared in print at that time, it was proposed to take the market out of High street altogether, and to locate it in the centre of the square from High street to Chesnut street, and from Third to Fourth street,* leaving the dwelling houses still on the front streets, on Third and Fourth streets; to pull down the stone prisons on the south west corner of Third and High streets, and to erect there a court house, town house, &c. In time, however, the advocates for the market prevailed, and the building went on daily; but a measure, not foreseen, occurred every night:—The housekeepers who lived along the line of the market, employed persons in the night-time to pull down the mason-work of the day.—This being persevered in for some time excited considerable interest.

Something like a similar excitement occurred about the year 1749, when the older market was extended from Bank alley up to Third street. While some then pulled down by night what was set up by day, Andrew Marvell's addresses came out to the people, denouncing the building thereof, saying, in his second address, that "the persons who before bought lots on High street, because of its superior width, were thus to have their expectations and interests ruined thereby, by creating a greater grievance than they remove." He adds, that "the advice of several eminent counsel in the law has satisfied the people that an opposition is not only legal and justifiable, but also their duty; for the lawyers have assured them the corporation has no right, either in charter, laws, or custom, to sustain the building of shambles in any street of the city; but on the contrary have pointed out some laws which limit and restrict their power in this instance."

We have all heard of *Fairs* once held in our markets before the Revolution, but few of the present generation have any proper judgment of what manner of things they were. A few remarks on them shall close this article, to wit:

A Fair was opened by oral proclamation in these words, (Vide a city ordinance of 1753,) saying: "O yez! &c. Silence is com-

* The place of Doctor Franklin's mansion.

manded while the Fair is proclaiming, upon pain of punishment !
A. B. Esq. Mayor of the city of Philadelphia, doth hereby in the King's name strictly charge and command all persons trading and negotiating within the Fair to keep the King's peace, and that no person presume to set up any booth or stall for the vending of strong liquors within this Fair—that none carry any unlawful weapon, or gallop or strain horses within the built part of the city—And if any person be hurt by another let him repair to the Mayor here present. God save the King !”

The Fair-times in our market were every May and November, and continued three days. In them you could purchase every description of dry-goods, and millinery of all kinds, cakes, toys, and confectionaries, &c. The stalls were fancifully decorated, and inclosed with well made patchwork coverlets. The place was always thronged, and your ears were perpetually saluted with toy trumpets, hautboys, fiddles, and whistles, to catch the attention of the young fry who on such occasions crowded for their long promised presents at Fair-time. They were finally discontinued, by an Act of the Legislature, somewhere about the year 1787. It is really surprising they should ever have been adopted in any country where regular stores and business is ordinarily found sufficient for all purposes of trade !



THE
ARCH STREET BRIDGE
 AT FRONT STREET.

[ILLUSTRATED BY A PLATE.]



THE tradition of such a bridge, over a place where there was no water, (taken down about the year 1721,) had been so far lost, that none among the most aged could be found to give a reason for Mulberry street, over which the bridge or arch stood, being called "Arch street." My MS. Annals in the City Library, pages 24, 31 and 46, show three several reasons given by the most aged citizens for the change of name to Arch street, all of which were erroneous. The truth is, I should not have known the cause but by perceiving it was implied in the presentments of the Grand Juries, &c. The facts were, that in the neighbourhood of Front and Mulberry streets was originally a hill, or knoll, rising above the common elevation of the river bank. In opening the street down Mulberry street to the river as a necessary landing place, they found the Front street on each side of it so high, that in preference to cutting it down, they constructed a bridge there so as to make the passage up and down Front street over the Mulberry street. As they usually called such a bridge an arch, and that arch was a notable enterprise then, all things in the neighbourhood was referred to it, so that the street itself where stood "the great arch," became subject to its name, i. e. the Arch street.

The neighbourhood was made conspicuous too by the house of Robert Turner, (still standing) constructed of brick as a pattern model for others, and also by two of those early houses, whose flat roofs, by the primitive regulations, were not to intercept the river prospect along the eastern side of Front street.

The following facts will serve to illustrate and confirm the preceding introduction, to wit :

Robert Turner in his letter, of 1685, to William Penn, says : " Since I built my brick house, [at the north east corner of Front and Arch streets,] the foundation of which was laid at my going, which I design after a good manner to encourage others, and that from (their) not building

with wood; it being the first, many take example, and some that built wooden houses are sorry for it. Brick building is said to be as cheap, and bricks are exceeding good, and better and cheaper than when I built, say now at 16 shillings English per thousand, and many good brick buildings are going up, with good cellars."

"I am building another brick house by mine, [on the east side of Front street, No. 77,] which is three large stories high, besides a good large brick cellar under it of two bricks and a half thickness in the wall, and the next [i. e. Front street first story] half under ground. The cellar has an arched door [still visible there] for a vault to go (under the street) to the river, and so to bring in goods or deliver out." The first story "half under ground,"—now no longer so, was doubtless owing to the highness of the ground then in the street, and intended afterwards to be cut down.

Gabriel Thomas in his account of the city, as he saw it before the year 1698, thus speaks of his impressions, saying, "they have curious wharfs and large timber yards, especially before Robert Turner's great and famous house, where are built ships of considerable burthen—they cart their goods from that wharf into the city under an arch, over which part of the street is built.

In 1704, the Grand Jury present Edward Smout, sawyer of logs, &c. for encumbering "the free wharf, used as a landing, on the east end of Mulberry street, with his logs and timber left too long there." In the same report, it is stated to be for "encumbering the street and wharf near the arch."

Patty Powell, an aged Friend, told me her mother told her of seeing the arch, and that it was so high that carts, &c. passed under it to the river, so that those who went up and down Front street went over it.

At a Common Council held at "the Coffy House," December, 1704, a committee was appointed to view the arch in the Front street, and to report how to repair the same, &c.—found to be 12*£*. whereupon it was ordered that the ground on each side of the arch, fronting King street, (Water street now) be built upon by such persons as shall be willing to take the same on groundrent.

In the year 1712, the Grand Jury present "that it is highly necessary to repair the arch, by paving the same, and fencing it on either side above." Another Grand Jury, at the next session, present the passage down under the arch, for that it is worn in holes and gullies, and is not passable—it wants a fence upon the walls of the said arch—it being dangerous in the night both to man and beast. At another session, they present the want of walls to secure the street in the going down to the arch, also two fences (palisades) on the top of it to secure people from falling down.

In 1713, they again present the arch in the Front street, for that it is very dangerous for children in the day time, and for strangers in the night; neither is it passable underneath for carriages.

In 1717, the Grand Jury present "the great arch" in the Front street,—the arch in Second street—as insufficient for man and beast to pass over. The pump at the great arch, being now out of use and standing much in the street, ought to be removed. King street, as a cart-way, they recommend to be kept 30 feet wide

In 1718, they present the arch at the east end of Mulberry street, as so much out of repair as to endanger life, and as injurious to the neighbourhood, by stopping the channels from descending to the river, and they therefore recommend, as most advantageous to the handsome prospect of the Front street, [of course it must have been high and conspicuous] to pull down the said arch, and to regulate the two streets there.

In 1720—December—It was fully debated in Common Council whether to pull down the arch. The parties aggrieved being then again heard, and the charges of continual repairs considered, it is the opinion it will be for the general good to take it down—even to those who then petition against the same.

Year 1723—The Grand Jury present deep gullies from Front street, “where the arch stood, to the arch wharf.” Thus intimating that the arch had been taken away.

In April, 1723, the Common Council in ordering the old prison to be sold, determine the money shall be applied to making good the Arch street and wharf as far as the same will go. They state as a reason that the end of Mulberry street, from the east side of the Front street to the river, since the arch was removed, had been very ruinous by reason of the late great rains, for want of a free passage for the water. It being thought impracticable then to lay a tax for that and other needful things, the Mayor, James Logan, with great liberality, (to prevent further damage) presented the corporation with 20£. to be laid out there,—which was accepted with hearty thanks, and workmen to be ordered to pave the channel and to set posts, &c. The same generous Mayor invites the company of the board to a public dinner with him, provided at the Plume of Feathers.

In 1727, the Grand Jury present two ponds of water “in Arch street” [the first time I have seen it so named] between Front and Second streets.

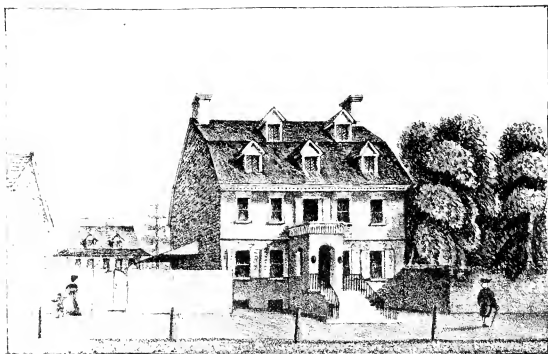
In 1736, a ship near Arch street wharf took fire within as they were burning her bottom without, occasioned by a flaw in one of her planks. This was not perhaps a ship-yard then, but used as a careening place.

The former high elevation of the grounds near “the arch” are even now peculiarly marked. The house No. 10, Arch street, on the south side, two doors west of Front street, presents a clear evidence that the second story was once the level of the street there, and that the present first story which goes up several steps, was originally so much cellar part under ground. It is proved by showing now the lines and marks in the second story of the side alley once there and afterwards filled up! J. P. Norris, Esq. told me it was so explained to him in his youth by aged persons who remembered the facts. The present three story house there was therefore originally but a two story house. The present north west corner house there had its door out of the present second story: the Friends’ Meeting-house near there, though originally on a high level, was left on a bank of ten feet elevation, and we know, by an ordinance of 1713, that the gutters were then declared, by law, as running from Arch street down to High street!

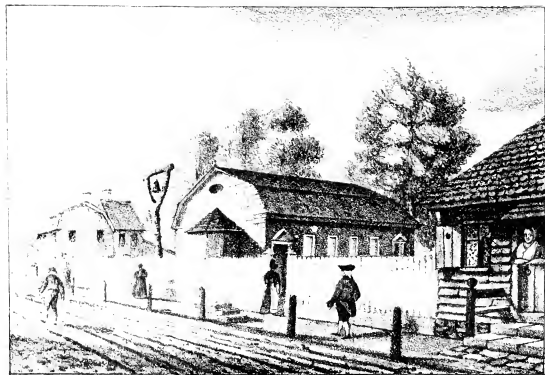
I had an opportunity in April, 1825, to witness unexpectedly a

relic of the primitive manner of topping the Water street bank side houses, as originally constructed, when intended not to intercept the view of the river from the Front street. The very ancient brick house in Water street (part of the block of two two story old frame houses on Front street above Arch street. No. 83 and 85,) has now the original flat roof with which it was originally covered. It has been well preserved by having since constructed over it, at one story additional elevation, a cedar roof,—by this act the first roof was made a floor of small descent. I found it made of two inch yellow pine plank, laid on white pine boards—the planks are caulked with oakum, with deep grooves near the seams to bear off the water, and the whole has now much remains of the original pitch which covered the whole. The elevation of this floor-roof is about eight feet above the present Front street, and as the street there has been cut down full six feet or more, it proves the former elevation of that roof. The general aged appearance of the premises, now about to be pulled down, indicate a very early structure. It is said there was once a ship-yard here about.

I have observed other curious facts in digging out the cellars of the two houses adjoining them on the northern side, to wit: No. 87 and 89.—In digging down to the level of Water street, in the Front street bank (which is of fine red gravel) they came, at about 12 feet from the line of Front street, to a regular stone wall of 16 inches thickness, 8 feet high, and of 12 feet square; (all this was below the former cellar there,) in a corner of the wall it appeared smoked, as if the remains of a chimney. I thought it indicated an original cave. The area of the square was nearly filled up with loose stones, a considerable part of which were of flat slabs of marble of one inch thick, smoothed on one surface, and broken into irregular fragments of one to two feet width. In clearing away these stones, they came to a grave head-stone, standing somewhat declined: on which were engraved “Anthony Wilkinson—London—died 1748.”—The stone is about 14 inches by 2½ feet high—[some small bones also found there.] On further inquiry I learn, that Anthony Wilkinson was an early and primitive settler on that spot. The Cuthbert family are descended from him, and one of them is now named Anthony Wilkinson Cuthbert. Mr. T. Latimer, merchant, near there, claims the head-stone, as a relative, and says old Mr. Cuthbert, who died when he was a boy, told him and others of the family, that old Anthony Wilkinson had his cabin once in this bank, which got blown up by a drunken Indian laying his pipe on some gunpowder in it.



Shippen's House, So. Second Street.



W.L.B.

First Christ Church, Philad!

En. Laid 1766.

SHIPPEN'S HOUSE.

[ILLUSTRATED BY A PLATE.]

THIS venerable edifice long bore the name of "the Governor's House." It was built in the early rise of the city—received then the name of "Shippey's Great House," while Shippen himself was proverbially distinguished for three great things—"the biggest person, the biggest house, and the biggest coach."

It was for many years after its construction beautifully situated and surrounded with rural beauty, being originally on a small eminence, with a tall row of yellow pines in its rear, a full orchard of best fruit trees close by, overlooking the rising city beyond the Dock creek, and having on its front view a beautiful green lawn, gently sloping to the then pleasant Dock creek and Drawbridge, and the whole prospect unobstructed to the Delaware and the Jersey shore. It was indeed a princely place for that day, and caused the honest heart of Gabriel Thomas to overflow at its recollection, as he spoke of it in the year 1698, saying of it, that "Edward Shippey, who lives near the capital city, has an orchard and gardens adjoining to his great house that equals any I have ever seen, being a very famous and pleasant summer house, erected in the middle of his garden, and abounding with tulips, carnations, roses, lilies, &c. with many wild plants of the country besides."

Such was the place enjoyed by Edward Shippen, the first Mayor under the regular charter of the year 1700. Shippen was a Friend, from England, who had suffered "for truth's and Friends' sake" at Boston by a public punishment from the misguided rulers there. Possessing such a mansion and the means to be hospitable, he made it the temporary residence of William Penn and his family, for about a month, when they arrived in 1699. About the year 1720 it was held by Governor Keith, and in 1756 it became the residence of Governor Denny. As it usually bore the name of "the Governor's house" in aftertimes, it was probably occupied by other rulers.

A minute of the City Council of the year 1720, while it shows the then residence of Sir William Keith on the premises, shows also the fact of keeping open and beautifying the prospect to the river, to wit: "The Governor having requested the Mayor to propose to the board the grant of the piece of ground on the south west side of the dock, over against the house he now lives in, for such term as the corporation shall think fit, and proposes to drain and ditch the same, this board agree the Governor may enjoy the same for the space of seven years, should he so long continue in the said house." It was probably during his term of use that the green

lawn had a few tame deer, spoken of as seen by Owen Jones, the Colonial Treasurer.

Thomas Storey, once Master of the Rolls, who married Shippen's daughter Anne, must have derived a good portion of the rear grounds extending out to Third street, as the present aged Colonel A. J. Morris tells me that in his time "Storey's grounds," sold to Samuel Powell, were unbuilt and enclosed with a brick wall from St. Paul's church down to Spruce street, and thence eastward to Laurel Court.

The lofty pine trees were long conspicuous from many points of the city. Aged men have seen them sheltering flocks of blackbirds; and the present aged Samuel R. Fisher remembers very well to have seen crows occupying their nests on those very trees. The fact impresses upon the mind the beautiful lines made by his son on that bird of omen and long life.—Some of them are so very descriptive of the probable state of scenes gone-by, that I will not resist the wish I feel to connect them with the present page, to wit :

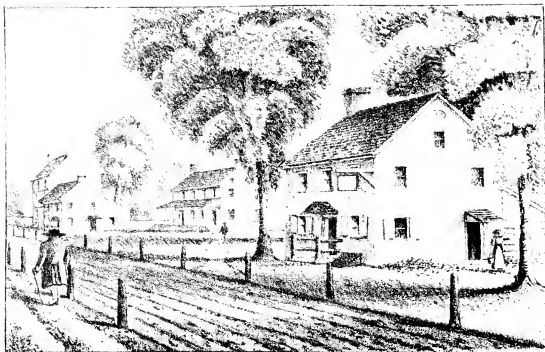
"The pine tree of my Eyry stood
A patriarch mid the younger wood,
A forest race that now are not,
Other than with the world forgot;
And countless herds of tranquil deer,
When I was fledged, were sporting here.
And now, if o'er the scene I fly,
'Tis only in the upper sky :
Yet well I know, *mid spires and smoke*,
The spot where stood *my* pine and oak.
Yes ! I can e'en replace agen
The *forests* as I knew them *then*,—
The *primal scene*, and herds of deer,
That used to browse so calmly *here* !"

Such musings in the "bird of black and glossy coat," so renowned for its long endurance of years, may readily be imagined in an animal visiting in numerous return of years "its accustomed perch."—It saw all our city rise from its sylvan shades—

"It could develope, if his babbling tongue
Would tell us, what those peering eyes had seen,
And *how the place looked* when 'twas fresh and green !"

The sequel of those trees was, that the stables in the rear of them on Laurel Court took fire not many years ago, and, communicating to them, caused their destruction.

The house too, great and respectable as it had been, possessed of garden-grounds fronting on Second street, north and south of it, became of too much value as a site for a plurality of houses, to be longer tolerated in lonely grandeur, and was therefore, in the year 1790, pulled down, to give place to four or five modern houses called "Waln's Row." The street there as it is now levelled is one story below the present gardens in the rear.



Clark's Inn & facing the State House



Bridge & Bennett's House in Chestnut Street

BENEZET'S HOUSE,
 AND
CHESNUT STREET BRIDGE.

[ILLUSTRATED BY A PLATE.]



THE ancient house of Anthony Benezet, lately taken down, stood on the site of the house now No. 115, Chesnut street. It was built in the first settlement of the city for a Friend of the name of David Breintnall. He, deeming it too fine for his plain cloth and profession, hired it for the use of the Governor of Barbadoes, (or of Bermuda, as said by some,) who had come here for the recovery of his health. While he lived there he used to come in a boat by the Dock creek to his own door. David Breintnall in the mean time occupied the house and store at the south west corner of Hudson's alley, where he died in 1731. The house having been a good specimen of respectable architecture was drafted by Mr. Strickland just before it was taken down in 1818, and an engraving made from it was published in the Port Folio of that year.

The bridge near it was long lost to the memory of the oldest inhabitants, and none of the youths of the present day have any conception that a bridge once traversed Dock creek in the line of Chesnut street! In the year 1823, in digging along Chesnut street to lay the iron pipes for the city water, great surprise was excited by finding, at six feet beneath the present surface, the appearance of a regularly framed wharf—the oak logs so sound and entire as to require some labour to remove them, and some of the wood of which was preserved for me in the form of an urn, as a memento. It was in fact the butment wharf of the eastern end of the original bridge, where it has been preserved 140 years, by its being constantly saturated with water.

The fact of the original wooden bridge, and of the later one of brick and stone after the year 1699, is set forth in the following copy of an original MS. petition, which I have seen in the records of the Mayor's Court, dated the 7th of 2d mo. 1719, to wit: "We whose names are hereunto written, lives in Chesnut street, humbly shew—that at the laying out of the city, Chesnut street crossed

a deep vale, which brought a considerable quantity of water, in wet seasons, from without and through several streets and lots in the town,—[emptying into the Dock creek,] this rendering the street impassable for cart and horse, a bridge of wood was built in the middle way, which for many years was commodious; when that decayed an arch of brick and stone was built the whole breadth, which with earth cast thereon made the street a good road, except that walls breast high, to keep from falling from the top, were neglected—not being finished, as the money fell short. Now this we think to be about twenty years ago; since which, nothing to prevent danger or of repairing has been done, save some small amendments and fencing by the people of the neighbourhood;* and as there is now a great necessity for those walls, or one wall, and as the arch (i. e. the bridge,) is in very great danger of sudden breach in some parts, whereby horses and people's lives may be endangered, we *nigh inhabitants* give you this timely notice thereof, and crave the remedy." To show those ancients I add their names, to wit: Samuel Richardson, David Breintnall, John Breintnall, Thomas Roberts, Solomon Cresson, William Linyard, Henry Stevens, Daniel Hudson, John Lancaster, and William Tidmarsh.

In the same year, 1719, the Grand Jury sustained the above petition by their presentment, saying: "The arch in Chesnut street, between the house of Grace Townsend and the house of Edward Pleadwell, is part broken down,—much of the fence wanting and very unsafe,—Chesnut street itself, between the Front and Fourth streets, is very deep and irregular."

It would appear that this bridge was continued by repairs for thirty years longer at least, for we find that in the year 1750 the Grand Jury present that "the pavement in Chesnut street, near Fleeson's shop, [north east corner of Fourth and Chesnut streets] as exceeding dangerous, occasioned by the arch joining thereto being fallen down and no care taken to repair it."

The former state of the "deep vale" along the line of Dock creek is indicated by some modern observations: In the year 1789, when Richard Wistar's house, at the south east corner of Hudson's alley and Chesnut street, was built, the builder, Mr. Wogle, said he had to dig twenty feet deep to procure a firm foundation. The house too, rebuilt by Pritchett, on the opposite corner, on the site of "Whale-bone house," (once David Breintnall's,) had to be dug down fourteen feet for a foundation on the creek side, and but nine feet on the western side: the deepest part was the corner on Chesnut street. Every thing indicated a shelving gravelly shore once there. In the course of their digging they found several large bones of whales and a great tail of a fish, four to five feet under the ground; some of which are now nailed up on the premises. The original old house had been

* In the year 1708 the Grand Jury present, that there is "a deficiency in the arch bridge in Chesnut street, adjoining to the lot of the widow Townsend."

used for some whale purposes. On the northern side of Chesnut street, in digging for the foundation of the house of Mr. Storey, No. 113, they found themselves in the bed of the same creek, and had to drive piles there. At this place and the adjoining lot was originally a tanyard, next a coachmaker's shop and yard.—At twelve feet they came to the top of the old tunnel.

James Mintus, a black man, living with Arthur Howell till he died, in 1822, at the age of 75 years, used to say in that family, that his father, who lived to the age of 80, used to tell him there was a wharf under Chesnut street before Mr. Howell's house. The discovery there in 1823 verified his assertion.

The dangerous state of the bridge, and of the water there while it lasted, was verified by the fact that John Reynalls lost his only daughter "by drowning in Dock creek by Hudson's alley."

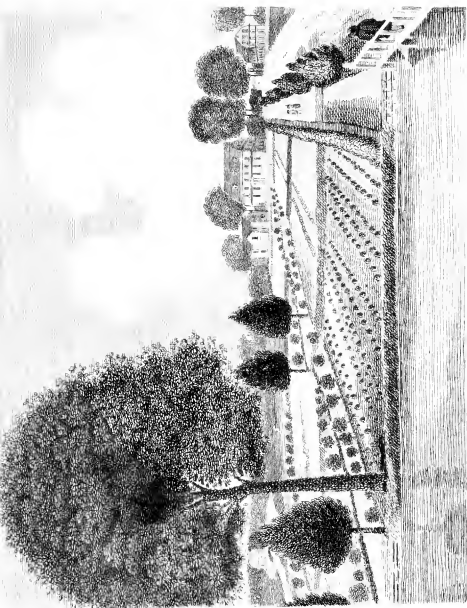
The very estimable character of Anthony Benezet confers an interest on every thing connected with his name: it therefore attaches to the house which he owned and dwelt in for fifty years of his life, keeping school there for children of both sexes of the most respectable families for several years, and finally dying there in 1784.

The house had in the rear of it a two story brick kitchen, and in entering its present proper ground floor you descend from the yard down two steps. This was far from being its original state; for it is even now plain to be seen, in looking down into its open area, that it has two brick stories still lower under the ground. My opinion is, that this kitchen was once on the bank of Dock creek, on the shelving edge; that the eastern side of it was never any part of it under ground, and that the area, or western side, (from the creek,) was originally only one story under the ground, and the rest has since been filled up to make the yard agree with the raising of Chesnut street. I am confirmed in this idea from having heard, in a very direct manner, that Anthony Benezet, at an early period of his residence there, was accustomed stately to feed his rats *in his area*. An old Friend, who visited him, having found him in that employment, expressed his wonder that he so kindly treated such pernicious vermin, saying they should rather be killed out of the way. Nay, said good Anthony, I will not treat them so; you make them thieves by maltreating and starving them, but I make them honest by feeding them; for, being so fed, they never prey on any goods of mine! This singular fact may be confided in. It was further said, that on the occasion of feeding them he was used to stand in the area, when they would gather round his feet like chickens. One of his family once hung a collar round one of them, which was seen for years after, feeding in the groupe. These facts coincide with the fancy of the London gentleman who has been lately noticed as reconciling and taming the most opposite natures of animals, by causing them to

dwelt together in peace. Benezet's sympathy was great with every thing capable of feeling pain,—from this cause he abstained for several years from eating any animal food. Being asked one day to partake of some poultry on the table at his brother's house, he exclaimed: "What! would you have me to eat my neighbours!"

Before the house came into the hands of Anthony Benezet, it was known as a public house, having the sign of "the Hen and Chickens."

C. J. JONES' GOLF & DOCK COURSE.



CLARKE'S HALL, &c.

CHESNUT STREET.

[ILLUSTRATED BY A PLATE.]



CLARKE'S Hall was originally constructed for William Clarke, Esq. at an early period of the city. He was by profession a lawyer, and at one time held the revenue of the customs at Lewistown. The house was deemed among the grandest in its day; and even in modern times was deemed a large and venerable structure—it was at all times notable for its display and extent of garden cultivation. It occupied the area from Chesnut street to the Dock creek, where is now Girard's Bank, and from Third street up to Hudson's alley; the Hall itself, of double front, faced on Chesnut street—was formed of brick, and two stories high. Its rear or south exposure into the garden, descending to Dock creek, was always deemed beautiful. At that early day Dock creek was crossed in Third street over a wooden bridge*—thence the creek went up to the line of present Hudson's alley, and by it, across Chesnut street—passing under the bridge there close by Breintnall's house—the same afterwards the residence of Anthony Benezet. All this neighbourhood was long deemed rural and out of town; only two other houses and families of note were near to it, say—that of Thomas Lloyd, once the Governor, on the north east corner of Chesnut and Third streets, and that of William Hudson, once the Mayor, near the south east corner of the same streets, having its front and court yard upon Third street, wherein were growing two very large buttonwood trees.

In the year 1704, in consequence of the arrival of William Penn, jun. and his love of display and expense, James Logan rented and occupied these Clarke Hall premises—saying, as his reasons for the measure, (to the father) that as no house in the town suited the enlarged views of his son, he had taken Clarke's great house, into which himself, William Penn, jun. Governor Evans, and Judge Mompesson, had all joined *en famille* as young bachelors.

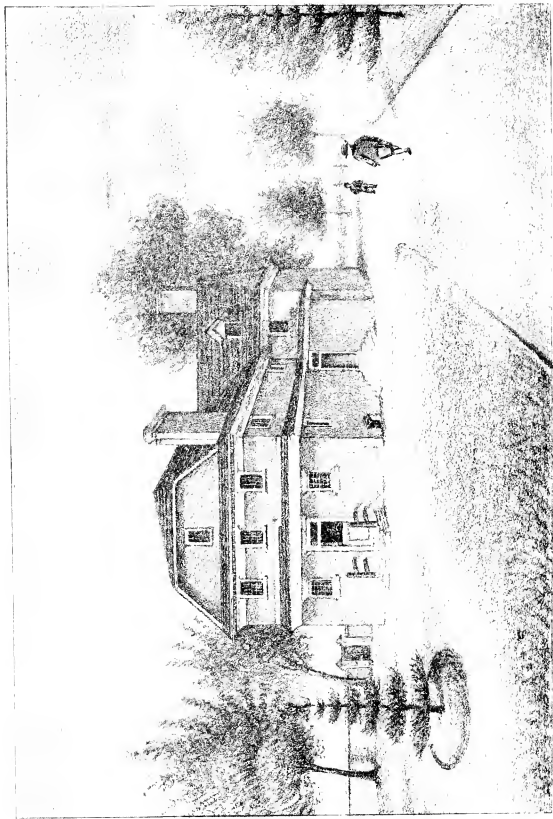
* I see this bridge referred to as still standing as late as the year 1769, and lately some remains of it were found in digging in Third street, although none of the lookers-on could conjecture what it meant.

In 1718 an act was passed, (but repealed in a few months,) vesting this house and grounds, as "the property of the late William Clarke of Lewes town," in trustees, for the payment of his debts, &c.

For some years the premises were occupied by some of the earliest Governors. It next came into the hands of Andrew Hamilton, the Attorney General, who derived it from the Clarke family; an aged daughter of whom long remained in the Hamilton family, and afterwards in John Pemberton's, as an heir-loom upon the premises. Thence the estate went into the hands of Israel Pemberton, a wealthy Friend, in whose name the place acquired all its fame, in more modern ears, as "Pemberton's house and gardens." It once filled the eyes and the mouths of all passing citizens and strangers, as the nonpareil of the city—say at the period of the Revolution. The low fence along the garden on the line of Third street, gave a full expose of the garden walks and shrubbery, and never failed to arrest the attention of those who passed that way. The garden itself being upon an inclined plane, had three or four falls, or platforms. Captain Graydon, in his memoirs speaks in lively emotions of his boyish wonders there, and saying of them, "they were laid out in the old style of uniformity, with walks and alleys nodding to their brothers—decorated with a number of evergreens, carefully clipped into pyramidal and conical forms. The amenity of this view usually detained him a few minutes to contemplate the scene." The building itself, of large dimensions, had many parlours and chambers; it stood on the south side of Chesnut street, a little westward of Third street. After the decease of Mr. Pemberton, it was engaged by Secretary Hamilton for the offices of the Treasury of the United States, and was so occupied until the year 1800. Soon afterwards it was sold and taken down, to cut it up into smaller lots and to make more modern buildings.

To a modern Philadelphian it must seem strange to contemplate the garden as having its southern termination in a beautiful creek, with a pleasure boat joined to its bank, and the tides flowing therein—but the fact was so. Patty Powell, aged 77, told me that her aged mother often told her of her having spoken with aged persons who had seen a schooner above Third street; and Israel Pemberton used to say he had been told of sloops having been seen as high as his lot in early years.





Carpenter's Mansion

CARPENTER'S MANSION.

[ILLUSTRATED BY A PLATE.]

THIS ancient structure was originally built as the residence of Joshua Carpenter, the brother of Samuel.—It was in truth, in its early days, a proper country-seat, remote from the primitive town. Its respectable and peculiar style of architecture has been a motive for preserving this brief memorial; it has, besides, been sometimes remarkable for its occasional inmates. The present marble Arcade now occupies a part of its former site, and while the beholder is standing to gaze on the present expensive pile, he may remember the former with all its inmates gone down to the dust. It was taken down in April, 1826.

Here once lived Doctor Græme, who died in 1772, a distinguished physician, long holding an office in the customs. His wife was the daughter of Sir William Keith, by his first wife. Græme's house, besides his own hospitable manner of living, was long made attractive and celebrated by the mind and manners of their daughter, the celebrated Mrs. Ferguson,—the same whose alleged overtures to Governor Reed, produced the noble and patriotic repulse,—"go tell your employers, poor as I am the wealth of the King cannot buy me!" A mind like hers, imbued with elegant literature, and herself a poetess, readily formed frequent literary coteries at her father's mansion, so much so, as to make it the town-talk of her day.*

While Governor Thomas occupied those premises, from 1738 to 1747, the fruit trees and garden shrubbery had the effect to allure many of the townfolks to take their walk out Chesnut street to become its spectators. The youth of that day long remembered the kindness of the Governor's lady, who, seeing their longing eyes set upon their long range of fine cherry trees, (fronting the premises on Chesnut street) used to invite them to help themselves from the trees: and oft as May-day came, the pretty Misses were indulged with bouquets and nosegays: to such purposes the grounds were ample, extending from Sixth to Seventh streets, and from Chesnut street back to the next street—the mansion resting in the centre.

A letter from John Ross, Esq. attorney at law, of the year 1761, then owner of the premises, agrees to sell them for the sum of 3000£. to John Smith, Esq. who afterwards became the occupant.

* She died at Græme Park, in Horsham, about 12 years ago, beloved in her neighbourhood for her religion, and her goodness to the poor. Her literary remains are said to be in possession of Doctor Smith, of the house of Lehman and Smith. Colonel A. McLane assured me she was always the friend of our country, although she may have had the confidence of the British, because of her known integrity.

The dimensions of the lot then given, were 237 feet on Chesnut street and back 150 feet to "the lane." It may surprise us, in our present enlarged conceptions of city precincts, to learn by the said letter of J. Ross, that "he sells it because his wife deems it too remote for his family to live in!" And he adds, if he sells it "he must then look out another airy place to build on; and how to succeed therein, he knows not!" We know, however, that he afterwards found it on the site where is now the Congress Hall Hotel. *vis a vis* the Bank of the United States—then a kind of out-town situation!

It afterwards became the property of Colonel John Dickinson, who, in 1774, made to it a new front of modern construction, facing on Chesnut street—such as we saw the premises when taken down in April, 1826. It was next owned by General Philomon Dickinson. It being empty in the time of the war of Independence, it was taken possession of for our sick soldiery, when it became an actual hospital for the sick infantry of the Virginia and Pennsylvania line, who died there rapidly, in hundreds, of the camp fever! On that occasion our ladies were very assiduous in supplying the poor sufferers with soups and nourishments. General Washington himself joined in those succours, sending them a cask of Madeira, which he had himself received as a present from Robert Morris. At that place Mrs. Logan's mother witnessed an affecting spectacle—the mother of a youth from the country, in the Pennsylvania line, came to seek her son among the dead—whilst wailing over him as lost, but rubbing him earnestly at the same time, he came again to life to her great joy and surprise!

After this it was fitted up as the splendid mansion of the Chevalier de Luzerne, who, while there as the Ambassador of France, gave a splendid night entertainment of fire-works, rockets, &c. in honour of the birth of the Dauphin of France. The whole gardens were gorgeously illuminated, and the guests were seen by the crowds from the street under an illuminated arcade of fanciful construction and scenery.

About the year 1779, Monsieur Gerard, the French Ambassador, being then the occupant, gave an elegant dinner there to about one hundred French and American officers. Colonel M'Lane, who was among the guests, told me that while they were dining the house was thunder-struck, and the lightning melted all the silver spoons and other plate upon the table, stunning all the company, and killing one of the French officers! What a scene—and what associations!

In time, as ground became enhanced in value, large encroachments were made upon these rural grounds by selling off lots for the Theatre, &c. but the mansion with its court yard upon Chesnut street, long continued a genteel residence in the possession of Judge Tilghman—the last owner preceding the sale to the Arcade Company, in 1826. The view of the old house, as given in the picture, is a side view, opening on Sixth street, and is a part of the same building retained by Judge Tilghman as the rear part of his residence.

CHRIST CHURCH.

[ILLUSTRATED BY A PLATE.]

“—————Monument of ancient taste,
And awful as the consecrated roof—
Re-echoing pious anthems.”

THIS venerable looking and ornamental edifice was constructed at various periods of time. The western end, as we now see it, was raised in 1727, and having enlarged their means, they, in 1731, erected the eastern end. The steeple was elevated on or about the year 1753-4.

Prior to the construction of the present brick pile Christ church was in the lowly form of a one story wooden chapel, built under the auspices of the Rev. Mr. Clayton in the year 1695.

The facts concerning the premises, gleaned from a variety of sources, are to the following effect, to wit:

The first church, of wood, built under the ministry of the Rev. Mr. Clayton, in the year 1695, is specially referred to by Gabriel Thomas' publication of 1698, who says "the Church of England built a very fine church in this city in the year 1695." The most we should infer from his commendation of it is, that it was probably sufficiently sightly for its small size. We know it was his general manner to extol other buildings, which still remain to convince us that good buildings then are but ordinary in our present enlarged conceptions of beauty and greatness. Such as it was, it was enlarged in 1710.

We know that the Rev. Mr. Clayton was first in charge of it, from the book of the Rev. Morgan Edwards, who has therein left us the record of his letter to the Baptists in Philadelphia of the year 1698, wherein he invites them to a public conference on the merits of their several religions, in hopes thereby to surpass them in argument, and win them over to his faith as proselytes; but they stood firmly to their defence, and the breach was widened.

The original records were accidentally destroyed by fire; of course, what we can now know must be such as have been incidentally mentioned in connexion with other facts.

Among the witnesses who had once seen the primitive church, and had been also cotemporary with our own times, was old black Alice, who died in 1802, at the advanced age of 116 years. She had been all her long life a zealous and hearty member of that

church. At the age of 115 she came from Dunk's ferry, where she lived, to see once more her beloved Christ church. She then told my friend Samuel Coates, Esq. and others present, that she well remembered the original lowly structure. The ceiling of it, she said, she could touch with her lifted hands. The bell, to call the people, was hung in the crotch of a tree close by. She said, when it was superseded by a more stately structure of brick, they run up their walls so far outside of the first church, that the worship was continued unmolested until the other was roofed and so far finished as to be used in its stead.

As early as the year 1698, the Rev. Evan Evans, who appears to have succeeded Mr. Clayton, is mentioned as the church pastor, in a public Friend's Journal of the time. He calls him "Church Missionary," and names him for the purpose of saying he had been out to visit the Welsh Friends at Gwyned, in hopes to convert them over to his fellowship.* From his name and visit to Welsh people we should infer he was himself a Welshman. About this time the church was served by the Swedish minister, Mr. Rudman, for nearly two years.

The Rev'd Mr. Keith, who visited Philadelphia in 1702, as church missionary,† speaks of having then found the Rev. Evan Evans in charge of Christ church as its first Rector, and said to have been sent out in 1700 by Bishop Comptin of London. That time was probably referred to, because, although he had been here at an earlier time, he may have been in London in 1700 also. Certainly he is mentioned as there by William Penn himself in his letter to James Logan, of 1709, to wit: "Governor Gookin has presented Parson Evans with two gaudy, costly prayer-books as any in the Queen's chapel, and intends as fine a communion table also; both which charms the Bishop of London as well as Parson Evans, whom I esteem."

It was probably on some such occasion of the presence of the Rector in London that Queen Anne made her present of a *service of church plate* for the use of Christ church—the same which now bears the impress of her Arms, &c.

We may be justified, we presume, in speaking of *all the truth*, to say a little of what was called "the Church Party,"—a name expressive at the time of mutual dissatisfaction between the churchmen and the Friends: probably not so much from religious differences of opinion as from dissimilarity in views of civil government, to wit:

In 1701, James Logan writes to William Penn, saying, "I can see no hopes of getting any material subscriptions from those of the church against the report of persecution, they having consulted together on that

* His diligence and zeal must have been great; for, besides Sunday service in Philadelphia, he held public prayers on Wednesdays and Fridays—preaching also at Chichester, Chester, Concord, Montgomery, Radnor, and Perkiomen, occasionally.

† This George Keith had himself been a public Friend not long before, at Philadelphia—an unusual metamorphosis, from plain drab to the black gown.

head, and, as I am informed, concluded that not allowing their clergy here what they of right claim in England, and not suffering them to be superior, may justly bear that name.*

A letter from William Penn, of 1703, says: "The church party with a pack'd vestry, headed by his enemy, John Moore, [once Attorney General] complimented by an address, the Lord Cornbury, wherein they say, they hope they shall prevail with the Queen to extend the limits of his government over them, that so they may enjoy the same blessing as others under his authority." Penn calls this "a foul insubordination to him."

The "Hot Church Party" as it was called, began its opposition to Friends' rule, about the year 1701-2; (much of it from civil causes) for instance, James Logan in writing to William Penn, in 1702, says: "Orders having come to the Governor to proclaim the war, he recommended to the people to put themselves into a posture of defence, and since has issued commissions for one company of militia, and intends to proceed all the government over. Those of the hot church party oppose it to their utmost, because they would have nothing done that may look with a countenance at home. They have done all they can to dissuade all from touching with it," &c.†

When Lord Cornbury was again in Philadelphia, on his second visit in 1703, Colonel Quarry and the rest of the churchmen, congratulated him, and presented an address from the church vestry, requesting his patronage to the church, and closing with a prayer that he would beseech the Queen to extend his government over the province! Colonel Quarry also said "they hoped they also should be partakers of the happiness Jersey enjoyed under his government."

William Penn, after hearing of this act to a mere visiter in his colony, treats it as overt act of anarchy—a treason against his supremacy! He therefore sends a copy of the address (called "Colonel Quarry's packed Vestry's Address,") to the Lords of Trade, to be by them punished as an "impudent" affair. "I offered the Lords, that they should either buy us out, or that we might buy out the turbulent churchmen."

William Penn, jun. in writing to James Logan, in 1703, says, "I am told the church party are very desirous of my coming over, as not doubting but to make me their property, but they will find themselves mistaken.‡ I should not encourage a people who are such enemies to my father and the province."

The Rev. Mr. Evans' services to Christ church terminated in 1719; he was then succeeded by the Rev. Mr. Vicary—after whom, the succession continued downward thus, to wit: The Rev. Mr. Cummings was installed in 1726—next, by Rev. Robert Jenney, in 1742,—then by Rev. Richard Peters, in 1762, and by the present Bishop White, in 1772, as assistant to Mr. Peters. From the year 1747 to 1766, the Rev. William Sturgeon Curate, was minis-

* It was ascertained that Colonel Quarry, who was at the head of Penn's enemies, had taken over to England secret subscriptions on that subject, intending them there to injure Penn

† The reason they assigned was, that they would not engage to defend and fight, while Friends could be exempted.

‡ Yet ye did, not long after, join the communion of the Church of England!

ter of Christ church and St. Peter's—at the same time he was in the service of the “Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.” Several other missionaries of that Society, were also here, to wit: the Rev. William Currie, missionary for Radnor, the Rev. N. Evans, for Gloucester, the Rev. E. Ross, for New Castle, also Rev. Mr. Barron there, the Rev. Mr. Barton, for Lancaster: another is also designated for Oxford, in 1758.

The excitement of those former mentioned turbulent times may be still more illustrated in the feelings manifested for a season in favour of an unworthy son of the church, whose own character and conduct seems to have been so peculiar and strange, as to deserve a place as a curious item of our domestic history. The times are now too far gone by to give any unpleasant emotions, and the whole may be contemplated as a spectacle in which we have no other interest than as mere lookers-on.

In the year 1714, the Rev. Francis Phillips, then incumbent of Christ church, fell into some reproach for immoral living; and as his conduct was so far secular as to infringe on the social privileges of “Peter Evans, gentleman,” concerning certain ladies, &c. it provoked in turn an encroachment on “the benefit of clergy,” by the said Mr. Evans, sending his adversary, Mr. Phillips, a challenge to duel! What a strange crisis, in what we should regard as the days of peaceful simplicity! Certainly the offence on both sides was deemed great, as the legal proceedings evince. The original challenge I have seen filed along with the presentment of the Grand Jury in the case. It reads thus, to wit:

“To Mr. Francis Phillips, Philadelphia,—Sir, You have basely scandalized a gentlewoman that I have a profound respect for. And for my part shall give you a fair opportunity to defend yourself to-morrow morning on the west side of Joseph Carpenter’s garden, betwixt seven and eight, where I shall expect to meet you *gladio cinctus*, in failure whereof, depend upon the usage you deserve from—Your ever—

PETER EVANS.

*Dated Pewter Platter Inn, Jan. 21, 1714.**

In the year 1715, the said Rev. Francis Phillips, clergyman, is presented, and a *billa vera* is found, for an attempt on the life of Elizabeth S—, by administering arsenic.—He is also presented, but the bill is returned ignoramus, “for forgetting his sacerdotal vow,” and for having in an offensive manner held his acquaintance with one Margaret S—. These public reproaches did of course move his indignation, so that he sent such a communication abroad as again called for another presentment, and on which a *billa vera* was found—for having sent a message to the Mayor and Alderman, saying, “they had done him injustice, and might as well have robbed him, as to have taken his servant Elizabeth S—,” the same first above named.

I perceive by the letters of James Logan, [in the Logan MSS.] that

* Such an affair with a gentleman of the holy office, is doubtless so far unique in this country. Even in this case the clergyman did not meet; but we have seen lately a more extreme case abroad. In 1828, the Rev. Heaton W. Crespigny, at Calais, challenges Mr. Long Wellesley to duel, and they exchange shots, concerning Mrs. Wellesley, a relative of the clergyman.

“ he was taxed with scandalous expressions, boasting of undue intimacy with some woman of reputation.” “ He was carried to gaol (says Logan) on Seventh-day night, so that they had none to preach to them on the next day, which greatly provoked that people against the Friends. They partly pulled down a house where one of the evidences against him lodged. The Governor, (Gookin, who was a churchman) gave out a *nulle prosequis* in his favour.” In another place he says, “ The better people of the church withdrew to the court house, and there, after debate, voted him to have acted scandalously ; and, finally, he was condemned by all”—a termination which must exempt the church itself from blame,—since “ tares will grow with the wheat,” and Christ’s church itself had “ one that had a devil !”

In the year 1727 was began the first attempt at constructing the present venerable Christ church of brick. The occasion was thus noticed in the Gazettes of the day, to wit: April 28th, 1727—“ Yesterday the Hon. P. Gordon, our Governor, with the Mayor, Recorder, and the Rev. Mr. Cummings, our minister, and sundry gentlemen, laid the first stone of the additional building designed to be made to the church of this city.” I regard this to have been the present western end, including the base of the tower—as will hereafter appear more obvious from subsequent facts to be told. The choice of making the western end first was, doubtless, to leave the little chapel the longer unmolested for the use of the worshippers.

In the year 1729 Thomas Makin’s Latin description of the city thus hints at its unfinished state then, to wit :

“ Of these appears one in a grander style
But yet unfinished is the lofty pile.
A lofty tow’r is founded on the ground
For future bells to make a distant sound.”

The tower was probably not extended above the first or second story till the year 1753, when they began the present elegant steeple. In the mean time it may have been used for other purposes.

From some incidental facts it appears, in the year 1729, to have been first furnished with an organ, and to have had there a Welsh preacher, of the name of Doctor Wayman—for the Gazette states, that the Welshmen in the city, having formed themselves into a fellowship, chose Doctor Wayman to preach them a sermon in the Welsh language, and to give them a Welsh psalm on the organ. This organ I presume to have been at Christ church, for a writer says, “ I have subscribed 5*£.* towards carrying on the new church, and 50*s.* to the organ, and 20*s.* to the organist.”

As soon as they could bring the western end to a finish, by measures adapted to their limited means and resources, they set upon the building of the present front or eastern end, which I found more than once ascribed to the year 1731.

For the impressive architectural style of Christ church (as well as of the State-house also,) we are indebted to the taste and direc-

tion of **Doctor John Kearsley**, the elder, an eminent physician of Philadelphia.* **Robert Smith** was the carpenter.

The grounds in the rear of the church were originally very different from the present level appearance. At first the ground along the rear wall of the yard descended into a very extensive pond, reaching from near **High street** to **Arch street**—once a place for wild ducks, afterwards for a skating place for boys. An aged lady, named **Betty Chandler**, knew the site when she had gathered blackberries and whortleberries near there, and so described it. **Davenport Merrot** had seen the pond open and skated upon; and the present aged **Thomas Bradford, Esq.** says the site of the church itself is artificial ground, filled in to some extent even out to **Second street**. In digging in the rear of the lot on the northern side boundary for the foundation of **Mr. Keys'** house there, they found a very marshy bottom, and at 14 feet below the present surface they came to the remains of a horse stall once there.

The present alley along the south wall, leading into **Church alley** from **Second street**, was originally part of the church burial ground. **Samuel Coates, Esq.** told me he could remember when the grave-hillocks still existed there, and, in confirmation, when the iron pipes for the **Schuylkill** water was laid along that alley they found bones enough to fill a large box, which **Mr. North**, the druggist near there, had reinterred.

In the year 1727, **Robert Asheton, Esq.** Recorder and Prothonotary, died, at the age of 58, and was buried, after the English manner of people of distinction, in much pomp, by torch-light, at **Christ church** ground. He was probably a cousin of **William Penn's**, as he had cousins of that name in **Philadelphia**.

In 1741, the churchmen of **Philadelphia** manifested some disaffection to the alleged supremacy of the **Bishop of London**, saying in the case of the **Rev. Richard Peters**, who was serving as the secretary and agent of the proprietaries, that as the **Bishop** declined to license him for their church, after they had chosen him, (alleging as his reason, his living by his lay functions) they would not accept any person whom he might license, they saying, his diocess did not extend to this province. **Mr. Peters** himself alleged that the right of presentation lay in the proprietaries and **Governor**. This **Rev. Mr. Peters** was father to our late venerable and respected **Judge R. Peters**.

Christ church, as it appeared in 1748-9, is described by the **Swedish traveller Professor Kalm**. Although he speaks of it as "the finest of all then in the city," he, notwithstanding, states that "the two churches then at **Elizabethtown** surpassed any thing then in **Philadelphia**!" For at that time **Christ church** had "a little inconsiderable steeple, in which was a bell, and also a clock, [now gone!] which strikes the hours. It had (he says) been lately

* He died in 1772, at the age of 88 years, leaving three of his houses as a legacy to the poor widows of the church. He was a very popular man, member of **Assembly**, &c.

rebuilt, [by an addition or by superseding the wooden church] and was more adorned than formerly." He mentions that the two ministers to this church received their salary from England; and that between 40 and 50 years before, the Swedish minister, Mr. Rudman, performed the functions of a clergyman for this congregation for nearly two years.

The Rev. Mr. Peters, Secretary, in writing to the proprietaries, in 1749, speaks of "the church" as having no funds for repairs, although we beg around the town—no steeple—no wall—no gates—no bells.* "The church too, [as big then as now!] is too little by one half to hold the members, [then the only church] and there is an absolute necessity for building another church, but as this, (other) when built, [alluding to St. Peter's] must be a chapel of ease to the present church, it may perhaps promote the finishing the old church with quicker expedition."

The year 1752-3 was very fruitful in expedients for adorning and beautifying the city. The war had ended in 1748, and had given a little time to devise expedients. Several new improvements were started upon lotteries; among these was that of November, 1752, for aiding in raising a steeple for Christ church. It is called a "scheme to raise £1012 10s.—being half the sum required to finish the steeple to Christ church, and to purchase a ring of bells and a clock." The lottery was drawn in March, 1753. As it was deemed a Philadelphia ornament, it was appropriately enough called "the Philadelphia steeple lottery." The managers therefore, say, "We hope that a work of this kind, which is purely ornamental, will meet with encouragement from all well-wishers to the credit, beauty, and prosperity of Philadelphia." The vestry had previously attempted a subscription, but as it fell "much short" of the necessary sum, it became necessary to resort to a lottery. Two lotteries were instituted for this object, and both for the same amount; the one immediately succeeding the other, to wit: in May, 1753. Each lottery contained 4500 tickets, at 4 dollars each, making together 36,000 dollars, and to net 2025£. Jacob Duché was Treasurer. The subscriptions amounted to about 1000£.

This "Philadelphia steeple," being one of peculiar beauty of symmetry and grace, since deemed worthy to be imitated by the Episcopal cathedral at Quebec, has been thus extolled by Joseph Sanson, Esq. who had seen numerous similar architectural ornaments abroad, to wit: "It is the handsomest structure of the kind, that I ever saw in any part of the world; uniting in the peculiar features of that species of architecture, the most elegant variety of forms with the most chaste simplicity of combination."

* This may possibly be a purposed desolate picture, as a begging hint to them, since Kalm then saw the little steeple, heard the bell and clock, and saw some ornaments—still it was much inferior to what we now see them.

The steeple was finished in November, 1754, at a cost of 2100*l.* and the bells were purchased in England, at a cost of 900*l.*—they were brought out, freight free, in the ship *Matilda*, Captain Budden; and as a compliment to his generosity, as often as he arrived in subsequent years, the bells put forth a merry peal to announce their gratitude. The whole weight of the eight bells was said to be 8000*lbs.*—the tenor bell weighing 1800*lbs.* They were cast by Lester and Pack, men of most note in their day. They were hung here by Nicholas Nicholson, a native of Yorkshire, in an entirely new manner.

These bells, heavy as they were in mounting, had to be taken down in the year 1777, by the Commissary General of military stores, to keep them from falling into the hands of the British, for military purposes; they were again returned and hung after the evacuation of the city.*

When the bells were yet a novelty, they excited very great interest to hear them chime and ring tunes. They used to ring the night before markets; and on such occasions numbers of persons would go from villages like Germantown, half-way to the city, to listen to the peals of merry music.

The first time the bells were tolled was long remembered as being for the occasion of Governor Anthony Palmer's wife, the mother of 21 children, all of whom died with consumptions! The ringing was also doubly memorable in having caused the death of one of the ringers, by his ignorance and ill-judged management of the bell rope.

Christ church steeple was built by Robert Smith. Its height is 196 2-3 feet from the base to the mitre. On the mitre is engraved Bishop White's name, as first Bishop. It has 13 holes in it, for the 13 original States, is inscribed, "The Right Rev. William White, D. D. consecrated Bishop of the Episcopal church of Pennsylvania, February 4th, 1787." The mitre is 4 feet in circumference at bottom, and 2½ feet in length. The vane is 7 feet 7 inches in length, and 2 feet 2 inches in breadth. The four balls are each 1 foot 10 inches in circumference. The extremities of the 4 balls are 3 feet 10 inches. The big ball measures 7 feet 9 inches in circumference. These may seem unimportant facts in themselves, if we really saw them little as they seem at their elevation; but it must add to their interest to thus know them large as they actually measure.

The Hon. Charles Thomson said he well remembered being present when a man fell from a high elevation on the steeple, down to the ground unhurt! While he was up, some commotion occurred in the crowd below, and he, turning his head and body backwards to look, gave occasion to the wind to pass between him and the

* They had been taken with the State-house bell to Trenton

steeple, and so forced him to let go his hold by the hands, and he fell! What horrors he must have felt in his terrified thoughts, rapid as his descent! "Mercy he sought, and mercy found,"—for he fell, providentially and strangely enough, into a large mass of mortar, and his great fall was harmless!

After the steeple had been built some years, it was found it was getting into the same decay at its sleepers as caused the taking down of the steeple of the Presbyterian church, on the corner of Third and Arch streets, and of the State-house steeple. On that occasion Owen Biddle, an ingenious carpenter, undertook to supply new sleepers of red cedar, which he got into place, on each of the four angles, by extending ropes with pullies, &c. from the spire into each of the streets a square off, so as to keep the steeple both in place and in check when needful; the fact I had from Owen Jones, Esq. an aged gentleman, who saw the display of ropes in the streets.

The Rev. George Whitfield, though no favourite in the church, was admitted to preach in Christ church to a great concourse in September, 1763, and soon after at St. Paul's also.

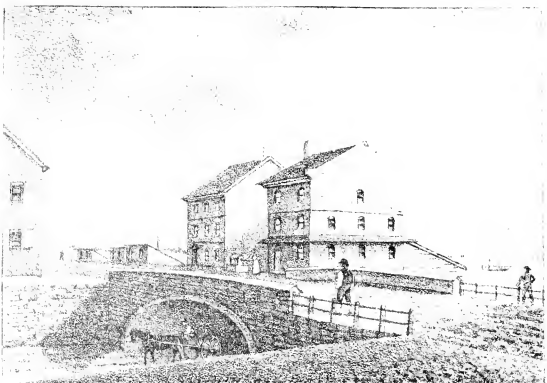
The parsonage house has long been disused as such, so much so, that scarcely an inhabitant remains that remembers to have heard of such a building, although it is still existing entire, but altered from a house of double front, to the appearance of two or three modern stores. Its position is No. 28, north Second street, was originally a two story brick building, having five chamber windows in front, placed at about 12 feet back from the line of Second street, and having a grass plot, shrubbery, and a palisade in front: additional buildings are now added in front to make it flush with the street, but the three dormer windows and roof of the original house may be still seen from the street. It was once the Custom-house, under Collector F. Phile. The garden ground originally run back half through the square. The premises now pay a ground-rent of 300 dollars a year to the church.

The two frame houses south of it, Nos. 24 and 26, are now the two oldest wooden houses remaining in Philadelphia, and it may be deemed strange that such mean structures should so long occupy the place of better buildings in so central a part of the city. My ink was scarcely dry in this article, when I learned that those ancient remains were razed "to build greater."

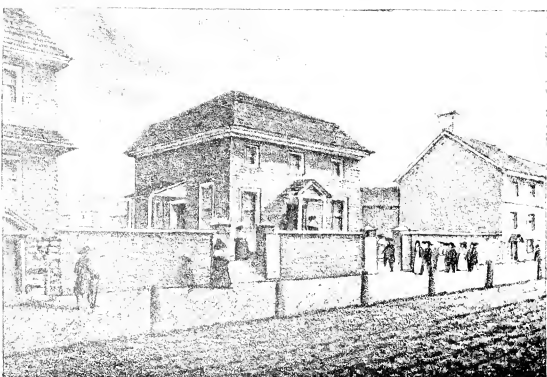
Since writing the foregoing, I learn that the ancient communion plate of Christ church consists of the following articles, to wit: a large silver baptismal font, inscribed as a gift from Col. Quarry, a goblet and two tankards of silver, from Queen Anne, are severally inscribed "Annæ Anglicanæ apud Philad. A. D. 1708." The two latter are decorated with figures of the apostles. Another antique-looking goblet is inscribed, "the gift of Margaret Tresse, to Christ church in Philadelphia." Besides these, might be added

the primitive altar-piece of antique character, now disused, and an early library of many and rare books.

The original deed for the ground-plot is from the family of Jones, conveyed per Joshua Carpenter, as their agent, for the sum of 150*l.* for 100 feet of front. The deed being later than the erection of the church, may possibly lead to the idea that the ground was at first held on ground-rent.



Area Street Bridge, at Front Street



Friend's Bank Meeting

Rev. Amos A. Phelps

FRIENDS' BANK MEETING

ON FRONT STREET.

[ILLUSTRATED BY A PLATE.]



THE Friends' Meeting, in Front above Mulberry street, built in 1685, was originally intended as an "Evening Meeting," while the one at the Centre Square [south west corner.] was then erected as a Day Meeting. Part of the surplus materials used at the latter were removed to aid in building the Evening Meeting. It was called, in that day, "the Evening Meeting." In after-years, when they constructed, in 1753, "the Hill Meeting," on Pine street, they called this house, in relation to its position, the "*North Meeting*." After they cut down the Front street before the house, so as to leave the Meeting on a high table land, they then called it "the *Bank Meeting*." It was sold and taken down in 1789, at the time it became useless by their building "the new meeting-house" in Keys' alley, which soon after took the name of "the Up-town Meeting."

The Bank Meeting as aforesaid had its front on the Front street. The pediment at the front door was supported by columns—at that door the men entered. On the southern side was a double door covered by a shed, by one of which the women entered. At those doors was the entrance for men and women to the gallery—the men going to the east, and the women to the west. Originally the Meeting had no board partition, but a *curtain* was used when they held the preparative meeting. The preacher's gallery was on the northern side. The house was fifty feet front by thirty-eight feet wide, and the green yard in front, within the brick enclosure or wall, was 14 feet wide. Originally the street and house were on the same level. The present James C. Fisher, Esq. has preserved the oak column which supported the gallery, and which had been brought from the Centre Square Meeting.

Such minute detail may seem too circumstantial to some who never gave the place, when standing, their regard or inspection; but those who were accustomed to assemble there in their youth, conducted and controlled by parents now no more, will be thank-

ful for every revived impression, and every means of recreating the former images of things by-gone.

“ Ilk place we scan seems still to speak
Of some dear former day—
We think where ilka ane had sat,
Or fixt our hearts to pray,
'Till soft remembrance drew a veil
Across these een o' mine ! ”—

Thus—“when we remembered Zion, then we sat down and wept.”

Richard Townsend, the primitive settler and a public Friend, says the Friends set up, in 1682, a boarded meeting-house near to the Delaware. We presume it was on this premises ; it meant a temporary building.

Robert Turner, in writing to William Penn, in 1685, says, besides the brick meeting-house at the Centre, we have a large meeting-house, 50 by 38, going on, the front of the river for an Evening Meeting.

The meeting-house elevated as it was, as much as ten or twelve feet above the street from which you beheld it, gave it a peculiar and striking appearance, and the abundance of green sod, seen from the street when the two gates were opened, contrasted with the whitish stone steps of ascent, gave the whole a very attractive aspect.

Its original advantages for prospect and river scenery must have been delightful ; it had no obstruction between it and the river, so that all who assembled there could look over to the Jerseys and up and down the river, from a commanding eminence. The houses answering to Nos. 83 and 85, opposite to it, were built with flat roofs, calked and pitched, and did not rise higher above Front street than to serve as a breast-high wall.

The meeting-house when taken down was superseded by a uniform row of three story houses now flushing with the line of Front street. It may be still seen near there that the old houses have marks of having once had their present first stories under ground, and their street doors formerly in what is now their second story.

FRIENDS' MEETING

AT CENTRE SQUARE, &c.



THIS building was originally constructed in the year 1685, at the south west corner of the Centre Square, then in a natural forest of oaks and hickories. It might surprise some, now, to account for a choice so far from the inhabitants dwelling on the Delaware side of the city. The truth was, that expectations were originally entertained that the city would expand from the centre towards both rivers; but it was soon found that the commerce of the Delaware engrossed all, and Centre Square Meeting came, in time, to be deserted, and the house itself in time disappeared.

Penn's letter, of 1683, to the Free Society of Traders, sufficiently intimates the cause of its location there, showing that Penn expected business to concentrate there—he saying, “Delaware is a glorious river; but the Schuylkill being 100 miles boatable above the Falls, and its course north west, towards the fountain of Susquehanna, (that tends to the heart of the province, and both sides our own,) it is like to be a great part of the settlement of this age.”—In concurrence with these ideas, Oldmixon's book says “the Centre Square, as he heard it from Penn, was for a state-house, market-house, and chief meeting-house for the Quakers.”

Robert Turner's letter, of 1685, to William Penn, says: “We are now laying the foundation of a large plain brick building for a meeting-house in the Centre, 60 feet long by 40 feet broad, and hope to have it soon up, there being many hearts and hands at work that will do it.” The present aged D. Merrot and B. Kite, Friends, have told me they remembered to have seen brick remains on the foundation, in the days of their youth, on the south west corner of the Square. Whether they meant the present Centre I am not able to say; for, it is to be observed, there was at some period a re-appointment, by which the Broad street is now placed more westward than was originally appointed. At first it was placed, on paper, 528 feet west from Eleventh street; but now Twelfth and Thirteenth streets intervene, making 1024 feet now westward of Eleventh street.

The general state of woods in which the meeting-house was originally located continued much the same till the time of the Revo-

lution. It was once so far a wild forest, that the grandmother of the present aged Col. A. J. Morris told him that when they used to go out from the city to the Centre Square Meeting, she had seen deer and wild turkies cross their path. At that time they had a resting seat under a fine shade at the corner of High and Sixth street, then far out of town, and called "the half-way rest."

These woods were long reserved as the property of Penn, he conceding, however, that "they should remain open as commons to the west of Broad street until he should be prepared to settle it." But as early as the year 1701, Penn complained much of "the great abuse done in his absence by destroying his timber and wood, and suffering it to overrun with brush, to the injury and discredit of the town," being, as he said, "his fourth part of the city, reserved by him for such as were not first purchasers, who might want to build in future time."

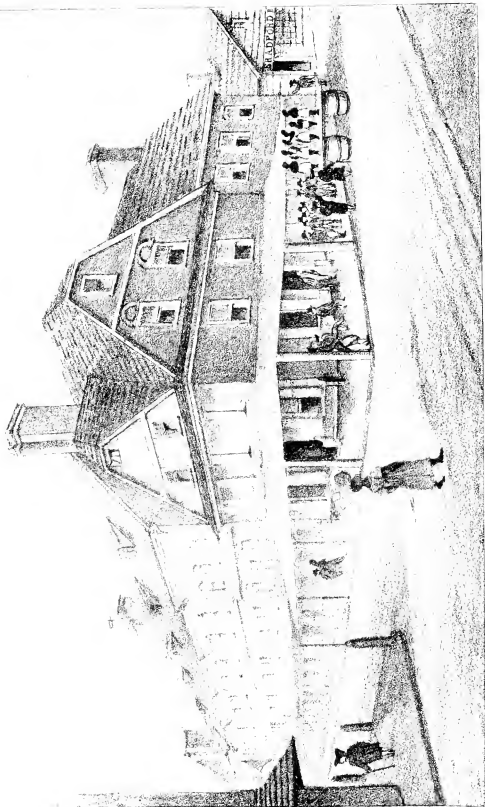
At the time the British possessed Philadelphia, in the winter of '77 and '78, the woods were so freely taken for the use of the army, that it was deemed most politic in the agent to cut them down and sell them. This was the business of one Adam Poth, a German of much self-consequence, well known to the city lads as a vigilant frustrater of many of their schemes to cut saplings, shabby clubs, &c. in his woody domains.

In 1726, the Grand Jury presented "two old wells, very deep, which lie open at the Centre Square." And about the same time and order of the City Council directs a well there to be filled up. Perhaps these may yet be discovered to the surprise of many.

When the writer was a lad the Centre Square was never named but in connection with military trainings, or as an object of universal terror to boys, as the gallows ground. Wo to the urchin then that should be found there after evening-fall among the spectres who then possessed that region. The woods were all gone; and a green commons occupied their place all the way out to Schuylkill. As late as the year 1790 the common road to Gray's ferry ran diagonally across those commons—so few then had fenced in their lots.

On page 507 of my MS. Annals, in the Historical Society, is a long article containing facts on the lines and uses in the grants of the Centre Square, not expedient to insert here.





London Coffee House.

THE LONDON COFFEE HOUSE, &c.

[ILLUSTRATED BY A PLATE.]



WHAT was called the old London Coffee House before and after the Revolution, now the property of James Stokes, Esq. was originally built about the year 1702. by Charles Reed, who obtained his lot, in the year 1701, from Lætitia Penn—in the same year in which William Penn patented it with other grounds to his daughter, to wit—the 29th of 1st mo. 1701. The original lot to Charles Reed contained 25 feet upon Front street and 100 up High street. This his widow conveyed in 1739 to Israel Pemberton. In December, 1751, he willed it to his son John, and at his death his widow sold it at Orphans' sale to the Pleasant family, who, on the 20th of September, 1796, sold it with but 82 feet of depth of lot for the great sum of 8216£. 13s. 4d. to James Stokes.

This celebrated house, as a Coffee House, was first introduced to its new employment by William Bradford, the printer, in the year 1754. upon the occasion of the declining of the widow Roberts, who till then had kept a Coffee House in Front street below Blackhorse alley.*

The original petition of William Bradford to the Governor, for his license to keep the house, is somewhat strange to our modern conceptions of such a place, by showing that coffee was ordinarily drank as a refreshment then, even as spirituous liquors are now. It is dated July, 1754. and reads verbatim thus, to wit: "Having been advised to keep a Coffee House for the benefit of merchants and traders, and as some people may at times be desirous to be furnished with other liquors besides coffee, your petitioner apprehends it is necessary to have the Governor's license."

At this Coffee House, so begun, the Governor and other persons of note ordinarily went at set hours to sip their coffee from the hissing urn, and some of those stated visitors had their known stalls. It was long the focus which attracted all manner of genteel strangers; the general parade was outside of the house under a shed of but common construction extending from the house to the gutter-way, both on the Front street and High street sides. It was

* At the house now Dixon's—the same which became the store of Rhea and Wikoff, in 1755.

to this, as the most public place, they brought all vendues of horses, carriages, and groceries, &c. and above all, here Philadelphians once sold negro men, women and children as slaves!

When these premises were rented in 1780, to Gifford Dally, the written terms with John Pemberton, a Friend, the then proprietor, were so unusual and exemplary for a tavern as to deserve a record, to wit: On the 8th of 7 mo. 1780, the said Dally "covenants and agrees and promises that he will exert his endeavours as a christian to preserve decency and order in said house, and to discourage the profanation of the sacred name of God Almighty by cursing, swearing, &c. and that the house on the *first day* of the week shall always be kept closed from public use, that so regard and reverence may be manifested for retirement and the worship of God;" he further "covenants, that under a penalty of 100*l.* he will not allow or suffer any person or persons to use, play at, or divert themselves with cards, dice, back-gammon, or any other unlawful game." To secure the fulfilment of these purposes he limits his lease for trial to but one year, and next year he renews a like lease for two years—after this, to my knowledge, he solicited Mr. Stokes to occupy it as a dwelling and store, and finally to purchase it for private use—a thing which Mr. Pemberton said he much preferred.

Such religious scruples in regard to a public city tavern, would look strange enough to Europeans accustomed to the licensed gambling and licentiousness practised at the Orleans palace at Paris! The submission to such terms, in such a city as Philadelphia then was, strongly marked the moral feelings of the town.

It might be curious to connect with this article the little history we possess of any anterior Coffee Houses. The earliest mention we have seen of a Coffee House, was that built by Samuel Carpenter on some of his ground at or near to Walnut street. In 1705, he speaks of having sold such a building sometime before to Captain Finney, who was also Sheriff.* I am much inclined to think it was on the east side of Water street, adjoining to Samuel Carpenter's own dwelling, being probably the same building which in the time of the colony was called Peg Mullen's celebrated beef-stake and oyster house, and stood then at or near the present Mariners' Church. The water side was the first court end of the town, and in that neighbourhood Carpenter had erected a bakery, crane, public scales, &c. It is also possible it may have been on the north-west corner of Front and Walnut street, where was once a frame building which had once been what was called the first Coffee

* Common Council proceedings, of 1704, are dated at Herbert Carey's inn, and, at the same time, at "the Coffee House."

† We perceive that Edward Bridges, in 1739, advertises his dry-goods store, "at the corner of Front and Walnut streets, commonly called the Scales," thus proving that Samuel Carpenter must have originally had his line on Walnut street, and of course including the lot afterwards James' Coffee House.

House, and, at another period, the first Papal chapel. The present owner of that corner, Samuel Coates, Esq. now having a large brick building there, told me he had those facts from his uncle Reynalls, the former owner, who said that at a very early day the Coffee House there was kept by a widow, Sarah James, afterwards by her son James James, and lastly by Thomas James, jun. The Gazettes too, of 1744 and 1749, speak of incidents at "James' Coffee House."* Mrs. Sarah Shoemaker, who died in 1825, at the age of 95, told me that her father or grandfather spoke of their drinking the first dish of tea, as a rarity, in that Coffee House. But I perceive a sale at auction is advertised in the year 1742, as to take place at Mrs. Roberts' Coffee House," which was in Front street below Blackhorse alley, west side—thus indicating that while she kept her house there, Mr. James was keeping another Coffee House at Walnut street. I notice also, that in 1744 a recruiting lieutenant, raising troops for Jamaica, advertises himself as to be seen at "the widow Roberts' Coffee House." There she certainly continued until the year 1754, when the house was converted into a store. I ought to add, that as early as the year 1725 I noticed a case of theft, in which the person escaped from "the Coffee House in Front street by the back gate opening out on Chesnut street;" from which fact I am inclined to think it was then the same widow Roberts' house, or some house still nearer to Chesnut street.

In the year 1741, John Shewbart makes an advertisement in the Gazette, saying he is about to remove "from the London Coffee House, near Carpenter's wharf," to the house in Hanover square, about half a mile from the Delaware, between Arch and Race streets, "which is a short walk and agreeable exercise."

* The Philadelphia Mercury, of 1720, speaks of the then Coffee House in the Front street.



STATE-HOUSE AND YARD.



THIS distinguished building was began in the year 1729, and finished in the year 1734. The amplitude of such an edifice in so early a day, and the expensive interior decorations, are creditable evidences of the liberality and public spirit of the times.

Before the location of the State-house, the ground towards Chesnut street was more elevated than now. The grandmother of S. R. Wood remembered it when it was covered with whortleberry bushes. On the line of Walnut street the ground was lower, and was built upon with a few small houses, which were afterwards purchased and torn down, to enlarge and beautify the State-house square.

The present aged Thomas Bradford, Esq. who has described it as it was in his youth, says the yard at that time was but about half its present depth from Chesnut street—was very irregular on its surface, and no attention paid to its appearance. On the Sixth street side, about 15 to 20 feet from the then brick wall, the ground was sloping one to two feet below the general surface—over that space rested upon the wall a long shed, which afforded and was used as the common shelter for the parties of Indians occasionally visiting the city on business.* Among such a party he saw the celebrated old King Hendrick, about the year 1756, not long before he joined Sir William Johnson at Lake George, and was killed.

In the year 1760 the other half-square, fronting on Walnut street, was purchased. After pulling down the houses there, among which were old Mr. Townsend's, who lamented over it as a patrimonial gift forced out of his possession by a jury valuation, the whole space was walled in with a high brick wall, and at the centre of the Walnut street wall was a ponderous high gate and massive brick structure over the top of it, placed there by Joseph Fox.—It was ornamental but heavy; *vis a vis* to this gate, the south side of Walnut street, was a considerable space of vacant ground.

About the year 1782 the father of the present John Vaughan, Esq. coming to Philadelphia from England to reside among us, set his heart upon improving and adorning the yard, as an embellishment to the city. He succeeded to accomplish this in a very tasteful and agreeable manner. The trees and shrubbery which he had

* This shed afterwards became an artillery range, having its front gate of entrance upon Chesnut street.

planted were very numerous and in great variety. When thus improved, it became a place of general resort as a delightful promenade. Windsor settees and garden chairs were placed in appropriate places, and all, for a while, operated as a charm. It was something in itself altogether unprecedented, in a public way, in the former simpler habits of our citizens; but after some time it became, in the course of the day, to use the language of my informant, Mr. Bradford, the haunt of many idle people and tavern resorters; and, in the evening, a place of rendezvous to profligate persons; so that in spite of public interest to the contrary, it run into disesteem among the better part of society. Efforts were made to restore its lost credit; the seats were removed, and loungers spoken of as trespassers, &c.—but the remedy came too late; good company had deserted it, and the tide of fashion did not again set in its favour.

In later years the fine elms, planted by Mr. Vaughan, annually lost their leaves by numerous caterpillars, (an accidental foreign importation,) which so much annoyed the visitors, as well as the trees, that they were reluctantly cut down after attaining to a large size. After this, the dull, heavy brick wall was removed to give place to the present airy and more graceful iron palisade. Numerous new trees were planted to supply the place of the former ones removed, and now the place being revived, is returning again to public favour; but our citizens have never had the taste for promenading public walks, so prevalent in Londoners and Parisians—a subject to be regretted, since the opportunity of indulgence is so expensively provided in this and the neighbouring Washington Square.

We come now to speak of the venerable pile, the State-house, a place consecrated by numerous facts in our colonial and revolutionary history.—Its contemplation fills the mind with numerous associations and local impressions—within its walls were once witnessed all the memorable doings of our spirited forefathers—above all, it was made renowned in 1776, as possessing beneath its dome “the Hall of Independence” in which the representatives of a nation resolved to be “free and independent.”

The general history of such an edifice, destined to run its fame coextensive with our history, may afford some interest to the reader.

The style of the architecture of the house and steeple was directed by Doctor John Kearsley, sen.—the same amateur who gave the architectural character to Christ church. The carpenter employed was Mr. Edward Wooley. The facts concerning its bell first set up in the steeple, (if we regard its after-history,) has something peculiar. It was of itself not a little singular that the bell, when first set up, should, in its colonial character, have been inscribed as its motto—“Proclaim liberty throughout the land, and to all the people thereof!” But it is still stranger, and deserves to be often remembered, that it was the first in Philadelphia, and from

the situation of the Congress then legislating beneath its peals, it was also the first in the United States to proclaim, by ringing, the news of "the Declaration of Independence! The coincidents are certainly peculiar, and could be amplified by a poetic imagination into many singular relations!

This bell was imported from England, in 1752, for the State-house, but having met with some accident in the trial-ringing, after it was landed, it lost its tones received in the father-land, and had to be conformed to ours, by a re-casting! This was done under the direction of Isaac Norris, Esq. the then Speaker of the colonial Assembly, and to him we are probably indebted for the remarkable motto so indicative of its future use! That it was adopted from Scripture (Lev. 25, 10.) may to many be still more impressive, as being also the voice of God—of that great arbiter, by whose signal providences we afterwards attained to that "liberty" and self-government which bids fair to emancipate our whole continent, and in time to influence and meliorate the condition of the subjects of arbitrary government throughout the civilized world!

"The motto of our father-band
 Circl'd the world in its embrace:
 'Twas "Liberty throughout the land,
 And good to all their brother race!"
 Long here—within the pilgrim's bell
 Had linger'd—tho' it often peal'd—
 Those treasur'd tones, that eke should tell
 When freedom's proudest scroll was seal'd!
 Here the dawn of reason broke
 On the trampled rights of man;
 And a moral era woke
 Brightest since the world began!
 And still shall deep and loud acclaim
 Here tremble on its sacred chime;
 While e'er the thrilling trump of fame
 Shall linger on the pulse of time!"

It was stated in the letters of Isaac Norris, that the bell got cracked by a stroke of the clapper when hung up to try the sound. Pass and Stow undertook to re-cast it; and on this circumstance Mr. Norris remarks: "They have made a good bell, which pleases me much that we should first venture upon and succeed in the greatest bell, for aught I know, in English America—surpassing too (he says) the imported one, which was too high and brittle—[sufficiently emblematic!]—the weight was 2080 lbs."

At the time the British were expected to occupy Philadelphia, in 1777, the bell, with others, were taken from the city to preserve them from the enemy. At a former period—say in 1774, the base of the wood-work of the steeple was found in a state of decay, and it was deemed advisable to take it down, leaving only a small belfry to cover the bell for the use of the town clock. It so con-

tinued until the past year; when public feeling being much in favour of restoring the venerated building to its former character, (as seen when it became the Hall of Independence) a new steeple was again erected as much like the former as circumstances would admit. The chamber in which the representatives signed the memorable declaration, on the eastern side first floor, we are sorry to add, is not in the primitive old style of wainscotted and panuelled grandeur in which it once stood in appropriate conformity with the remains still found in the great entry and stairway. To remove and destroy these, made a job for some of the former sapient commissioners, but much to the chagrin of men of taste and feeling, who felt, when La Fayette possessed that chamber (five years ago) as his appropriate hall of audience, that it was robbed of half its associations! For that eventful occasion, and duly to honour "the nation's guest," (who cordially invited all our citizens to visit him) all the former interior furniture of benches and forms occupying the floor were removed, and the whole area was richly carpeted and furnished with numerous mahogany chairs, &c.

To revert back to the period of the Revolution, when that hall was consecrated to perpetual fame, by the decisive act of the most talented and patriotic convention of men that ever represented our country, brings us to the contemplation of those hazards and extremities which "tried men's souls."—Their energies and civic virtues were tested in the deed. Look at the sign-manual in their signatures: not a hand faltered—no tremor affected any but Stephen Hopkins who had a natural infirmity.* We could wish to sketch with picturesque effect the honoured groupe who thus sealed the destinies of a nation. The genius of Trumbull has done this so far as canvass could accomplish it. Another groupe, formed solely of citizens, was soon afterwards assembled by public call, to hear the declaration read in the State-house yard.

When the regular sessions of the Assembly were held in the State-house the Senate occupied up-stairs, and the Lower House in the same chamber since called the Hall of Independence. In the former, Anthony Morris is remembered as Speaker, occupying an elevated chair facing the north—himself a man of amiable mien, contemplative aspect, dressed in a suit of drab cloth, flaxen hair slightly powdered, and his eyes fronted with spectacles. The representative chamber had George Latimer for Speaker, seated with face to the west—a well-formed, manly person, "his fair large front and eye sublime declared absolute rule."

The most conspicuous persons which struck the eye of a lad, was Mr. Coolbaugh, a member from Berks, called the Dutch giant, from his great amplitude of stature and person; and Doctor Michael Leib, the active democratic member—a gentleman of much personal beauty, always fashionably dressed, and seen often

* Their plain and fairly legible hands might shame the modern affectation of many who make signatures not to be read.

moving to and fro in the House, to hold his converse with other members.

But these halls of legislation and court uses were not always restricted to grave debate and civil rule. It sometimes (in colonial days) served the occasion of generous banqueting, and the consequent hilarity and jocund glee. In the long gallery up-stairs, where Peale afterwards had his Museum, the long tables had been sometimes made to groan with their long array of bountiful repast. I shall mention some such occasions, to wit :

In September, 1736, soon after the edifice was completed, his Honour William Allen, Esq. the Mayor, made a feast at his own expense, at the State-house, to which all strangers of note were invited. The Gazette of the day says, "All agree that for excellency of fare, and number of guests, it was the most elegant entertainment ever given in these parts."

In August, 1756, the Assembly then in session, on the occasion of the arrival of the new Governor Denny, gave him a great dinner at the State-house, at which were present "the civil and military officers and clergy of the city."

In March, 1757, on the occasion of the visit of Lord Loudon as Commander in Chief of the King's troops in the colonies, the city corporation prepared a splendid banquet at the State-house, for himself and General Forbes, then commander at Philadelphia, and southward, together with the officers of the royal Americans, the Governor, gentlemen strangers, civil officers, and clergy.

Finally, in 1774, when the first Congress met in Philadelphia, the gentlemen of the city, having prepared them a sumptuous entertainment at the State-house, met at the City tavern, and thence went in procession to the dining hall, where about 500 persons were feasted, and the toasts were accompanied by music and great guns.

For many years the public papers of the colony, and afterwards of the city and State, were kept in the east and west wings of the State-house, without any fire-proof security as they now possess. From their manifest insecurity, it was deemed expedient about nine years ago to pull down those former two story brick wings, and to supply their place by those which are now there. In former times such important papers as rest with the Prothonotaries, were kept in their offices at their family residences. Thus Nicholas Biddle long had his in his house, one door west of the present Farmers and Mechanics Bank, in Chesnut street; and Edward Burd had his in his office, up a yard in Fourth street below Walnut street.

In pulling down the western wing, Mr. Grove, the master mason, told me of several curious discoveries made under the foundation, in digging for the present cellars. Close by the western wall of the State-house at the depth of four or five feet he came to a keg of excellent flints; the wood was utterly decayed, but the impression of the keg was distinct in the loam ground. Near to it he found,

at the same depth, the entire equipments of a sergeant—a sword, musket, cartouch-box, buckles, &c.—the wood being decayed left the impressions of what they had been. They also dug up, close by the same, as many as one dozen bomb-shells filled with powder. And two of these, as a freak of the mason's lads, are now actually walled into the new cellar wall on the south side. But for this explanation a day may yet come when such a discovery might give circulation to another Guy Faux and gunpowder-plot story!

STATE-HOUSE INN.

[ILLUSTRATED BY A PLATE.]

THE crowds of gay passengers who now promenaded the line of Chesnut street, especially the younger part, who behold the costly edifices which crowd the whole range of their long walk, have little or no conception of the former blank and vacant features of the street, devoid of those mansions in which they now feel their pride and admiration. It is only thirty years ago since the north side of Chesnut street, facing the State-house, now so compact and stately in its houses, had but two good houses in the whole line of the street from Fifth to Sixth street; but one of these now remain—the present residence of P. S. Duponceau, Esq. at the north east corner of Sixth street. The whole scene was an out-town spectacle, without pavement, and of uninviting aspect. In the midst of this area stood the State-house Inn, a small two-story tavern, of rough-dashed construction, very old, being marked with the year 1693 as its birth-year. It stood back a little from the line of the street, but in lieu of a green court-yard to gratify the eye, the space was filled with bleached oyster shells—the remains of numerous years of shells left about the premises at occasions of elections, &c. It looked like a sea-beach tavern. That single and diminutive inn for a long time gave all the entertainment then taken by the court suitors, or by those who hung about the colonial Assemblies and the primitive Congress. But desolate as it looked in front and rear, having a waste lot of commons instead of garden shrubbery, and the neighbouring lots equally open and cheerless, there was a redeeming appendage in a range of lofty and primitive walnut trees, which served as distant pointers to guide the stranger to the venerable State-house—itself beyond the verge of common population.

Of those trees we have something special and interesting to say: They were the last remains within the city precincts of that primitive forest which had been the cotemporary of Penn the founder. There they had stood at the infant cradling of our nation, and had survived to see our manhood and independence asserted in that memorable “Hall of Independence” before which they stood.

When Richard Penn first came to this country, and was shown by Samuel Coates these primitive remains of his grandfather’s eventful day, the crowd of associations which pressed upon his mind made him raise his hands in exclamation, and his eyes burst forth in tears.

It would have been grateful to have retained those trees, but they came to the axe before their time, to make way for city improve-

ments. The last of them was taken down in 1818, from before the office of Mr. Ridgway, No. 183, from a fear that its height and heaviness, in case of being blown over, might endanger the houses near it. In falling across the street diagonally it reached with its branches the eastern end of the State-house—as if to take its last leave of the Hall of Independence there. It was found to be sound and to have had 146 years growth. Several snuff-boxes, inlaid with other relic-wood, have been made from its remains, and distributed among such as have fellowship with such local recollections.*

As early as the days of William Penn, the inn had been used as an out-town tavern. The ancient black Alice, who lived there, used to tell with pleasure that Master William Penn would stop there and refresh himself in the porch with a pipe, for which she always had his penny.

In the colonial days it was long known as “Clarke’s Inn,” at which he had the sign of the “coach and horses.” All that we can say of “mine host,” is, that he prepared dogs—real dogs!—for cooking the meat of the epicures and gentry! In 1745 he advertises in the public prints, that “he has for sale several dogs and wheels, much preferable to any jacks for roasting any joint of meat.” Few Philadelphians of modern times would be likely to understand what was meant. Our modern improvements are so great that we have little conception of the pains-taking means they once employed for roast meats. They trained little bow-legged dogs, called spit-dogs, to run in a hollow cylinder, like a squirrel, by which impulse was given to a turnjack, which kept the meat in motion, suspended before the kitchen fire. We pity the little dogs and their hard service while we think of them! As cookingtime approached, it was no uncommon thing to see the cooks running about the street looking up their truant labourers. What a relief to them was self-moving jacks! and, still more, what have tin kitchens since produced for us!

Mr. Edward Duffield tells me that when he was a boy he saw the voters of the whole county giving in their votes at Clarke’s inn. On that occasion he saw the whole crowd put in commotion by an accident which befel a horse there. He had been hitched to a fence, and in pulling backward fell into a concealed and covered well of water; after being got up once he fell down a second time, and was again recovered—strange to tell—without injury! Such a covered and concealed well, of excellent water too, was lately discovered near there in the garden of Jacob Ridgway.

After the Revolution the inn was known as the “Half Moon,” by Mr. Hassell, and much its attractions were increased by the charms of his only daughter Norah, “passing fair,” who drew after her the Oglebys of the day.

* Since penning the above the publication “La Fayette in America,” Vol. 2, page 232, speaks with much commendation of such a box given to General La Fayette.

WASHINGTON SQUARE.



THIS beautiful square, now so much the resort of citizens and strangers, as a promenade, was only fifteen years ago a "Potter's Field," in which were seen numerous graves, generally the receptacles of the poor, and formerly of the criminals from the prison. It was long enclosed in a post and rail fence, and always produced much grass. It was not originally high and level as now, but a descending ground, from the western side to a deep gully which traversed it in a line from Doctor Wilson's large church to the mouth of the present tunnel on Sixth street below Walnut street. Another course of water came from the north west, falling into the same place. The houses on the street, along the south side of the square, were but a few years ago as miserable and deformed a set of negro huts and sheds as could be well imagined.

In the centre of the square was an enclosed ground, having a brick wall of about 40 feet square, in which had been interred members of Joshua Carpenter's and the Story families, caused by the circumstance of a female of the former family having been interred there for suicide—a circumstance which excluded her from burial in the common church grounds of the city.

Those who remembered the place long before my recollections, knew it when the whole place was surrounded by a privet-hedge, where boys used to go and cut bow-sticks, for shooting of arrows. Timothy Matlack remembered it as early as the year 1745 to '50, and used then to go to a pond where is now the site of the Presbyterian church, to shoot wild ducks. A. J. Morris, at the same period, remembered when a watercourse, starting from Arch street near Tenth street, traversed High street under a small bridge at Tenth street, and thence ran southeastward through the Washington Square, thence by the line of the present tunnel under the prison, by Beek's Hollow, into Dock creek, by Girard's Bank. The present aged Hayfield Conyngham, Esq. when he was young, caught fish of six inches length in the above-mentioned watercourse, within the present square. Another aged person told me of his often walking up the brook, barefooted, in the water, and catching crayfish.

It was the custom for the slave blacks at the time of fairs and other great holydays, to go there to the number of one thousand, of both sexes, and hold their dances, dancing after the manner of

their several nations in Africa, and speaking and singing in their native dialects.—thus cheerily amusing themselves over the sleeping dust below ! An aged lady, Mrs. H. S. has told me she has often seen the Guinea negroes, in the days of her youth, going to the graves of their friends early in the morning, and there leaving them victuals and rum !

In the time of the war of Independence the place was made awful by the numerous interments of the dying soldiers destroyed by the camp fever. Pits of 20 by 30 feet square were dug along the line of Walnut street by Seventh street, which were closed by coffins piled one upon another until filled up ; and along the southern line, long trenches the whole width of the square were dug at once, and filled up as the voracious grave required its victims. Its final scene, as a Golgotha and ghostly receptacle, occurred in the fever of 1793 ; after which, the extension of improvements, westward, induced the City Council to close it against the use of future interments at and after the year 1795.

Some of my cotemporaries will remember the simple-hearted innocent Leah, a half-crazed spectre-looking elderly maiden lady, tall and thin, of the Society of Friends. Among her oddities, she sometimes used to pass the night, wrapped in a blanket, between the graves at this place, for the avowed purpose of frightening away “the doctors !”

The place was originally patented in 1704-5, under the name of “the Potter’s Field,” as “a burial ground for strangers,” &c. The minutes of Council, in September, 1705, show that the Mayor, Recorder, and persons of various religious denominations, were appointed to wait on the Commissioners of Property for a public piece of ground for “a burial place for strangers dying in the city.” With a run of ninety years it was no wonder it looked to the eye well filled !

That it was deemed a good pasture field, is evidenced by the fact of its being rented by the Council for such a purpose. A minute of Council of 14th April, 1766, is to this effect : “The lease of Potter’s Field to Jacob Shoemaker having expired, it is agreed to lease it to Jasper Carpenter for seven years (to the year 1773) at ten pounds per annum.”

It was begun as a public walk in the year 1815, under the plan of G. Bridport, and executed under the direction of George Vaux, Esq. It has from sixty to seventy varieties of trees, mostly of native growth. In a few years more they will have extended their shade in admirable beauty, and those who may exercise beneath their branches will no longer remember those “whelm’d in pits and forgotten !”

BEEK'S HOLLOW,

WAS the familiar name of ground descending into a brook or run, which traversed Walnut street a little above Fourth street, in the line of the present tunnel. Before the tunnel was constructed it was an open watercourse coming from the present Washington Square, crossing under Fourth street by an arch, and out to Dock creek by the way of the present Girard's Bank.

Many men are still living who remember it as an open, deep and sluggish stream, from Walnut street near the present Scotch Presbyterian church, in a line towards the corner of Library street and Fourth street—then a vacant commons there. In proof of the low ground once there it may be said, that when they were digging the cellar for the house No. 73, South Fourth street, western side, below Library street, at the depth of nine feet they came to an old post and rail fence!

I can myself remember, when, a little westward of the brook, on the north side of Walnut street, there stood back from the street a very pleasant two-story old cottage, the residence of the widow Rowen, having a grapevine clustering about the lattices of the piazza, and a neat garden in front. I believe Doctor Cox built his dwelling house on the same premises, nearly thirty years ago. The south side of Walnut street was then generally vacant lots: and where the present range of fine houses extends westward from the south west corner of Fourth and Walnut street, was a long yard occupied many years by a coachmaker, whose frame shop stood upon the corner. The rear of Doctor Rush's former residence shows a gradual descent of sloping garden into Beek's Hollow; and an old house or two in Prune street, north side, show themselves buried as much as three steps beneath the present surface—thus marking there the range of "the Hollow" once so familiar in the mouths of all persons passing up Walnut street.

NORRIS' HOUSE & GARDEN.



NORRIS' house, a respectable-looking family mansion, occupied till lately the site on which is now placed the Bank of the United States. When first built, it was deemed out of town. Such as it was before the war of Independence, when adorned with a large and highly cultivated garden, has been well told in a picturesque manner by its former inmate, Mrs. L.—.* Its rural beauties, so near the city, were once very remarkable: and for that reason made it the frequent resort of respectable strangers and genteel citizens. In that house, when Isaac Norris was Speaker, and was confined at home, infirm, the Assembly of Pennsylvania, for the sake of his presence, sometimes held their deliberations. In the time of the war, the patriots took off its leaden reservoir and spouts to make bullets for the army. It was occupied by several British officers when the British army possessed the city. In those gardens Admiral Howe and several British officers were daily visitors. A few years ago an aged female Friend from Baltimore, who lived there by selling cakes, &c. was present at a Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia, and then told her friends that her grandfather had once been given the ground whereon the Bank stands, with as much as half the square, for his services as chain-bearer in the original survey of the city. Now, when old and needy, she sees the Bank erected thereon, at a cost for the site of 100,000 dollars!

The range of large brick houses on the south side of Chesnut street, extending from the Bank of the United States up to Fifth street, were built there about 25 years ago, upon what had been previously Norris' garden. The whole front was formerly a garden fence, shaded by a long line of remarkably big catalpa trees, and, down Fifth street, by trees of the yellow willow class, being the first ever planted in Philadelphia—and the whole the product of a wicker-basket found sprouting in Dock creek, taken out and planted in Mr. Norris' garden at the request of Dr. Franklin.

On the Fifth street side of the garden, extending down to Library street, there stood a rural-looking cottage, near the site of the present library. It was the gardener's residence, standing back from the street 'midst deep embow'ring shade, every way picturesque to the eye, and having near it an open well of water of peculiar excellence, famed far and wide as "deep and cold," and for

* In a family manuscript for her son.

which families often sent at several squares distance. It was impossible to see the *tout ensemble* as it then was, without associating the poetic description of "the drawwell and mossy bucket at the door!" The well still remains, as a pump, on the north side of Library street, about 60 or 70 feet eastward of Fifth street, but its former virtues are nearly gone.

The eastern side of the garden was separated from Fourth street by the Cross-Keys Inn and some two or three appurtenant houses once the estate of Peter Campbell, in whose hands they were confiscated, and then purchased by the late Andrew Caldwell, Esq. By mistake of the original surveys they had been built out four feet upon the Chesnut street pavement, so that when the street became public, they closed the front doors and entered the house on the western side by a gateway and a long piazza. The whole produced an agreeable oddity, which always made the block of buildings remarkable.

ROBERT MORRIS' MANSION.

THIS great edifice, the grandest ever attempted in Philadelphia for the family purposes of private life, was erected at the request and for the use of the great financier, Robert Morris, Esq. The whole proved to be a ruinous and abortive scheme, not so much from his want of judgment to measure his end by his means, as by the deceptive estimates of his architect, Major L'enfant—a name celebrated in our annals for the frequent disproportion between his hopes and his accomplishments.

Mr. Morris purchased the whole square, extending from Chesnut to Walnut street, and from Seventh to Eighth street, for 10,000*£*.—a great sum for what had been, till then, the Capital, at which the Norris' family had used it as their pasture ground! Its original elevation was 12 to 15 feet above the present level of the adjacent streets. With such an extent of high ground in ornamental cultivation, and a palace in effect fronting upon Chesnut street, so far as human grandeur was available, it must have had a signal effect.

Immense funds were expended ere it reached the surface of the ground, it being generally two and sometimes three stories under ground, and the arches, vaults and labyrinths were numerous. It was finally got up to its intended elevation of two stories, presenting four sides of entire marble surface, and much of the ornaments worked in expensive relief. Such as it then was may be seen in

an accurate delineation of it as made in 1798, and preserved in my MS. Annals, page 243, in the City Library. It was then perceived too late—

“—————that finished as it was,
It still lack'd a grace, the loveliest it could show—
A mine to satisfy th' enormous cost!”

Mr. Morris, as he became more and more sensible of his ruin in the above building, was often seen contemplating it, and has been heard to vent imprecations on himself and his lavish architect. He had besides provided, by importation and otherwise, the most costly furniture; all of which, in time, together with the marble mansion itself, had to be abandoned to his creditors.

“Drained to the last poor item of his wealth,
He sighs, departs, and leaves th' accomplished plan
Just where it meets his hopes!”

He saw it raised enough to make a picture and to preserve the ideal presence of his scheme; but that was all—for the magnitude of the establishment could answer no individual wealth in this country; and the fact was speedily realized, that what cost so much to rear could find no purchaser at any reduced price. The creditors were therefore compelled, by slow and patient labour, to pull down peace-meal, what had been so expensively set up. Some of the under-ground labyrinths were so deep and massive as to have been left as they were, and at some future age may be discovered to the great perplexity of the *quid nuncs*. The materials thus taken down were sold out in lots; and the square being divided into building lots and sold, gave occasion to employ much of the former material therein. Mr. William Sansom soon procured the erection of his “Row” on Walnut street, and many of the houses on “Sansom street,” thereby producing a uniformity in building ranges of similar houses, often since imitated, but never before attempted in our city.

It always struck me as something remarkable in the personal history of Mr. Morris, that while he operated for the government as financier, his wisdom and management was pre-eminent, as if “sky-guided and heaven-directed,” leading to a national end, by an overruling providence; but, when acting for himself, as if teaching us to see that fact by contrast, all his personal affairs went wrong and to ruin!

LOXLEY'S HOUSE,

AND

BATHSHEBA'S BATH AND BOWER.



THE frame house of singular construction, No. 177, south Second street, at the junction of Little Dock and Second streets, was memorable in its early day for affording from its gallery a preaching place for the celebrated Whitfield—his audience occupying the street (then out of town) and the opposite hill at the margin of Bathsheba's bath and bower. All these facts must sound strange to modern ears, who so long have regarded that neighbourhood as a well compacted city. It may therefore serve as well to amuse the reader, as to sustain the assertions above, to adduce some of the authorities on which those traditions are founded.

I had long heard traditional facts concerning the rural beauty and charming scenes of Bathsheba's bath and bower, as told among the earliest recollections of the aged. They had heard their parents talk of going out over the Second street bridge into the country about the Society Hill, and there making their tea-regale at the above-named spring. Some had seen it, and forgotten its location after it was changed by streets and houses; but a few, of more tenacious memories or observing minds, had preserved the site in the mind's eye—among these was the present aged and respectable Samuel Coates, Esq.—he told me that, when a lad, he had seen Whitfield preaching from the gallery, and that his audience, like a rising amphitheatre, surrounded the site of the bath and bower, on the western side of Second street. That the spring, once surrounded by shrubbery, sprang out of the hill on the site of the lot on which Captain Cadwallader (afterwards a General) constructed his large double house—the same site on which S. Girard, Esq. has since erected four brick houses. Mrs. J. and Mrs. R. daughters of Mr. Benjamin Loxley, the owner of that house, told me that they had heard him say he had heard Whitfield preach from that balcony, and also that there was originally a celebrated spring on the opposite side of the street. The springy nature of the ground was sufficiently indicated, to the surprise of the citizens and the builders, when Mr. Girard attempted to build the above-mentioned

houses further out than Cadwallader's house; they could find no substantial foundation, and were obliged to drive piles on which to build. Mrs. Logan, too, had a distinct recollection of an old lady who used to describe to her the delightful scenery once around the spring, and that it lay somewhere towards the Society Hill.

Mr. Alexander Fullerton, aged 76 years, told me he was familiar with this neighbourhood when a boy, and was certain the spring here was called "Bathsheba's Spring and Bower." He knew also that the pump near there, and still at the south east corner of Second and Spruce street, was long resorted to as a superior water, and was said to draw its excellence from the same source.

The street in front of Loxley's house was originally much lower than it now appears to the eye, being now raised by a sub-terrene tunnel. It was traversed by a low wooden bridge half the width of the street, and the other half was left open for watering cattle.

The yards now in the rear of Girard's houses are much above the level of Second street, and prove the fact of a former hill there; on which Captain Cadwallader used to exercise and drill his celebrated "silk stocking company."

Mr. Loxley himself was a military chieftain of an earlier day—made the talk and dependence of the town in the days of the Paxtang boys. His intended defence of the city against those outlaws has been facetiously told by Graydon in his memoirs. He had been made a lieutenant of artillery, in 1756, on the occasion of Braddock's defeat. His father before him, owned these premises; and the family mansion near there, now shut in and concealed from Spruce street, was once at the base of a rural and beautiful hill, displaying there a charming hanging garden, and the choicest fruits and grapes. The Loxley house is deserving of some further distinction as the residence, in the time of the Revolution, of Lydia Darrach, who so generously and patriotically undertook to walk beyond the lines to give our army timely information of the meditated attack.—Under her roof the Adjutant General of the British army had his office.

DUCHE'S HOUSE, &c.



THIS was one of the most venerable looking, antiquated houses of our city, built in 1758, for Parson Duché, the pastor of St. Peter's church, as a gift from his father, and taken down a few years ago, to give room to erect several brick houses on its site. It was said to have been built after the pattern of one of the wings of Lambeth Palace. When first erected there it was deemed quite out of town, and for some time rested in lonely grandeur.* In after-years it became the residence of Governor M'Kean, and when we saw it as a boy, we derived from its contemplation conceptions of the state and dignity of a Governor which no subsequent structures could generate. It seemed the appropriate residence of some notable public man.

Parson Duché was as notable in his time as his mansion, and both for a time run their fame together. He was withal a man of some eccentricity, and of a very busy mind, partaking with lively feelings in all the secular incidents of the day. When Junius' letters first came out, in 1771, he used to descant upon them in the Gazettes of the time under the signature of *Tamoc Caspipina*,—a title formed by an acrostic on his office, &c. as "the assistant minister of Christ church and St. Peter's in North America." At another time he endeavoured to influence General Washington, with whom he was said to be popular as a preacher, to forsake the American cause; and for this measure he was obliged to make his escape for England, where he lived and preached some time, but finally came back to Philadelphia and died. His ancestor was Anthony Duché, a respectable Protestant refugee, who came out with William Penn.

The church of St. Peter, to which he was attached, on the south west corner of Third and Pine streets, (the diagonal corner from his own house,) was founded in the year 1758, as a chapel of ease to the parent Christ church. It was built by contract for the sum of 3310£. and the bell in its cupola, (the best at present in the city for its tones) was the same which had occupied the tree-crotch at Christ church. The extensive ground was the gift of the proprie-

* A penciled picture of the house is preserved in my MS. Annals in the Philadelphia Library.

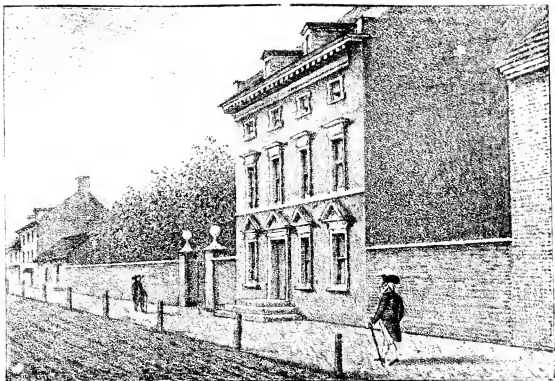
taries; level as the whole area was, it was always called "the church on the hill." in primitive days, in reference to its being in the region of "Society Hill," and not, in familiar parlance, within the city walks.

In September, 1761, just two years after it was begun to be built, it was first opened for public worship. On that occasion all the clergy met at Christ church, and with the wardens and vestry went in procession to the Governor's house, where being joined by him and some of his council, they proceeded to the new church, where they heard a sermon from Doctor Smith, the Provost of the college, from the words "I have surely built thee an house to dwell in," &c. The same words were also set to music and sung by the choir.

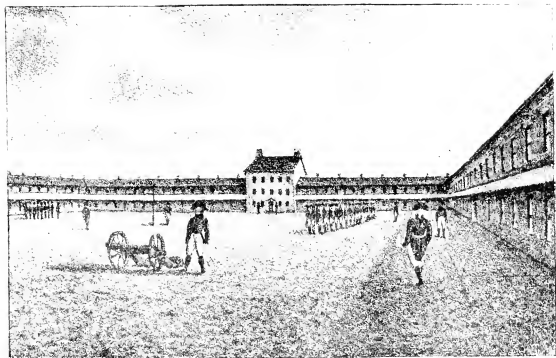
BINGHAM'S MANSION.

LONG after the peace of 1783, all of the ground in the rear of "the Mansion House" to Fourth street, and all south of it to Spruce street, was a vacant grass ground enclosed by a rail fence, in which the boys resorted to fly their kites. The Mansion House, built and lived in by William Bingham, Esq. about the year 1790, was the admiration of that day for its ornaments and magnificence. He enclosed the whole area with a painted board fence and a close line of Lombardy poplars—the first ever seen in this city,* and from which has probably since come all the numerous poplars which we everywhere see. The grounds generally he had laid out in beautiful style, and filled the whole with curious and rare clumps and shades of trees; but in the usual selfish style of Philadelphia improved grounds, the whole was surrounded and hid from the public gaze by a high fence. An occasional peep through a knot-hole was all the pleasure the public could derive from such a woodland scene. After Mr. Bingham's death the whole was sold off in lots, and is since filled up with finely finished three-story houses. When the British were in Philadelphia they used this ground as a parade and exercise.

* The Athenian poplars have only been introduced here about six or eight years. William Hamilton, at the Woodlands, first planted the Lombardy poplars there in 1784, from England.



Residence of Washington in High Street, Philad!



Best Business Philadelphia

THE BRITISH BARRACKS.

[ILLUSTRATED BY A PLATE.]



THESE were built in the Northern Liberties soon after the defeat of Braddock's army; and arose from the necessity, as it was alleged, of making better permanent provision for troops deemed necessary to be among us for our future protection. Many of the people had so petitioned the King—not being then so sensitive of the presence of “standing armies” as their descendants have since become.

The parade and “pomp of war” which their erection produced in the former peaceful city of Penn, gave it an attraction to the town's people, and being located far out of town, it was deemed a pleasant walk to the country and fields, to go out and see the long ranges of houses, the long lines of kilted and bonnetted Highlanders, and to hear “the spirit stirring life and soul inspiring drum!” Before that time, the fields there were a far land, severed from all connection with the city by the marsh meadows of Pegg. No Second street road before existed; and for the convenience and use of the army a causeway was formed across those wet grounds in the line of the present Second street, along the front of what is now called Sanson's Row.

The ground plot of the barracks extended from Second to Third street, and from St. Tamany street to Green street, having the officers Quarters—a large three story brick building on Third street, the same now standing as a Northern Liberty Town Hall. The parade ground fronted upon Second street, shut in by an ornamental palisade fence on the line of that street. The aged John Brown told me the whole area was a field of buckwheat, which was cut off, and the barracks built thereon and tenanted by 3000 men, all in the same year: the houses were all of brick, two stories high, and a portico around the whole hollow square. These all stood till after the war of Independence, when they were torn down, and the lots sold for the benefit of the public. It was from the location of those buildings that the whole region thereabout was familiarly called Campington.

In 1758, I notice the first public mention of “the new barracks in Campington;” the Gazettes stating the arrival there of “Colo-

nel Montgomery's Highlanders," and some arrangement by the City Council to provide them their bedding, &c.

An earlier attempt had been made to construct barracks out Mulberry street, on the south side, west of Tenth street—there they proceeded so far as to dig a long line of cellars, which having been abandoned, they lay open for many years afterwards.

In the year 1764, the barracks were made a scene of great interest to all the citizens—there the Indians who fled from the threats of the murderous Paxtang boys, sought their refuge under the protection of the Highlanders; while the approach of the latter was expected, the citizens ran there with their arms to defend them and to throw up intrenchments. Captain Loxley of the city Artillery was in full array with his band. In time those Indians became afflicted with smallpox, and turned their Quarters into a very hospital, from which they buried upwards of fifty of their companions.

It may serve to show the former vacant state of the Northern Liberties, to know, that on the King's birthday, as late as June, 1772, "it was celebrated at the British barracks by a discharge of twenty-one cannon." Indeed, the artillery park, and the necessary stores erected along the line of the present Duke street, gave to that street its wellknown former name of "Artillery Lane."

THE OLD ACADEMY.



THIS building, now in part the Methodist Union church, was originally constructed on subscription monies raised by the celebrated Whitfield, for the use of itinerant preachers forever, as well as for his peculiar religious views and tenets, then called "New Light;" and for which cause his former friends, in the first Presbyterian church, no longer held fellowship with his followers.

It was begun in the year 1741; and when the walls were but about four feet high, it was preached in by Whitfield to a great congregation. It was finished in 1744, faster than money had been procured to pay off its expenses.—For this cause Dr. Franklin procured it to be purchased, in 1749, for 777£. to be converted into the first Academy of Philadelphia,* with the condition of partitioning off and reserving, to the use of itinerants, a preaching hall therein forever. In 1753 it was made "the College" of Philadelphia, and in 1779, "the "University." Dr. William Smith was inducted Provost in 1754.

This Dr. Smith was a graduate of Aberdeen, and when inducted Provost, was but 27 years of age. He held his place but a few years, when he fell into an embarrassment which created great public sensation. As agent for "the Society for promoting Knowledge among the Germans," he published in his German newspaper, in 1758, the defence of a certain Judge Moore of Chester county, who had officially given umbrage to the Legislature. Smith and Moore were arraigned before the House; and Smith, in his speech, resisting their privileges, was greatly cheered by the people in the lobby! Smith and Moore were imprisoned for contempt, but visited by crowds of their friends. As a writer and speaker he was very popular. He delivered several military sermons in the time of the Revolution. The one he delivered in 1775 to Cadwallader's battalion at Christ church was much eulogized by the whigs, went through several editions in America, and was reprinted in London, in an edition of 10,000, by the Chamberlain of London! He died in 1803.

It may serve to show some of the efforts by which the college was got up and sustained, by quoting a MS. letter of Thomas Penn's, of May, 1762, to wit: "Dr. Smith's soliciting here goes on well. Most of the Bishops have given; and he is now applying, with their sanction, to the principal people among the laity. He has been at Oxford, and expects some assistance there, and from the Archbishop of York, and many others." In June, 1764, Dr. Smith, who had been commissioned as Solicitor in 1761, returned

* The Subscription fund amounted then to 2600£.

from England, bringing with him 13,000£. collected in conjunction with Sir James Jay for the Philadelphia and New York colleges collectively. Those English gifts were certainly very munificent.

A MS. letter of Richard Peters', of 1753, to Thomas Penn, speaks of the Academy as then in great repute, having 65 boys from the neighbouring colonies.

A letter of Thomas Penn's, of 1754, states that while we were forming the Academy and College for Pennsylvania under Dr. Smith, then in England, (seeking redress for his short imprisonment at Philadelphia by the Assembly, for an alleged contempt,) the people of New York persuaded Dr. Johnson to be President for their college to be established, saying, as their "argument, they hope to draw pupils even from Philadelphia, and that they regard the Philadelphia Academy as a school to fit boys for them." This he treats as their boast.

The pomp and circumstance of the "commencement days" were then got up with much more of public feeling and interest than have since existed. At a time when every man of competency in the community contributed to endow the establishment it left none indifferent to its prosperity or success.

The site of the Academy is said by Thomas Bradford to be made-ground, filled in there from cutting down a part of the hill once in the Friends' burying ground opposite—it having been 4 or 5 feet higher within their wall than on the street. His idea was, that the Friends' ground originally sloped across Fourth street into the Academy ground; which seemed to have been the bed of an ancient water-course along its western wall.

About thirty years ago the trustees having purchased the "President's house" in south ninth street, for a more enlarged place, removed "the University" there; and that great building they are now again pulling down to renew in another way.

I might add some remembered anecdotes of teachers and pupils, but I forbear. Graydon's Memoirs contains amusing facts of the youths there, his companions, before the Revolution:—Such as jostling off Master Beveridge's wig, and pranks of less equivocal insubordination;—vexing and fretting Master *Dove*—a doggereliser and satirist of severe manners—far more of a falcon than a dove;—making long foot-races round the square, and priding themselves in their champion—another swift-footed Achilles. These are the revived images of fathers now, who were once young!—

"The fields, the forms, the bets, the books,
The glories and disgraces"—

"Now leaping over widest ditch,
Now laughing at the Tutor!"

To such the "University boys" of the present day may go for their apologies for breaches of discipline now—not for wilful transgressions, but for lapses of prudence and discretion—

"He will not blush that has a father's heart,
To take in childish play a playful part."

OFFICE OF SECRETARY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

[ILLUSTRATED BY A PLATE.]

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“Yet still will memory’s busy eye retrace  
Each little vestige of the wellknown place.”

OUR city, justly fond of her pre-eminence as the home of the founders of an important State, has also the superadded glory of possessing within her precincts the primitive edifice in which the great national concerns of this distinguished Republic were commenced and sustained. The small building of but twelve feet front, represented in the annexed drawing, now occupied as a small shop for vending cakes and children’s trifles, was once the office of Secretary for Foreign Affairs. From that humble looking bureau were once fulminated those determined and national resolves which made our foreign foes to cower, and secured our Independence among the nations: “Tho’ small our means, great were our measures and our end!”

From the contemplation of such a lowly structure, so seemingly disproportionate to our present great attainments, (“a generation more refined, improved the simple plan!”) the mind recurs back instinctively to those other primitive days, when the energies of the pilgrim founders were in like manner restricted within the narrow bounds of “Lætitia Court,” and within the walls of “Lætitia House.” on which occasion, Penn’s letter of 1687, (in my possession,) recommends “a change of the offices of State, from his cottage, to quarters more commodious.”

The “Office for Secretary of Foreign Affairs,” under present consideration, is the same building now on the premises of P. S. Duponceau, Esq. situate on the eastern side of south Sixth street, No. 13—a house appropriately owned by such a possessor; for, in it, he, who came as a volunteer to join our fortunes, and to aid our cause, as a Captain under Baron Steuben, became afterwards one of the under Secretaries to our Minister of Foreign Relations, and in that building gave his active and early services. In the years 1782 and ’83, under that humble roof, presided as our then Secre-

tary for Foreign Affairs, the Hon. Robert R. Livingston. Upstairs, in the small front room facing the street, sat that distinguished personage, wielding by his mind and pen the destinies of our nation. In the adjoining back room, sat the two under Secretaries, to wit: Louis R. Morris, since Governor of Vermont, and our present venerated citizen Mr. Duponceau. There, having charge of the archives of a nation, they preserved them all within the enclosure of a small wooden press! The only room down-stairs, on the ground floor, was that occupied by the two clerks and the interpreter. One of the clerks, Mr. Henry Remson, has since become the President of a Bank in New York, and the other, Mr. Stone, has been Governor of Maryland. The translator was the Rev. Mr. Tctard, the pastor of the French Reformed church. Such was the material of our national infancy, since grown to such vigorous and effective manhood!

Mr. Duponceau, from whom I have derived much of these facts, which passed under his immediate observation, has occasionally delighted himself and me in describing with good humoured emotion, and picturesque delineation, the various scenes which have there occasionally occurred, and the great personages who have frequently clambered up the dark and narrow winding stairs to make their respects to or their negotiations with the representative of the nation!—such as the Marquis La Fayette, Count Rochambeau, the Duke de Lauzan, Count Dillon, Prince Guemeneé, &c. Our own great men, such as Madison, Morris, Hamilton, Mifflin, &c. were visitors of course. After the peace, in the same small upper chamber, were received the homage of the British General Allured Clark, and the famous Major Hauger, once the favourite of the present George the IV.

This frail fabric, in veneration of its past services, (though a thing now scarcely known to our citizens as a matter in “common parlance”) is devoted during the life of its present generous and feeling owner “to remain (as he says,) a proud monument of the simplicity of the founders of our Revolution.” It is in truth, as deserving of encomium for its humble moderation, as was the fact, renowned in history, respecting the Republic of the Netherlands in her best days, when her Grand Pensionary, Heinsius, was deemed superlatively ennobled, because he walked the streets of the Hague with only a single servant, and sometimes with even none. Quite as worthy of memorial was the equivalent fact, that our then venerable President of Congress, the Hon. Samuel Huntington, together with Mr. Duponceau, often made their breakfast on whortleberries and milk. On such occasions, the President has facetiously remarked:—“What now, Mr. Duponceau, would the princes of Europe say, could they see the first Magistrate of this great country at his frugal repast!”

Long may our sons remember and respect these facts of our

generous and devoted forefathers ! And long may the recollection of the memorable deeds of this house,

“ ————— a great example stand, to show,  
How strangely high endeavours may be blest ! ”

There are other facts connected with these premises which gave them celebrity in their day, although of a nature quite dissimilar : but in redeeming from oblivion all the facts of times by-gone, we may also hint at this, to wit :

In the year 1773, when the houses on this lot were erected for the Lawrence family, and when the house now Mr. Duponceau's dwelling, on the north west corner of Chesnut street, was then used as the residence of the other, it was then deemed far beyond the verge of city population. It was, indeed, a country house, and virtually chosen as a “ Buenos Ayres.” In digging there for a well, they discovered, as they thought, an excellent mineral water. “ supposed to exceed in strength any chalybeate spring known in the province,”—great was its fame ; crowds of persons came there to partake of its efficacy. The *Gazettes* of the day vaunted of it as a valuable discovery. It benefited every body ; and especially a reduced French lady, to whom Mrs. Lawrence gave the privilege of taking the fees for the draughts of water she handed out to the numerous visitors. It enjoyed its fame, however, but for a short year, when by the intrusive interference of science, the discovery was reluctantly confessed, that it owed all its virtues to the deposit of foul materials ; even from the remains of a long covered and long forgotten pit !

## FORT WILSON.



THIS was the name popularly given to a large brick house formerly on the south west corner of Walnut street and Third street, (where Caldcleugh 15 years ago built a large store, &c.) It was, in the year 1779, the residence of — Wilson, Esq. an eminent attorney, who became offensive to many for his professional services in behalf of Roberts and Carlisle—men, arraigned and executed as Tories and traitors: he gave also umbrage from his support of those merchants who refused to regulate their prices by the town resolves. A mob was formed, who gave out an intention to assault his house and injure his person. His friends gathered around him with arms—soon the conflict was joined—many muskets were fired—some were wounded, and a few died. It was a day of great excitement, and long the name and incidents of “Fort Wilson” were discussed and remembered.

Among those in the house were, Messrs. Wilson, Morris, Burd, George and Daniel Clymer, John T. Mifflin, Allen M. Lane, Sharp Delaney, George Campbell, Paul Beck, Thomas Laurence, Andrew Robinson, John Potts, Samuel C. Morris, Captain Campbell, and Generals Mifflin, Nichols and Thompson. They were provided with arms, but their stock of ammunition was very small. While the mob was marching down, General Nichols and Daniel Clymer proceeded hastily to the Arsenal at Carpenter’s Hall, and filled their pockets with cartridges: This constituted their whole supply.

In the mean-time, the mob and militia, (for no regular troops took part in the riot) assembled on the commons,\* while a meeting of the principal citizens took place at the Coffee House. A deputation was sent to endeavour to prevail on them to disperse, but without effect. The first troop of city cavalry assembled at their stables, a fixed place of rendezvous, and agreed to have their horses saddled, and ready to mount at a moment’s warning. Notice was to be given to as many members as could be found, and a part was to assemble in Dock below Second street, and join the party at the stables. For a time a deceitful calm prevailed: at the dinner hour the members of the troop retired to their homes, and the rebels seized the opportunity to march into the city. The armed men amounted to two hundred, headed by low characters. They marched down Chesnut to Second street, down Second to Walnut street, and up

\* They assembled at and began their march from Arch above Fifth street. General Arnold came to repress the mob, but he was so unpopular, they stoned him. The two men who used the sledges and stove in the door, were both killed; three also from Spring Garden, and a great funeral was made for them by the populace.



Walnut street to Mr. Wilson's house, with drums beating and two pieces of cannon. They immediately commenced firing on the house, which was warmly returned by the garrison. Finding they could make no impression, the mob proceeded to force the door; at the moment it was yielding, the horse made their appearance.

After the troop had retired at dinner time, a few of the members, hearing that the mob were marching into town, hastened to the rendezvous: these members were Majors Lennox and the two Nichols, Samuel Morris, Alexander Nesbitt, Isaac Coxe and Thomas Leiper. On their route to Wilson's they were joined by two troopers from Bristol, and turning suddenly round the corner of Chesnut street, they charged the mob, who, ignorant of their number, at the cry of "the horse, the horse," dispersed in every direction, but not before two other detachments of the first troop had reached the scene. Many of them were arrested, and committed to prison; and as the sword was very freely used, a considerable number was severely wounded. A man and a boy were killed in the streets; in the house, Captain Campbell was killed,\* and Mr. Mifflin and Mr. S. C. Morris wounded. The troop patrolled the streets the greater part of the night. The citizens turned out, and placed a guard at the powder magazine and the arsenal. It was some days before order was restored. Major Lennox was particularly marked out for destruction. He retired to his house at Germantown: the mob followed and surrounded it during the night, and prepared to force an entrance. Anxious to gain time, he pledged his honour, that he would open the door as soon as day-light appeared. In the mean time, he contrived to despatch an intrepid woman, who lived in his family, to the city for assistance; and a party of the first troop arrived in season to protect their comrade; but he was compelled to return to town for safety. He was, for a number of years, saluted in the market, by the title of "brother butcher," owing in part, to his having been without a coat on the day of the riot; having on a long coat, he was obliged to cast it aside, to prevent being dragged from his horse.

The gentlemen who had comprised the garrison were advised to leave the city, where their lives were endangered. General Mifflin and about thirty others, accordingly met at Mr. Gray's house below Gray's Ferry, where it was resolved to return to town without any appearance of intimidation. But it was deemed expedient that Mr. Wilson should absent himself for a time: the others continued to walk as usual in public, and attended the funeral of the unfortunate Captain Campbell.

Allen McLane and Colonel Grayson got into the house after the fray began. The mob called themselves Constitutionalists. Benezet's fire in the entry from the cellar passage was very deadly.

\* A Colonel Campbell, who came to the door and opened it, was seized and bayoneted with a dozen wounds, and survived them.

## FRIENDS' ALMSHOUSE.

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THIS ancient and antiquated looking building, fronting on Walnut street, near Third street, was founded more than a century ago, for the benevolent purpose of providing for the maintenance of the poor of that Society. The ground plot, and a large one too, was given to Friends by John Martin, on condition that they should support him for life.

The front edifice was built in 1729; and those wings in the garden were built about sixteen years earlier, they being then sufficient for the wants of the Society. The neat and comfortable manner in which the inmates have always lived is very creditable to their benefactors.

The present elevation of the garden, as much as ten feet above the streets in front, proves the former higher ground along Walnut street. The aged Mrs. Shoemaker, who died four years ago at the age of 95 years, told me that she remembered when the whole neighbourhood looked to the eye like a high hill from the line of Dock creek. The road, for many years, in her time, from Third street up Walnut street, and from Walnut street along Third street, going southward, were narrow cartways ascending deep defiles, and causing the foot passengers to walk high above them on the sides of the shelving banks.

## WHITPAIN'S GREAT HOUSE.

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THIS was the name given to a stately house built on the bank side of Front street below Walnut street, for an owner of that name in England. Having been built of shell lime, it fell into premature decay, and "great was the fall thereof."

In 1687, William Penn by his letter to T. Lloyd, R. Turner, &c. says: "Taking into consideration the great expenses of Richard Whitpain to the advancement of the province, and the share he taketh here (in England) on all occasions for its honour, I can do no less than recommend to you for public service his great house in Philadelphia, which, being too big for a private man, would provide you a conveniency above what my cottage affords. It were reputable to take at least a moiety of it, which might serve for all the offices of State."

In 1707, Samuel Preston, writing to Jonathan Dickinson then in Jamaica, says "his house is endangered; for, that Whitpain's great

house, then decaying, threatened to fall upon and crush his house."

In February, 1708-9, Isaac Norris, writing to Jonathan Dickinson, says: "It is not prudent to repair thy house next to Whitpain's ugly great house; we have applied to authority to get power to pull it down. In the mean time the front of that part next to thine, being all tumbled down, lies open."

In after-years a great fire occurred near there, and burnt down all the property belonging to Dickinson, so that the place long bore the name of "the burnt buildings." Ross' stores now occupy, I think, the same premises.

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## WIGGLESWORTH'S HOUSE.

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THIS house is entitled to some notice, as well for its ancient and peculiar location as for the rare person, "Billy Wigglesworth," who gave it fame in more modern times. As a house, it is peculiar for its primitive double front, (Nos. 43 and 45, south Second street,) and heavy, squat, dormer windows, and above all, for having been built so early as that they did not find the right line of Second street!—of course presenting the earliest built house in its vicinity, (for it now stands northwest and southeast!) as any one may discern who inspects it. The character of its original finish under the eaves, &c. evince that it was once superior in its day. I perceive it was first recorded in 1685 as the property of Philip Richards, merchant, for whom the house was built. Joseph Richards, the son, possessed it by will in 1697, and sold it to John Brown in 1715. In 1754, the present two houses, then as one house, was occupied by William Plumstead, Esq. Alderman, who was buried, in 1765, in a peculiar manner, having, by will, no pall, nor mourning dresses, &c. On the north end of the house was once "Hall's alley." The premises many years ago was occupied as the Prince of Wales' Inn. In the rear of the house was a good garden and a sundial affixed to the wall of the house, and still there.

"Billy Wigglesworth," as he was universally called, long kept a toyshop, the wonder of all the boys in the city; and the effigies of human form which dangled by a string from his ceiling had no rivals, but in his own gaunt and gawky figure. But Billy's outward man was the least of his oddities; his distinguishing characteristic was a fondness for that mode of self-amusement at the expense of others, called manual wit. His exploits in that way have been humorously told by a writer whose sketches have been preserved under the article "Wigglesworthiana," in my MS. Annals, page 534, in the Historical Society.

## THE OLD FERRY.

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THIS first ferry and its neighbourhood was described to me by the late aged John Brown, Esq. whose father before him, once kept that ferry, and had near there at the same time his ship yard. When John Brown was a small lad, the river then came close up to the rear of the present house on Water street, and when they formed the present existing slip, they filled up the area with chalk imported for ballast. At that time the Front street bank was vacant, and he used with others to sled down the hill from Combes' alley, then called Garden alley and Penny hill, quite down to the ice on the river. The bank of Front street was reddish clay. The shed stables for the old ferry were set into that bank. His father's ship yard was opposite to Combes' alley, and Parrock's ship yard was then at Race street.

The fact of the then open bank of Front street is confirmed by an advertisement of 1761; then Francis Rawle, storekeeper, and attorney for the "Pennsylvania Land Company of Pennsylvania," advertises to sell the lots from his house, by the ferry steps, down to Clifford's steps, in lots of 22 feet front, each then unimproved.

It was in this same year, 1761, the Corporation permitted Samuel Austin, the owner of the river lot on the north side of Arch street, to erect there another ferry house, which, in relation to the other, soon took the name of the "New Ferry."

The original act for establishing a ferry to Daniel Cooper's land was passed, in 1717.

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## OFFLY'S ANCHOR FORGE.

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THIS was established about the year 1755, in a large frame building on the Front street bank, directly opposite to Union street. The owner and director was Daniel Offly, a public Friend, whose voice in speaking, was not unlike the sound of his own iron falling on a brick pavement. The reminiscent has often looked through the Front street low windows down into the smoking cavern, in appearance, below, fronting on Penn street, where, through the thick sulphurous smoke, aided by the glare of forge light, might be seen Daniel Offly directing the strokes of a dozen hammermen, striking with sledges on a welding heat produced on an immense

unfinished anchor, swinging from the forge to the anvil by a ponderous crane, he at the same time keeping his piercing iron voice above the din of the iron sound !

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## BAPTISTERION.

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ON the bank of the Schuylkill, at the end of Spruce street, there was, in the early times of the city, an oak grove, selected by the Baptist Society as a Baptisterion, to lead their initiates into the river to be baptised, as did John in Enon.

Morgan Edwards, their pastor, who describes it as he saw it before the year 1770, (he arrived here in 1758) says of it—"Around said spot are large oaks affording fine shade—under foot is a green, variegated with wild flowers and aromatic herbs, and a tasteful house is near for dressing and undressing the Proseuches." In the midst of the spot was a large stone, upon the dry ground, and elevated above it about three feet—made level on the top by art, with hewn steps to ascend it. Around this rock the candidates knelt to pray, and upon it the preacher stood to preach to the people. "The place was not only convenient for the purposes used, but also most delightful for rural scenery, inducing people to go thither in summer as a place of recreation." To such a place resorted Francis Hopkinson, Esq. with his bards and literati, to sweep their lyres, or to meditate on justice and religion.

A part of one of the hymns sung upon their baptismal occasions reads thus, viz.

"Of our vows this stone's a token—  
Stone of Witness,\* bear record  
'Gainst us if our vows be broken,  
Or, if we forsake the Lord."

What a shame that all these rural beauties have been long since effaced and forgotten!—none of them left to remind us of those rural appendages, woods, &c. I have since learned that the property there belonged to Mr. Marsh, a Baptist, and that the British army cut it down for fuel. The whole place is now all wharfed out for the coal trade, so that those lately baptised near there, had to clamber over heaps of coal. The "Stone of Witness" is buried in the wharf—never to be seen more !

\* Joshua 24, 26.

## FORT ST. DAVID.

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A society of gentlemen of Philadelphia, many years ago,\* had a house at the Falls of Schuylkill, called Fort St. David, where they used to meet at fishing seasons, by public advertisement, beginning with the first of May, and continuing every other Friday during the season. Much good living was enjoyed there. The building, a kind of summer pavilion, stood on the descent of the hill, leading to the Falls bridge; a sketch of it, such as it was, is preserved in the Dickinson family, being on an elegant silver box, presented to John Dickinson in 1768, for his celebrated "Farmer's letters." In the house and along its walls, were hung up a great variety of curious Indian articles, and sometimes the president of the day was dressed in the entire garb of an Indian Chief.

The same association still exists, but have transferred their place of meeting to Rambo's rock below Gray's Ferry; the former attractions at the Falls, as a celebrated fishing place, having been ruined by the river obstructions, &c. They now call their association the "State in Schuylkill," &c.

In former times it was quite different. Old Godfrey Shrunk, now about 74 years of age, a well known Fisherman near the Falls in his younger days, has told me he could often catch with his dip-net 3000 catfish in one night! Often he has sold them at two shillings a hundred. The perch and rockfish were numerous and large; often he has caught 30 to 80 lbs. of a morning with the hook and line. He used to catch fish for the Fishing Company of St. David, which used to cook 40 dozen of catfish at a time.

He described the Company house as a neat and tasteful structure of wood, 70 feet long and 20 feet wide, set against the descending hill side on a stone foundation, having 14 ascending steps in front; the sides consisting entirely of folding or moveable doors and windows, were borne off by the Hessians for their huts in 1777-8, and so changed and injured the place, that it was never used for its former purposes after the Revolution.

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## BACHELORS' HALL.

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THIS was once a celebrated place of gluttony and good living, but highly genteel and select, situated in Kensington on the main river street, a little above the present market house. It was a

\* Said to be 100 years.

square building of considerable beauty, with pilastres, &c. and was burnt before the Revolution. It was built for a few city gentlemen, and the last survivor was to take the premises. It fell into the hands of the Norris family: many dancing parties were given there. It had a fine open view to the scenery on the Delaware, and at the time of its institution was deemed retired; tea parties were made there frequently for the ladies of their acquaintance, and once it was lent to the use of Murray, the Universalist preacher, keeping then the doctrine cannon shot distance from the city.

Among the members of the joint tenantry, were Robert Charles, William Masters, John Sober, P. Græme, Isaac Norris; the whole space was in one room. The few partners that remained in 1745, induced Isaac Norris to buy them out, and the premises afterwards vested solely in him.

While the place was in vogue it received the flattery of the muse in the following lines published in the Gazette of 1730, and styled "an Invitation to the Hall," to wit:

" Phœbus, wit-inspiring lord,  
Attic maid for arts ador'd,  
Bacchus with full clusters come,  
Come rich from harvest home.  
Joys and smiles and loves and graces,  
Gen'rous hearts and cheerful faces,  
With ev'ry hospitable god,  
Come and bless this sweet abode !"

The mysteries of the place, however, were all unknown to the vulgar, and for that very reason they gave loose to many conjectures, which finally passed for current tales, as a bachelor's place, where maidens were inveigled and deceived. I had myself heard stories of it when a boy, which thrilled my soul with horror, without one word of truth for its foundation!

## THE DUCK POND, CORNER OF FOURTH AND HIGH STREETS.



IT will hardly be credited that there should have been once a great pond, filled with spatterdocks, and affording a place of visitation to wild ducks, situate along High street, westward of Fourth street, and forming the proper head of Dock creek. The facts which warrant this belief are to the following effect, to wit :

The family of Anthony Klincken settled in Germantown at its foundation, in 1683. Anthony, then a lad, became in time a great hunter, and lived to the year 1759. Before his death he told his grandson, Anthony Johnson, an aged man, who died three or four years ago, that he knew of no place where he had such successful shooting of ducks and geese as at the above-mentioned pond. Indeed, he said, he never visited the city, in the proper season, without taking his gun along, and making his visits there. The relaters were good people of the Society of Friends, and their testimony to be credited.

The poetic description of High street, in 1729, describes it then as a *flashy* place—equivalent to a water lot or puddle, to wit :

“ Along their doors the clean hard paving trends  
Till at a *flashy* crossing street it ends,  
And thence a short arm’s-throw renewed tends—  
Beyond,—the street is thinly wall’d, but fair,  
With gardens paled, and orchards here and there.”

As early as the year 1712, the Grand Jury present that the High street, near the crossing of Fourth street, is very much out of repair for want of water-courses.

When Doctor Franklin visited Philadelphia, in 1723, then a lad of 18 years of age, he tells us he walked up High street as far as Fourth street, and thence down that street to Chesnut street. The reason was, I presume, that the city walk went no further westward at that time.

In the year 1740, the Grand Jury present the upper end of High street between John Kinsey’s [near the corner of Fifth street] and the widow Kenmarsh’s as almost impassable after great rains. In the same street, they presented the water-course from the widow Harken’s to the common shore\* across High street as very much gullied and dangerous.

In the year 1750, the Grand Jury presented the gutter of the north west corner of Fourth and High streets, as rendered dangerous for want of a grate at the common-sewer—the passage being large enough for

\* I think this may equally mean the shore at Water and High street.



the body of a grown person to fall in, and that Fourth street, from Market street to the south west corner of Friends' burying ground, wants regulating, and is now impassable for carriages.

The origin of the above-named sewer is probably expressed in the minutes of City Council of August, 1737. It was then determined that Alderman Morris and Israel Pemberton, two of the persons appointed at the last Council to get the arch made over High street at Fourth street, have prepared now to continue the said arch along the said Fourth street, until the water falls into the lots of Anthony Morris, and to pave the same, it being about 200 feet, if they can have the liberty of getting voluntary subscriptions and 25£. paid, the most of the money which may hereafter be raised by a tax; which proposal being considered, was agreed to by the Board.

The late Timothy Matlack, Esq. confirmed to me what Lawrence Sickle, an aged gentleman not long since dead, said of their neighbourhood—to wit: That back from the north west corner of Fourth and High streets, there used to be a spring in which river fish, coming up by Dock street creek in large tides, used to be caught by boys. This was before their time, but they had so often heard it, that they believed it was so.

He told me, however, that he (T. M.) saw the spring—that it was about 70 feet north west of the present corner house, and that one Humphreys in his time had put a blacksmith shop over it, set on stakes. The blacksmith shop was confirmed to me by others. Mr. Matlack told me that before they made the great improved tunnel (running from this place down Fourth street to Walnut street, in 1789,) there was some kind of small tunnel traversing High street, as a bridge, and leading out to an open gully back of the Indian Queen inn, on the east side of Fourth street. The floods of water which came down to this place, especially down High street and north Fourth street, was immense; and once, when he was a young man, he had occasion to wade across the street at Fourth and High street when the water was up to his waist. The old tunnel or brick bridge above referred to, was not visible above ground, and he supposes he should not have known of its existence there, but that he once saw a horse's leg sink very deeply into the ground, and on examining for the cause found some bricks had been forced through an arch there. I understood Mr. Matlack to say that this arch had then no communication by which to let off the above-mentioned flood, and it could have only been of use when water formerly came from ground at a distance down a creek or marsh laying up the west side of Fourth street, to some where near the old Academy, and thence traversing Arch street by the north east corner of the Christ church ground. Both he and Thomas Bradford thought they once saw the remains of such a water-course, and they understood it had been deeper.

When the long range of buildings which occupy the site along the west side of Fourth street, from the corner of High street, were

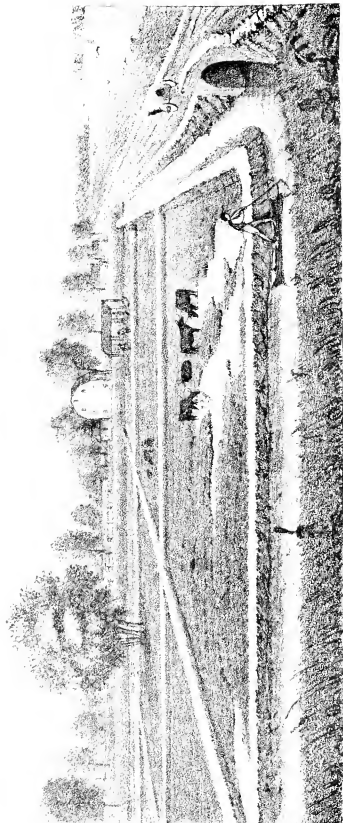
erected, about 30 years ago, for Jacob Miller, merchant, it was observed by Mr. Suter, a neighbour there, that he saw at the bottom of the cellar several large logs traversing it east and west, or nearly so, which, in his opinion as well as others, appeared to have been very ancient, and to have been intended to serve as a wharf, or a fence to land jutting into a water-course. The whole earth taken from the cellars appeared to have been made-ground, although the cellars went many feet northward; at a later period, in digging a foundation for the buildings back of the Hotel on Fourth street, it proved to be all made-ground.

Mr. Joseph Crukshank, now about the age of 82 years, told me that old Hugh Roberts, about 28 years ago, told him he had caught perch at about where Stanly's pothouse stood, [say in the rear of Duval's and Twells' lots on High street above Fourth street] and that he had seen shallops once at the corner of Fourth and High street. He was but about 25 years older than Crukshank.

Mr. Grove, now alive, was present when they dug out the south east corner of the present Christ church burial ground, (on Arch and Fifth street) and he then saw that the area was made-ground to the depth of seventeen feet, consisting of a great deal of rubbish and broken pottery. The whole depth was replaced with loam earth for burial purposes. This fact, concerning ground actually adjoining Stanly's pottery, before alluded to, confirms, as I conceive, the former fishing pond there.

Mr. Grove's father, born in Philadelphia, showed him a place in Arch street, near about the north east corner of the same burying ground wall, next to Sansom's houses, where he said some of his ancestors used to tell him a brook or creek once crossed Arch street; a hut, he said, stood near to it, where dwelt a child which was borne off by a bear. His father believed it as a straight family tradition. A note from Joseph Sansom says "the appearance of the soil, in digging for his brother's cellars, indicated the course of a rivulet from north to south, apparently one of the head branches of Dock creek." The grave digger also confirms the idea of considerable depth of made-ground at the said north east corner.





*Peg's Run*

## PEGG'S RUN, &c.

[ILLUSTRATED BY A PLATE.]



NO part of Philadelphia has undergone such great and various changes as the range of commons, water-lots, &c. ranging along the course of this run, primarily known under the Indian name of *Cohoquinoque*. A present beholder of the streets and houses now covering those grounds, and the hidden tunnel now concealing the former creek, could have no conception of things as they were, even only 30 years ago. The description is unavoidably complicated.

At the north end of Philadelphia the high table land of the city terminated in a high precipitous bluff, at about 250 feet north of Callowhill street. This extended from Front street, at Poole's bridge, up as high as Fifth and Sixth street, bounding the margin of Pegg's run. On the north side of this whole range of Pegg's run which rises in Spring Garden (where was once a spring at its source) there was an extensive marsh into which the Delaware flowed, and into which, in cases of freshets or floods, boats could be used for amusement. Beyond the north side of this marsh, in the writer's time, (say till within the last 30 years) from near Front quite up to Second street, was a high open and green grazing common; it also had a steep but green hill descending into the marsh, at about 150 feet in the south rear of Noble street.\* On this common there was Joseph Emlen's tanyard, with a spring on the south rear, and on the east side of it a powder magazine, then converted into two dwelling houses; these were the only lots occupied. From Second to Third street, beyond the same north side of the marsh, was a beautiful green enclosure, with only one large brick house, now standing on the south west corner of Noble and Second streets, called Emlen's haunted house, and then occupied by the Rev. Dr. Pilmore. Not one of the present range of houses on either side of Second street, from Noble to the Second street bridge, was standing there till within the last 25 years. Before that time, a low causeway made the street and joined the two bluffs, and was universally called "the Hollow." Even the Second street and Third street stone bridges were made since the writer's time, (35 years) and the Second street one was worked at by the "wheelbarrowmen," who were chained felons from the prisons. The writer, when a boy, remembers two or three occasions when the floods in the Delaware backed so much water into all this marsh from Front to Third street, as that boats actually rowed from bank to bank, even on

\* See a picture of this place on page 280 of my MS. Annals in the Philadelphia Library.

the top of the causeway several hundred feet in length. In that time, the descent of the Second street from Callowhill to the bridge, was nearly as great as at Race and Front street now; and it used to be a great resort for boys in winter to run down their sleds on the snow; they could run at least 150 feet. In that time, the short street (Margaretta) south of the bridge did not exist; but the brick house which forms the south side corner house, was at the utmost verge of the ancient bluff. On the west side of Second street south of the bridge were a few houses and a sheep-skindresser's yard, which seemed almost covered up (full the first story) by the subsequent elevation of the street. In raising the street, and to keep the ground from washing off, the sides of the road were supported by a great number of cedar trees with all their branches on, laid down and the earth filled in among them, and water-proof gutters of wood were laid over them, to conduct the street water into the water-channels of the bridge. The wheelbarrowmen, who worked at such public works, were subjects of great terror, even while chained, to all the boys; and by often seeing them, there were few boys who had not learned and told their several histories. Their chief desperado, I remember, was Luke Cale. Five of them, whom we used thus to know, were all executed on Centre Square (the execution ground of that day) on one gallows and at the same time, for the murder of a man who dwelt in the then only house near that square—(say on the south side of High street, five or six doors east of the centre street circle, all of which was then a waste common.) From St. John street (now, but not then, opened) up the whole length of Callowhill street to Fourth street, beyond which it did not then extend, there were no houses in the rear of any houses then on the north side of Callowhill street, and of course all was waste grass commons down to Pegg's run. This high waste ground had some occasional slopes, which gave occasion to hundreds of boys to "sled down hill," as it was called, in the intervals of school.\* As the snows lasted long then, this was a boy-sport of the whole winter. The marsh ground had much of vegetable production in it, and when not flooded, had some parts of its green with vegetation; this, therefore, was a great resort for snipe, killdears, and even plover, and many birds have been shot there. Doctor Leib was a frequent visiter there for shooting-purposes. In other places, earth had been taken to make an embankment all along the side of Pegg's run, and this left such ponds of water as made places where catfish, brought in by the floods, were left, and were often caught by boys. In the summer, the water which rested in places on this marsh gave life and song to thousands of clamorous frogs; and in winter the whole area was a great ice pond, in which all the skating population of Philadelphia, even including men, were wont to skate. This was more particularly the case before the ice in the Delaware closed for the season, which was usually by New-year's-day, and lasted till March. There were two springs, and perhaps several rills near them, proceeding from the north bank of this marsh—one at Noble's tanyard east of Second street, and one west of Second street; from these springs went an embankment on the marsh side parallel with the bank, and inclining east until one reached Second street, and till the other reached

\* From Third to Sixth street on the south side of Pegg's run, being very high, furnished all the gravel used in the city end of the Germantown turnpike.

the rear of the houses (say Roger's glue factory) on Front street; thence they went each at right angles south until they severally struck into Pegg's run. In these channels the tides of the Delaware flowed, and especially the lower one near Rogers', over which was once a little foot bridge to pass on to the marsh in dry seasons. In process of time (the time of my day,) these embankments got so wasted away, as to precisely answer the purpose of holding all the water which high tides could deposit, and so kept it in for shallow ponds, (at the eastern sides of the marsh chiefly) for the great amusement of the boys. Now, while I write, all these descriptions are hid forever from our eyes; the marsh is intersected by streets, and nearly all filled up with houses. The filling up was not a short work; it became long a deposit for all the loose rubbish of the city—first, the Corporation who filled up the streets, then the occupant or builder of each house would bring a little earth for his yard, and support his enclosure with stakes, &c. until another would build alongside of him; and he would frame rough steps up to his door until successive deposits of earth, as time and means would enable, have enabled them, at last, to bring their streets now to a general level. From Third street to Fourth street, on the north side of Pegg's run, the land was nearer the level of Pegg's run, and was filled to Noble street with many tanyards, and one very fine kitchen garden of about one acre of ground. The tanyard which bounded on the west side of Third street, (as the Commissioners filled up Third street) rested at least one story below the common walk; and the house at the south west corner of Noble street, which went up steps to the door sill, is now levelled with the street. New Fourth street across Pegg's run, was not opened at all until lately, nor none of the houses were built between it and Callowhill street. The causeway at Second street was something narrower than the present street; and the footway, which was only on the west side of it, was three feet lower than the street—(for they were for years casting refuse earth, shoemakers' leather, and shavings, &c. into it.) At the north end, where it joined to the present pavement way, it was separated by so deep and yawning a ravine, caused by the rain floods rushing down into the marsh and pond below, that it was covered with a wooden bridge. Such are the changes wrought in this section of the Northern Liberties in from 25 to 35 years!

The name of Pegg's run was derived from Daniel Pegg, a Friend, who, in 1686, acquired the 350 acres of Jurian Hartsfelder's patent of the year 1676. He therefore once possessed nearly all of the Northern Liberties south of Cohocksinc creek, in their primitive state of woody waste. He appears to have sold about 150 acres of the northern part to Coates, and to have set upon the improvement of the rest as a farm—to have diked in his marsh, so as to form low meadows, and to have set up a brick-kiln. His mansion, of large dimensions, described to me as of two stories, with a piazza and double hipp'd roof, was always called, in the language of early days, "the big brick house," at "the north end." It was situate upon Front street, a little above Green street, and a little of the wall is said still to remain in the house now Samuel Emlen's. Whatever was its appearance, we know it was such that William

Penn, in 1709, proposed to have it rented for his residence, that he might there be in the quiet of the country. Back of Pegg's house, from Front to Second street, and from Green to Coates' street, he had nearly a square of ground enclosed as a field, by numerous large cherry trees along the fences. This same space was a fine green meadow when the British possessed Philadelphia, and they cut down the fine cherry trees for fuel.

When we see the present compactly built state of the Northern Liberties, so like another city set beside its parent beyond the run, it increases our wish to learn, if we can, from what prior condition it was formed.

To this end, the will of Daniel Pegg, formed the 9th of January, 1732, a short time before he died, will lead us into some conceptions of things as they were, to wit :

To his wife Sarah he gave "his northernmost messuage or tenement and the piece of ground thereunto belonging, bounded on the north by land in the tenure of William Coates, on the east by the great road leading to Burlington, [i. e. Front street,] southward by a lane dividing that tract from his other land, and westward by the New York road"—[i. e. old Fourth street.] To his nephew, Daniel Pegg, (son of Nathan,) he gave all his "southernmost messuage or tenement, where he then dwelt, together with the piece of ground bounded northward by the lane aforesaid; eastward, by the Burlington road; southward, by the second row of apple trees in his orchard, carrying the same breadth westward to a fence at the west end of an adjoining pasture; and westward by the said fence." He further gives his said nephew "all his ground and marsh between the front of the house and ground, therein before given him, and the Delaware river, of the same breadth aforesaid." To his daughter, Sarah Pegg, he gave "the ground bounded northward by the ground before given to his nephew, Daniel Pegg; eastward, by the Delaware river; southward, by a forty foot road, beginning at ten feet southward of the south fence of his orchard, and to extend the same breadth westward to the westernmost fence of his pasture, (lying west of his orchard,) and westward by the same fence."\* To his nephew, Elias Pegg, (the second son of Nathan,) he gave "the ground, of fifty feet breadth, bounded northward by the forty feet road; eastward, by Delaware river; southward, by his other ground; and westward, by other ground, then or late his, at the extent of 300 feet from the west side of Burlington road aforesaid." He grants similar lots lying along the same to his nephews, Daniel Coats, and John Coats, (son of Thomas,) extending in length from John Rutter's N. W. corner on the New York road to Edmond Wooley's bars." "His small fenced pasture of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  acres, lying near the brick-kilns, he orders to be sold, to pay off his debts, &c."

This farm at its wildest state is marked by William Penn's letter of the year 1700, showing there were then Indians hutted there, he saying he wishes that "earnest inquiry may be made for the men who fired on the Indians at Pegg's run, and frightened them," saying "they must be appeased, or evil will ensue."

\* To this daughter Sarah he also gives "his southernmost pasture adjoining his meadow, with all his adjoining marsh or meadow and improvements."



The value of this farm in primitive days is shown in a letter of Jonathan Dickinson's of December, 1715, saying "he can buy Daniel Pegg's land fronting the Delaware and laying in N. Liberty Corporation at 50s. per acre, having thereon a well built brick house, a piece of 6 to 8 acres of meadow," &c.

In the year 1729 Daniel Pegg advertised his land for sale, and then he described it thus, viz. "To be sold or let, by Daniel Pegg, at the great brick house at the north end of Philadelphia, thirty acres of upland, meadow ground and marsh." The house, about the period of the Revolution, was called "the Dutch house," both because its form was peculiar, and especially because it had long been noted as a place for holding Dutch dances, called *hupsesaw*—a whirling dance in waltz style.

In 1724 there was erected on his former premises the first powder house ever erected in Philadelphia; it was at the expense of William Chancellor, a wealthy sailmaker, who placed it on the northern bank of Pegg's marsh—say a little south of present Noble street, and about 60 yards westward of Front street. It now exists as a dwelling house. Chancellor was privileged as exclusive keeper, for twenty-one years, at 1s. a keg per month.

As the name of Pegg has thus connected itself with interesting topographical facts, it may possibly afford further interest to add a few items of a personal nature, to wit: It appears he must have had at least two wives before the widow Sarah, mentioned in his will; for I found his name as married on the 28th of 2 mo. 1686, to Martha Allen, at her father Samuel Allen's house at Neshamina, in the presence of twenty-two signing witnesses; and again in 1691 he marries, at Friends' Meeting in Philadelphia, Barbara Jones. His brief history shows the vicissitudes of human affairs: Possessed of the fee simple of 350 acres of now invaluable building lots, he left no rich heirs; and, the possessor of three wives or more, he left no male issue to keep up his name, even in our City Directory! It appears, by the letter of Secretary Peters, of 1749, that the heirs of D. Pegg then appeared to make a partition. He left an only daughter.

Connected with Pegg's marsh meadows are some curious facts of

*Sub-terrene and Alluvial Remains, to wit:*

Christian Witmeck, a digger of wells, told me, that in digging a well for Mr. Lowber at Pegg's run by St. John street, at 13 feet depth he cut across a fallen tree; at 34 feet, came to wood, which appeared to be decayed roots of trees, in pieces of 6 inches square,—near the bottom, found what looked like isinglass—so they called it—then came to black sand; they dug through 24 feet of black mud,—the volume of water procured is large. These facts were confirmed to me by Mr. Lowber himself. The same C. Witmeck, in digging a well near there for Thomas Steel, at No. 81, St. John

street, at 40 feet northward from the run, found, at the depth of 21 feet, real black turf filled with numerous reddish fibres of roots—it was 10 feet in depth, and below it the well rested, at 50  $\frac{1}{2}$  feet of depth, upon white sand; at 26 feet depth, they found the crotch of a pine tree; between the well and the creek they found a brick wall, two feet under the surface, of 6 feet of depth and apparently 30 feet square. May not this have been the ruins of some ancient mill?

The well of Prosper Martin, at No. 91, St. John street, at about 100 feet northward from Pegg's run, is a great curiosity, although it has excited no public attention. A single well of 15 feet diameter at surface, and narrower at bottom, having its surface full 16 feet lower in the yard than the present St. John street, (which has 20 feet depth of made earth) being dug 30 feet, has the surprising volume of discharge of 60,000 gallons a day without ever running out! It (by aid of steam to elevate it) turns the machinery of two mahogany saws, which are running all day, every day—(save Sundays.) Prosper is a young man, and deserves great credit for his perseverance in prosecuting this digging. To use his own words, he was determined on water-power, and determined to get below the bed of the Delaware and drain it off! His name, and the prosperity likely to crown his enterprise, seem likely to be identified. The original spring which I used to see when a boy, is about 40 feet west of it, on the west side of St. John street, at Dun's cellar, No. 96.

Mr. Martin tells me he first attempted a well of smaller diameter nearer to the natural spring, but did not succeed to get through the mud deposit, owing to the narrowness, which did not allow him to repeat enough of curbs into it. He therefore undertook this second one; he went through 20 feet of black mud, and came for his foundation to coarse round pebbles, and manifest remains of shells. They seemed like (in part) crumbled clam-shells. Several springs flowed in at the bottom; but in the centre there burst out a volume of water of full six inches diameter, which sent forth such a volume of carbonic acid gas as to have nearly cost the life of the last of the two men, who hurried out of the well when it flowed in. Previously to this great discharge, there was enough of the same gas issuing as to nearly extinguish the candle, and to have made it, for some time previously, very deleterious to work there. The water thus flowing, has uniformly a purgative quality on any new hands which he may employ and who drink it. It deposits a concretion, a piece of which I have, which makes an excellent hone; this concretion enters so readily into ropes laying in it, as to make them calculous, and when the works on one occasion lay idle for some repairs he found a deposit of full three bushels of salt; a large portion of which seemed to possess the quality of Glauber's salt. I intend now, for the first time, to have some chymical examination of its properties.\* The hone when triturated gives out a nauseous smell, arising from the sulphur in it, as well as in Glauber's salt. The lime came from the shells, and the sulphureted hydrogen gas from the animal matter once in them.

Mr. P. Martin, who is an intelligent man, and seems to have examined things scientifically, gives it as his opinion that this low ground of Pegg's

\* I have since done this. Sulphuret of lime was in the spring, and the gas must have been sulphureted hydrogen gas. The hone was carbonate of lime containing sulphureted hydrogen gas.

swamp must have been once the bed of Schuylkill, traversing from near the present Fair Mount. He says the route of the whole is still visible to his eye; his theory is, that at an earlier period the original outlet of the Schuylkill was by the Cohocksinc creek, and he thinks that stream, in two divisions, can be still traced by his eye, meandering and ascending to the Falls of Schuylkill,—that at the Falls, which was once a higher barrier, the river was turned shortly to the eastward; when that barrier was partially destroyed the river flowed down its present course to the present Fair Mount works, or thereabouts, where it turned shortly to the eastward again, in consequence of a great barrier there—being the great Fair Mount, then extending in elevation quite across Schuylkill; he thinks the identity of strata on both sides prove this former union. Until it was broken away the Schuylkill then run out by Pegg's run.\*

Such was the yielding character of the mud soil on the western side of Second street, where Sanson's row is built. that, to keep the houses from falling by the sinking of their western walls, they had to rebuild several of those walls, and to others to put back-houses as buttresses. To keep their cellars dry they dug wells of 28 feet depth before coming to sand. They went through considerable depth of *turf* filled with fibrous plants. Mr. Grove, the mason who saw this, told me he actually saw it dried and burnt. When they first came to the sand there was no water, but by piercing it the depth of the spade water spouted up freely, and filled the wells considerably.

The same Mr. Grove also told me that in digging at the rear of Thatcher's houses on Front below Noble street, all of which is made-ground redeemed from the invasion of the river into Pegg's marsh, they came at 28 feet depth to an oak log of 18 inches diameter, laying quite across the well.

To these sub-terrene discoveries we might add that of a *sword*, dug out of Pegg's run at the depth of 18 feet, resting on a sandy foundation. It was discovered on the occasion of digging the foundation for the Second street bridge. Daniel Williams was at that time the Commissioner for the superintendence, and was said to have given it to the City Library. This singular fact was told to me by Thomas Bradford and Col. A. J. Morris, and others, who had it so direct as to rely upon it. On inquiry made for the cause, a blacksmith in the neighbourhood said his father had said a Bermudian sloop had once wintered near there, although the stream since would scarcely float a board.

\* Hill's map of Philadelphia certainly shows both of the water-courses as nearly united. The mill of Naglee, at Front street and Cohocksinc swamp, has never dug its well quite through the mud deposit, although very deep.

## SPECIMENS OF THE BEST HOUSES.



AS the style of former architecture in its best character is passing away, I have herein endeavoured to notice a few of the last remains of the former age, to wit :

Two large houses on the south side of Walnut street, a little west of Third street, originally built for Mr. Stiles.

One of the excellent houses of the olden time was the large house on the north east corner of Union and Second street, built for William Griffith, who dwelt there at the same time ; it was then sold to Archibald M'Call—it had once a fine large garden extending along Union street. At that house General Gage used to make his home and have his guard, he being related to M'Call's wife.

The house at the north west corner of Second and Pine street, built about 65 years ago for Judge Coleman, was a grand building at that time ; it having a five window front on Second street, a great high portico and pediment, a fine front on Pine street, and a large garden along the same street. It is now altered into several stores and dwellings.

There were two fine houses on the site of the present Congress Hall Hotel, opposite to the Bank of the United States ; the one next to the Farmers and Mechanics Bank was built for and occupied by John Ross, a lawyer. The bank was the residence of John Lawrence, and when the British possessed Philadelphia, was the house of Admiral Howe.

The present Gibbs' house, on the north east corner of Fourth and Arch streets, was a very large and superior house, having a long range of windows on Fourth street.

The house at the north west corner of Vine and Third streets, owned and dwelt in by Kinneer, presenting a great array of windows on Vine street, was long deemed the nonpareil of that end of the town.

## RARE OLD HOUSES.



THE only house of size now in Philadelphia with gable end front on the street, is to be seen at the south east corner of Front street and Norris' alley. It formerly had a balcony and door at its second story, and its windows in leaden frames; one of which still remains on the alley side of the house. It is a very ancient house. It was, in the year 1725, the property and home of Samuel Mickle, the same unnamed gentleman who talked so discouragingly to Benjamin Franklin when he first proposed to set up a second Printing Office in the city.

The house on west side of Front street, second door north of Walnut street, pulled down a few years ago, was remarkable for having in its foundation a large brick on which was scratched before burning—"This is the sixth house built in Philadelphia."

A house of Dutch style of construction, with double hipp'd roof, used to stand, with gable end to Second street, on the south side of the Christ church wall. It was but one and a half story high, built of brick. In the year 1806 it was pulled down, to build up the present three story house there. In the ancient house they found a big brick inscribed "I. G. S. founded 1695." This is now conspicuously preserved in the chimney of the new house, and visible from the street. In the rear of the same new house is preserved a small section of the primitive old wall.

A very ancient house of two stories and double front used to be occupied, in Front street below Chesnut street, on the bank side, by Dorsey, as an auction and dwelling. An ancient lady pointed it out to Mrs. Logan, as a place in which the Assembly of the colony had held their session.

The north east corner of Front and Walnut street, till a few years ago, had a curiously formed one and a half story brick house, having a double hipp'd roof.

The houses on the west side of water street, north of Carpenter's stairs, *vis a vis* Norris' alley, present the oldest appearance of any now remaining of the original bank houses.

There were two ancient and singular looking houses on the north side of Chesnut street, back from the street, where Girard has now built a new range of three houses, near to Fifth street. They were marked 1703, and at an early period was the residence of Mr. Duché, who had a pottery connected with it.

At the north east corner of Vine and Second streets there

stood, about 35 years ago, a large old fashioned house; it originally stood on a hill ten feet higher than the street—had a monstrous buttonwood tree before it, and a long and high garden down Vine street.

Many years ago there was a range of low wooden houses on the west side of Front street, extending from Combes' alley nearly up to Arch street, on much higher ground than the present; they were often called "Sailor's town," being boarding houses and places of carousal for sailors. Mr. Pearson the late City Surveyor, and John Brown, remembered them in their early days.

Something like a similar collection of one story houses occupied the western side of Third street, and extended southward from Race street. They got the name of Hell Town, for the bad behaviour of their inmates. Two of them still remain, one of brick, and one of wood, and present a strange contrast in their mean appearance to other houses near there.

In 1744, the Grand Jury presented them as disorderly, and as having acquired such a name for their notoriety: an orchard lay between them and Cherry street.

"Jones Row," so called in early times, was originally a range of one large double house and one single one, forming an appearance of three good two story brick houses on the west side of Front street, adjoining to the south side of Combes' alley—now the premises of Mr. Gerhard, and greatly altered from its original appearance, by having what was formerly its cellar underground now one story out of ground, and converting what was once a two story range of houses into three story houses. It once had a long balcony over Front street, and the windows were framed in leaden lattice work, only one of which now remains in the rear of the house. The present elevation of the yard ground proves the fact of having cut down Front street and Combes' alley eight or ten feet.

This row was built in 1699 for John Jones, merchant, he having a lot of 102 feet width, and extending quite through to Second street.

The best specimens of the ordinary houses of decent livers of the primitive days, now remaining in any collection, are those, to wit: On the north or sun side of Walnut street, from Front up to Dock street, generally low two story buildings. Another collection extends from Front to Second street, on the north or sun side of Chesnut street. They appear to have avoided building on the south or shaded side of those streets. In both those collections there is now here and there a modern house inserted, of such tall dimensions as to humble and scandalize the old ones.

## CHURCHES.



THE following facts incidentally connected with sundry churches, may possibly afford some interest in their preservation, to wit:

### *The Presbyterian and Baptist Churches,*

Began their career about the year 1695, and so far united their interests as to meet for worship in the same small building called "the Barbadoes-lot Store"—the same site were is now the small one story stocking store, on the north west corner of Chesnut and Second streets. The Baptists first assembled there in the winter of 1695, consisting only of nine persons, having occasionally the Rev. John Watts from Pennepeck as their minister; for then, be it known, the church at Pennepeck was both older and more numerous than that of the "great towne" of Philadelphia. At the same place the Presbyterians, also, went to worship, joining together mutually, as often as one or the other could procure either a Baptist or Presbyterian minister. This fellowship continued for about the space of three years, when the Presbyterians having received a Rev. Jedediah Andrews from New England, they began, in the opinion of the Baptist brethren, to manifest wishes for engrossing the place to themselves, by showing an unwillingness to the services of the Baptist preachers. This occasioned a secession of the latter from the premises, (although they had been the first occupants,) and they afterwards used to hold their worship at Anthony Morris' brewhouse—a kind of "Mariner's church" location, on the east side of Water street a little above the Drawbridge, by the river side. There they continued to meet until the spring of 1707, lowly and without means for greater things; when, being invited by the Keithians, (seceders from the Quakers, under their follower, George Keith,) they took possession of their small wooden building on the site of the present first Baptist church in Second street below Mulberry street. In that house they continued their worship, several of the Keithians uniting with them, until the year 1731, when they pulled it down, and erected in its stead a neat brick building of 42 by 30 feet. That was also displaced by another of larger dimensions in 1762, and since then it has been much altered and enlarged.

Long letters of remonstrance on the one hand and of justification on the other, passed between the Baptists and Presbyterians, headed by John Watts for the Baptists, and by Jedediah Andrews for the Presbyterians; these are of the winter of 1698, and are preserved in the Rev. Morgan Edwards' History of the Baptists in Pennsylvania. They ended in the withdrawing of the Baptists, who said Mr. Andrews wrote to his friend thereupon, saying, "Though we have got the Anabaptists out of the house, yet our continuance there is uncertain; wherefore we must think of building, notwithstanding our poverty and the smallness of our number." The house which they did eventually build, was that "First Presbyterian church" in High street, long called the "Old Buttonwood"—because of such trees of large dimensions about it. It was built in 1704; after standing about a century it was rebuilt in Grecian style, and, finally, all was taken down in 1820, and the ground converted to uses of trade and commerce. The din and crowd of business had previously made it an ill-adapted place.

*Friends' Meeting in Arch Street.*

This house, built about 22 years ago, is placed near the area where they had buried their dead from the foundation of the city. The wall now around the whole enclosure has replaced one of much less height. When the first wall stood, it was easy to see the ground and graves over the tops of the wall, in walking along the northern side of Arch street.

The first person ever interred in their ground was Governor Lloyd's wife; she was a very pious woman. William Penn himself spoke at her grave—much commending her character. Because of his high estimation of her and her excellent family, he offered, after her burial there, to give the whole lot to that family. The descendants of that family, including the Norris', have ever since occupied that south west corner where Mrs. Lloyd was buried, as their exclusive ground.

The aged Samuel Coates told me that Indians, blacks and strangers were at first buried freely in Friends' ground; and he gave it as his opinion that they were at first not very particular to keep out of the range of Arch street—a circumstance which was afterwards verified; for, in September, 1824, when laying the iron pipes along Arch street, off the eastern end of the meetinghouse, they dug upon several coffins in corresponding rows. They were left there unmolested. The tradition of this encroachment of the street on the former ground was known to some of the ancients. This was told to Mrs. Logan by her aged aunt; and a lady of the name of Moore would never ride along that street, saying it was painful to ride over the dead.



There was lately dug up in Friends' ground a head-stone, of soapstone, having an inscription of some peculiarity, to wit :

“ Here lies a plant  
Too many seen it,—  
Flourisht and perisht  
In half a minvit :  
Joseph Rakestraw  
The son of William  
Shott by a negro  
The 30 day of Sept.  
1700, in the 19th year  
and 4th month of his age.”

A letter of Mr. Norris' of the year 1700, explains the circumstance, saying that “ Jack, a black man belonging to Philip James, was wording it with Joseph, half jest and half earnest, when his gun went off and killed him on the spot. The negro was put to his trial.” The stone is now in possession of Joseph Rakestraw, the printer.

There was also formerly another ancient grave-stone there for Peter Deal, called in Gabriel Thomas' book, of 1698, “ a famous and ingenious workman in water-mills.” The stone was inscribed, to wit :

“ Here lies the body of one Peter Deal  
Whose life was useful to the common weal  
His skill in architecture merits praise  
Beyond what this frail monument displays—  
He died lamented by his wife and friends  
And now he rests, they hope, where sorrow ends.”

### *Presbyterian Churches.*

The ancient *first* church in High street, built in 1704, continued its peace and increase until the time of the Rev. George Whitfield, when he and his coadjutors, Tennent, Davenport, Rowland, &c. produced such a religious excitement as gave umbrage to many : The consequence was, that a party drew off, under the name of *New Lights*, to Whitfield's separate church, erected in 1744, and in 1750 made into “ the Academy.” The same year the *New Lights*, concentrated under the pastoral charge of the Rev. Gilbert Tennent, laid the foundation of the Presbyterian church at the north west corner of Third and Arch street, then bearing the name of the “ *New Meetinghouse.*” It was at first without a steeple ; but an effort to raise one was attempted among the Society, “ and it falling much short,” they, in the year 1753, succeeded to draw a lottery, to have it finished. That steeple was taken down twenty-five or thirty years ago, from an apprehension it might be blown over. It was a very neat and ornamental structure. In the period of its

so that when we would countenance freedom of religious exercise, there were those among us, jealous of parent prerogative, who cried "Church and State in danger!" To this cause probably arose the caution of Penn, in his letter of 1708, to James Logan, saying: "With these is a complaint against your government, that you suffer public mass in a scandalous manner; pray send the matter of fact, for ill use is made of it against us here."

This early-mentioned mass probably had its origin in the frame building once a Coffee House on the north west corner of Front and Walnut streets. Samuel Coates, the present aged owner of that lot, has told me that when he received the premises from his uncle Reynell he told him jocosely, to remember it was holy ground, and had been once consecrated as a chapel. Mr. Coates also told me that he remembered to have seen a neighbouring man often passing the house to the Green Tree pump for water, who always made his genuflexion in passing, and on being questioned, said he knew it was consecrated ground.

Three or four years ago I saw a lady, Sarah Patterson, born in 1736, who dwelt in her youth at the house south east corner of Chesnut and Second streets; she had often heard her parents say it was built for a Papal chapel, and that the people opposed its being so used in so public a place.

There was a Roman chapel near the city of Philadelphia, as early as the year 1729; at that time, Elizabeth M'Gawley, an Irish lady, and single, brought over a number of tenantry, and with them settled on the land (now Miss Dickinson's,) on the road leading from Nicetown to Frankford; connected with her house (now standing opposite to Gaul's place) she had the said chapel.\* Mrs. Deborah Logan has told me that much of it was in ruins when she was a girl; but even now the spot is visible. It was then called "the haunted place." These facts in general have been confirmed to me also by the present Thomas Bradford, Esq. of Philadelphia, aged 78, who tells me he remembers well, when a lad, to have heard of this chapel as a haunted place. It was the report of the time in Philadelphia, &c. and he added, as a fact, that a person, to test the reality of the thing alleged, went to the road, by the premises, at midnight, and walking with his hands behind him, he was suddenly alarmed with a sensation of an application of death coldness to his hands! Too terrified to turn and examine the cause, he endeavoured to rouse his courage by calling on the familiar names of some dogs; at last hitting on one that had lost his owner, which ran before him at the call, and offered to caress him, he was led to discover that the terrific coldness had been the dog's nose. It may be a question whether the aforesaid Roman chapel may not have been there before Elizabeth

\* Near the place (one eighth of a mile off) is a stone enclosure, in which is a large tombstone of marble, inscribed with a cross and the name "John Michael Brown, Ob. 15 Dec. A. D. 1750, R. L. P." He was a priest.

M. Gawley settled there, even from the earliest origin of the city, and that such chapel was put there for Roman Catholics, because their religion, however agreeable to Penn's tolerant spirit, was not so then to most protestants then in power; for we may remember that one of Penn's letters from England to his correspondent in Philadelphia, says it has become a reproach to me here with the officers of the Crown, that you have suffered "the scandal of mass to be publicly celebrated." To avoid such offence, this chapel may have been at an inconvenient distance, and as if in secrecy. At a very early period the first chapel in Philadelphia was on the premises now Samuel Coates', at the north west corner of Front and Walnut streets. And as early as 1686, I have recorded William Penn's letter to Harrison, (his steward) wherein he tells him he may procure fine smoked shad of the *old priest* in Philadelphia. And in 1685, his letter spoke of Charles De la Noe, the French minister, coming to settle among them with servants as a Vignerou. These remarks may prove interesting inquiries to papists themselves among us; none of whom I am satisfied have any idea of any older chapel than the one now in Willing's alley, built in 1753, and now called the oldest. The Rev. Dr. Harrold of the Catholic church assured me, that they have no records in Philadelphia of any earlier church than that in the said alley, although he thinks there may be some records in the College of St. Mary at Georgetown, which may (if anywhere to be found) exhibit where the first Catholic worship occurred in Philadelphia.

We, however, know that Governor Gorden, in 1734, informed the Council that a house had been erected in Walnut street, [probably at the north west corner of Walnut and Front streets] for the open celebration of mass, contrary to the statutes of William the Third. The Council advised him to consult his superiors at home. In the mean time they judged them protected by the charter, which allowed "liberty of conscience."

The minutes of the Council at the same time, calls their proceedings thereon "the Consideration of the Council upon the building of the Roman mass house, and the public worship there," July, 1734.

#### *The Moravian Church.*

This church, at the corner of Race and Bread street, was built in 1742; before that time they appear to have held their meetings at a building on Allen's lot, in conjunction with the Lutherans; the latter using the place every third Sunday, and the others three times a month. Some jealousy got among them, so that while Mr. Pyrlaus was preaching for the Moravians, the Lutherans came in force, and violently excluded the others.

Secretary Peters, who mentions this event to the Penns, in 1742,

says these indicted the others for a riot, but lost their cause. It probably educed good from evil by inducing them to build that year a church for themselves.

Kalm the Swedish traveller, at a later period, speaks of the Moravians and the German Reformed hiring a great house, in which they performed service in German and English, not only two or three times every Sunday, but likewise every night! But in the winter of 1750 they were obliged to desist from their night meetings because some young fellows disturbed them by an instrument sounding like the cuckoo, and this they did at the end of every line when they sung their hymns.

#### *St. Paul's Church.*

This was originally founded in 1760, with a design to be more in accordance with Mr. Wesley's church conceptions, than was tolerated in other protestant Episcopal churches. It was built in 1762. The walls were run up by subscription; after which a lottery was made to complete it.

When the church was to be plastered, the men not being skilful in constructing so large a scaffolding, it fell and killed and wounded several persons.

The church was first got up for the Rev. Mr. Clenaghan. He preached at one time specially against the lewdness of certain women. Soon after, a Miss H. celebrated in that day for her beauty and effrontery, managed to pluck his gown in the streets. This gave rise to some indignation, and a mob of big boys went in a strong body and demolished her house with some others in her fellowship—"down town."

#### *The Methodist Church.*

Methodism was first introduced into Philadelphia, in the year 1769, by the late Rev. Dr. Joseph Pilmore of St. Paul's church, he having then as a young man arrived here on a mission from the Rev. Mr. John Wesley. He preached from the steps of the State-house in Chesnut street, and from stands put up in the race fields, being, as himself has told me, a true field preacher, and carrying his whole library and wardrobe in his saddle bags. His popularity as a preacher soon led to his call to St. Paul's, among the novelties of his day, he was occasionally aided in preaching by Capt. Webb, the British barrack master at Albany, who being a boanarges in declamation, and a one-eyed officer in military costume, caused attraction enough to bring many to hear, from mere curiosity, who soon became proselytes to Methodism. The Methodism of that day, was not so exclusive as now; it collected people of any faith, who professed to believe in the sensible perceptions of divine re-

generation, &c. and required no other rule of association than "a desire to flee from the wrath to come, and having the form of Godliness, were seeking after the power thereof." Calvinists and Arminians were therefore actual members of this first association. The Methodists of that day, although remarkable for their holiness of living, were not distinguished by such violent emotions and bodily exercises in their assemblies as often occur now. There were no jumpers among them, nor fallers-down, nor shouters.

The first regular meetings of this society were held in a pot-house in Loxley's Court—a passage running from Arch to Cherry street near Fourth street.

The first church owned by the Methodists, was the present St. George's in Fourth near New street. It was an unfinished building, which they bought of the Germans; it having no floor laid when the British possessed the city, they took it to the use of their cavalry as a riding-school. In the rear of that church was long an artillery yard of cannons and balls after the peace.

The reminiscences of that church given by another hand, as seen by him when Methodism was young, shall close this article, to wit:

Saint George's Methodist Episcopal church in Fourth street, and the only one at the time in Philadelphia, was without galleries within or railing without, a miserably cold looking place in winter time, when, from the leaky stove pipe, mended with clay, the smoke would frequently issue, and fill all the house. It was then customary with the female worshippers to carry with them small "wooden stoves" for the feet, such as are to be seen used by the women in market. The front door was in the centre; and about 20 feet from the east end, inside, there stood a square thing not unlike a watch box, with the top sawed off, which in that day served as their "pulpit of wood," from whence the Rev. Mr. Willis used to read prayers previous to the sermon, from Mr. Wesley's Liturgy, and John Hood (lately living) raised the hymn standing on the floor. Mr. Willis, during service, wore a black silk gown, which gave offence to many, and was finally laid aside. "Let all things be done soberly and in order" seemed to be the standing rule, which was first broken in upon by a Mr. Chambers, from Baltimore, who, with a sharp penetrating voice and great energy of manner, soon produced a kind of revolution in the form of worship, which had assimilated itself with that of the Church of England.

About the same time, the far-famed (among Methodists,) Benjamin Abbott, from Salem county, New Jersey, used to "come over and help" to keep alive the new fire which had been kindled in "the church at Philadelphia." He was at the time an old man, with large shaggy eye-brows, and eyes of flame, of powerful frame, and great extent of voice, which he exerted to the utmost, while preaching and praying, which, with an occasional stamp with

his foot, made the church ring. It was like the trumpet sounding to battle, amidst shouts of the victorious and the groans of the wounded. His words ran like fire sparks through the assembly, and "those who came to laugh" stood *aghast* upon the benches—looking down upon the slain and the wounded, while, to use a favourite expression of his, "The shout of the King was in the Camp."

## HOSPITALS.

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THE earliest Hospital, separate from the Poor-house, to which in early times it was united, was opened and continued for several years in the house known as "Judge Kinsey's dwelling and orchard."—the same two story double front brick house now on the south side of High street, third door west from Fifth street. The Hospital there, nearly eighty years ago, was under the general government of Mrs. Elizabeth Gardiner as matron.

In the year 1750, several public spirited gentlemen set on foot a proposition for another and more convenient building than was before possessed for the sick at the Poor-house—then on the lot occupying the square from Spruce to Pine street, and from Third to Fourth street.

By the MS. Diary of John Smith, Esq. I see noted that on the 5th of 5 mo. 1751, he with other managers of the Hospital Fund, went out to inspect several lots for a place for an Hospital, and he states that none then pleased them so much as one on the south side of Arch street between Ninth and Tenth streets. But afterwards, on the 11th of 8 mo. 1751, he notes, that he with Dr. Bond and Israel Pemberton, inspected the late dwelling house of E. Kinsey, Esq. and were of opinion it would be a suitable place to begin the Hospital in. The year 1751, therefore marks the period at which the Hospital in High street began. It there continued ten or twelve years.

The Pennsylvania Hospital was founded in the year 1760. At the occasion of laying the corner stone, the celebrated John Key, "the first born," was present from Chester county. The inscription of the corner stone, composed by Doctor Franklin, reads thus:

" In the year of Christ  
MDCCLV,  
George the Second happily reigning  
(For he sought the happiness of his people)  
Philadelphia flourishing  
(For its inhabitants were public spirited)  
This Building  
By the bounty of Government,  
And of many private Persons,  
Was piously founded  
For the relief of the Sick and Miserable.  
May the God of Mercies  
Bless the Undertaking."

When the Hospital was first placed there it was deemed very far out of town, and was approached not by present rectilineal streets, but across commons the length of several squares. The only building then finished for several years was the present eastern wing, then entered by its front gate on Eighth street.

At and before the year 1740 it was the practice when sick emigrants arrived, to place them in empty houses about the city. Sometimes diseases were imparted to the neighbourhood, as once occurred, particularly at Willing's alley. On such occasions, physicians were provided for them at the public expense. The Governor was induced, in 1741, to suggest the procuring of a Pesthouse or Hospital; and in 1742, a Pest Hospital was erected on Fisher's Island, called afterwards Province Island, because purchased and owned by the province, for the use of sick persons arriving from sea.

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## POOR-HOUSES.

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THE original Poor-house for the city was located down town, on a green meadow extending from Spruce to Pine street and from Third to Fourth street. Its front was to the east and nearest to Third street. Its great gate was on Spruce street, and its entrance by Third street was by a stile. The house was much such a structure as to height and general appearance as that of the Friends' Almshouse in Walnut street; it had a piazza all round. It contained the sick and insane as well as the poor. There were also some parts of the necessary buildings formed near the corner of Union and Fourth streets, on the site now occupied as the premises of Doctor Physick, from which cause, I find, in 1758, it was called "the Almshouse down Fourth street," and "the Almshouse square," &c.

The present Almshouse out Spruce street began in 1760, was first occupied in the year 1767. The square of nearly 400 feet square on which the buildings stand, cost then but 800£. Who can tell its rise of value since! It was then, however, quite a place in the country and near the woods.



## LIBRARIES.



WE are indebted to Doctor Franklin for the first project of a public library. He started one in 1731, consisting of 38 persons, to pay 40 shillings each, and to contribute afterwards 10 shillings annually. It was at first located in a chamber of Robert Grace's house in Pewter Platter alley. In 1740 it was placed in the State-house. In 1773 it went to Carpenter's Hall till 1790, when the present library was built and received the books. It was incorporated in the year 1742, as "the Library Company of Philadelphia." Previous to this company the members of the Junto used to each bring their books to their debating room, and leave them there as common stock at Grace's house—the same premises, I believe, now belonging to Benjamin Horner.

In 1759, Governor Denney confirmed the charter of "the Union Library of Philadelphia." They built themselves the neat house still standing at the corner of Third and Pear streets. About the same time, in 1757, I notice an advertisement to call the members of "the Association Library" to meet at their literary room in Lætitia Court.

In 1769 it is announced in the Gazette that "the Union Library," which had existed many years, resolved to merge itself into "the Library Company of Philadelphia," and thus to make but one institution.

At one time, as I was told by the aged Isaac Parrish, the Union Library kept their books and reading room in the second house in Chesnut street, from Second street, south side. They went up-stairs by a flight of steps on the outside.

The Loganian Library of nearly 3000 volumes was the generous gift of James Logan, Esq. to the city of Philadelphia forever, together with a house and 30*l.* per annum. In 1792, his son James procured an act of the Legislature, vesting the library, &c. in "the Library Company of Philadelphia,"—thus eventually merging "the Library Company of Philadelphia," "the Union Library of Philadelphia," and "the Loganian Library," all three in one "*tria una in juncta.*"

## TAVERNS.

IN the primitive days the grant of tavern licenses were restricted to widows, and occasionally to decrepid men of good character. I am aware of this fact from inspecting several of the early petitions of about the year 1700 for such licenses.

In the year 1683, William Penn's letter says : " We have seven ordinaries for the entertainment of strangers and workmen that are not house-keepers, and a good meal is to be had for sixpence sterling."

There was, however, at an early period much effort made by base people to keep private tippling houses, which were ferretted out by the Grand Juries with much vigilance.

In 1709, the Grand Jury present many tippling and disorderly houses.

In 1714, no less than 35 true bills were found against unlicensed taverns in one session !

In 1744, the Grand Jury present the enormous increase of public houses as a great nuisance, and they say it appears by constable returns that there are then upwards of 100 houses licensed, which, with all the retailers, make the houses which sell drink nearly a tenth part of the city !

In 1752, there were found in the city 120 taverns with licenses, and 118 houses that sold rum by the quart.

In 1756, the number of licensed inns in the city was ascertained to be 117.

In 1759—until this year it had been the occasional practice for Justices of the Peace to hear and decide causes at public inns, which was found to have a demoralizing effect in bringing so many people to drinking places. The Governor, therefore, in this year publicly forbids its use any longer. The Common Council itself, in the year 1704, dated its minutes at an inn and at the Coffee House.

The Indian King tavern in High street near Third street is the oldest inn now in the city, and was in numerous years among the most respectable ; when kept by Mr. Biddle it was indeed a famous house. There the Junto held their club, and assembled such men as Doctor Franklin, Hugh Roberts, Charles Thomson, &c. In the year 1742 it was kept by Peter and Jonathan Robeson.

The Crooked Billet Inn on the wharf above Chesnut street (end of the first alley) was the tavern of longest "uninterrupted succession" in the city, being named in earliest times, but it has ceased its operations as an inn some years past. It was the first house entered in Philadelphia, in 1723, by Doctor Franklin, in his first visit to the city. It then was a more considerable building than afterwards, having then its front upon Water street and extending down to the river.

The Pewter Platter Inn once stood at the corner of Front and Jones' alley: its sign was a large pewter platter. The oddity of the device made it so famous that it gave a lasting name to the alley, to the utter oblivion of Jones' name.

A Mrs. Jones kept a celebrated public house in the old two story house now adjoining the south end of the City Tavern: besides its present front on Second street it had a front towards Walnut street, with a fine green court yard all along that street quite down to Dock creek. At that house Richard Penn and other Governors, Generals and gentry used to be feasted. The tavern was designated by the sign of the Three Crowns.

The present City Tavern adjoining it was erected on the site of two frame buildings\* in the year 1770. It was then made a distinguished eating and boarding house. In later time it took the name of Coffee House, had a portico formed in front, and its former smaller rooms opened into one general front room.

A very noted public house, in the colonial days, was Peg Mullen's "beef-stake house," on the east side of Water street below Wilcox's alley: she was known and visited by persons from Boston to Georgia. Now the house, herself, and all who feasted there, are gone—forever gone! The present aged Colonel Morris says it was the fashionable house of his youthful days. Governor Hamilton and other Governors held their clubs in that house—there the Free Masons met, and most of the public parties and societies. The alley was called "Mullen's alley," and the site was the same where Robert Morris built up his range of stores, on the north side of the Mariners' church.

In the year 1768-9, Mrs. Graydon opened a celebrated boarding house "up Front street," at Drinker's house, at the north corner of Drinker's alley. That house had generally several British and other officers as inmates, and at different times was nearly filled by officers of the 42d Highland and Royal Irish. Baron de Kalb boarded there—Lady More and Lady Susan O'Brien. Sir William Draper too (immortalized by Junius!) was an inmate, and while in Philadelphia was distinguished as a great racket player. At one time he was a resident at Newbern, North Carolina, living among them without display, as if seeking to hide himself from the lash of Junius.

Dibley's tavern was an ancient house of some note in its day, at the east corner of Bank alley and Chesnut street, where Hide now has his dwelling and bookbindery. At that house an event occurred, about the year 1782, sufficiently remarkable for romance: indeed it gave rise to some poetry which I have seen. A man came there to be an upper ostler, having with him a wife and two daughters (young women grown) of great gentility and beauty; and the whole family being in much poverty, made use of the harness room

\* Those two-story frames were once "the timber houses" of Edward Shippen, sen. sold to Samuel Powell, to which family the present Coffee House belongs.

over the stable for their dwelling ! The case was this, viz.—The ostler, on an excursion in Maryland as a horse-jockey, heard of the widow S. as a lady of wealth : by dress and pretensions he succeeded to marry her : he lived extravagantly, and brought the family to ruin. They came to Philadelphia to hide themselves from their former intimates. After trying several expedients without success he began as the ostler to Dibley. The daughters were very pretty and engaging ; one attracted the attentions of a French gentleman who kept his horse at the stable, and he made interest with the father, but the girl saw cause to repel him. To avoid her father's control, she sought a place in Mrs. Dibley's house as a seamstress for a few weeks, and to be concealed from her father's knowledge. She had been there but a day or so, when she was seen accidentally by Mr. M. of Mount Holly, a rich iron-master. He was instantly pleased with her charms ; inquired into her history of the landlady, made overtures of marriage—was accepted—presented the young lady 2000 dollars for wedding preparations—soon he married her and took her to his home in Mount Holly, and being a very popular man, had great entertainments at his mansion—among the rest a great ball in which his bride danced with great grace : her exertions to please and entertain her guests led her into unusual perspiration, and in going into the entry where the air was cool, she took a chill and in five days after her wedding died—being but the seventh week after their acquaintance ! The generous husband was inconsolable ; he fell into frequent convulsions the night of her interment, for she was buried by torchlight after the English manner in solemn pomp.\* After this he took the younger sister under his care, settled a large estate upon her, and she married to advantage. Such singular transitions in one family in so short a time were indeed rare. I have heard all these incidents from a lady who was one of the guests, both at the wedding and at the funeral.

There was, many years ago, a very genteel house of resort in Second street above Spruce street, where only gentry went to drink coffee and to meet company in the afternoons. It was kept by a Mrs. Jokyls, whose daughters were great belles.

The foregoing notices all preceded my personal recollections. Those remembered by me as most conspicuous, 35 years ago, were the St. George and Dragon, at the south west corner of Arch and Second streets : the Indian Queen, by Francis, in south Fourth street above Chesnut street, where Jefferson, in his chamber there, first wrote the celebrated Declaration of Independence—an original paper which I am gratified to say I have seen and handled ; the old fashioned inn owned by Sober, south west corner of Chesnut and Fourth streets, and called the Cross Keys Inn, by Campbell—pulled down to make way for the present Philadelphia Bank—it

\* Mr. M. was a bachelor of about 50, and she was but 18 years of age.

was a house so old, with double hipped roof fronting Fourth street, that they knew no Chesnut street to which to conform its gable end, and fairly set it down close by the gutter side, leaving no proper foot pavement to foot passengers in after years! Another Cross Keys Inn (once Governor Lloyd's dwelling) was kept by Israel Israel at the north east corner of Third and Chesnut streets.

Mrs. Jenkins once kept a famous house in Market above Fourth street; and the Conestoga Inn, by Major Nicolls, in the same neighbourhood, was quite a military and western-men hotel.

There used to be a very old two story frame building used as a public house, called the Black Bear, on the south side of High street about forty yards eastward of Fifth street—it was a great resort for many years of western people and wagons; it stood on elevated ground and had a great wagon yard; it is now all superseded by large modern houses, and the old concern has *back'd out* upon Fifth street.

The George Inn, at the south west corner of Arch and Second streets, so called from its sign of St. George and the Dragon, had at one time the greatest reputation and the biggest landlord in the city. "Mine Host" was Michael Dennison, an Englishman, who made his house at once popular to Britons as a countryman; and to American travelling gentlemen as the great concentration of the Northern and Southern stages. My friend, Lang Syne, has furnished some reminiscences of the inn, its landlord and guests, preserved in my MS. Annals in the Historical Society, page 525, from which I shall take occasion here to insert some lines of poetry made upon Mr. Dennison's quitting the concern and going back to England with his acquired riches—to wit:

*Lines on Michael Dennison.*

His bulk increased by ale and venison,  
 Alas! we soon must lose good Dennison.  
 City of Penn! his loss deplore,—  
 Altho' with *pain*, his bulk you bore!—  
 Michael, farewell! Heaven speed thy course,  
 Saint George take with thee and thy horse;  
 But to our hapless city kind,  
 The watchful Dragon leave behind.—  
 Michael! your wealth and full-spread *frame*,  
 Shall publish Pennsylvania's fame.  
 Soon as the planks beneath you crack,  
 The market shall be hung with black.  
 Michael! her stores might sure content ye,  
 In Britain, none boast greater plenty,  
 The Bank shall with the market join,  
 To weep at once—thee, and thy coin;  
 Thy guineas, ranged in many a pile,  
 Shall swell the pride of Britain's Isle:  
 Whilst England's Bank shall smiling greet,  
 The wealth that came from Chesnut street.

Finally, as a supplement to the whole, the reader is presented with some notices of tavern signs, such as they generally were in times by-gone. Indeed, the character of signs in general were different from things now. The storekeepers as well as taverns hung out their signs to the extremity of the foot pavement: tailors had the sign of the Hand and Shears—druggists the Pestle and Mortar—tobacco sellers showed a Pipe—schoolmasters, a Hand and Pen—blacksmiths, the Hand and Hammer. Among the taverns was Admiral Warren, the Turk's Head, the Rattlesnake, the Queen of Hungary, the Queen's Head, the Blue Lion, and last not least, "the man loaded with mischief." (Carrying a wife on his back) an inn at the corner uniting Little Dock and Spruce streets, north side. In Front street above the Drawbridge was a fine painted sign in fine keeping for a "mirth house,"—a fiddler in good style scraping his instrument "as though it wept and moaned its wasted tones." When the sign of Franklin was set up at Homly's Inn in 1774, at the south west corner of Walnut and Fifth streets, it was supported by this couplet—

"Come view your patriot father! and your friend,  
And toast to freedom, and to slavery's end!"

In conclusion I add the notices of my friend Lang Syne, who manifests some tact in this matter, to wit:

The reminiscence of some gentleman of the "Old School," in the progress of sign painting (not lettering,) in this city for the last 50 years, would be a good subject for a leading article in one of our Magazines.

The first sign I remember to have noticed was one "down town," of a groupe of dogs barking at a full moon, which, smiling down upon them, said

"Ye foolish dogs, why bark ye so,  
When I'm so high, and ye're so low."

Another, in Third street, of Sir Walter Raleigh smoking, his servant throwing water over him, thinking his master to be on fire. Another, of a man "struggling through the world"—(a globe.) These must have been very inferior articles, but at the time, very interesting to my judgment. "Creeping lazily to school," I have often loitered, sometimes looking through the office windows of Squire Fleeson, (north west corner of Chesnut and Fourth streets,) and the shop door of George Rutter, gazing upon the wonders (to me) of his pencil, in a variety of finished and unfinished signs—consequently often "out of time" at the Quaker Academy over the way, for which I was sure to feel "the *flesh creep*" under "the strap," well laid on by old John Todd. How often have I stood viewing the productions of Rutter's pencil, in different parts of the city—his Fox-chase, Stag Hunt—the hounds in full cry. At the north west corner of Third and Market streets

one Brooks had a delightful sign of an Indian Chief, drawing his arrow to the head at a bounding deer. These have all gone with Rutter to "the capulets," or, like Alexander's clay,

"May stop a hole to keep the wind away."

When they first numbered the houses he painted the finger-boards for the corners; one of which, the "last of the Mohicans," may be seen at the corner of Fifth and Spruce streets, (south west) and though nearly defaced by time, forms a contrast to the clumsy hand-boards that succeeded them. The sign of a cock picking up a wheat ear drew the public attention to Pratt, who painted also "the Federal Convention"—a scene within "Independence Hall"—George Washington, President; William Jackson, Secretary; the members in full debate, with likenesses of many of those political "giants in those days"—such as Franklin, Mifflin, Madison, "Bob" Morris, Judge Wilson, Hamilton, &c. This invaluable sign, which should have been copied by some eminent artist, and engraved for posterity, was banded about, like the *casa santa* of Loretto, from "post to pillar," till it located in South street near the Old Theatre. The figures are now completely obliterated by a heavy coat of brown paint, on which is lettered Fed. Con. 1787.

Another observer says the subject is so far from exhausted, that old signs, from various quarters, still crowd upon my remembrance; in particular, I remember a very hideous one of Hudibras, which was placed at a tavern in Second street, at the entrance into the old Barracks, to which was affixed the following couplet:

"Sir Hudibras once rode in state,  
Now sentry stands at Barracks gate."

I am unwilling to leave unnoticed a new edition of one of our ancient subjects for a sign, where it has been continued for a great number of years, at a very old beer house in Chesnut near Front street; it is now, or lately was, the "Turk's Head," but in the former part of last century was "Kouli Khan," when the fame of that conqueror made his portrait a popular sign. In this respect the King of Prussia was once a great favourite, and still maintains his sway in some places, so that I have known a landlord upon the decrease of his custom to again have recourse to the old subject for a sign, that the house was formerly known by, with good success.

## THEATRES.

MUCH opposition was originally made to the introduction of theatrical entertainments into Philadelphia, chiefly by the religious part of the community. From this cause those which were first regularly established, opened their houses just beyond the bounds and control of the city officers. Finally, when it was first attempted to set up the Chesnut street theatre in the city, in 1793, great efforts were made by both parties to get up memorials pro and con.

The earliest mention of theatrical performance occurred in the year 1749, in the month of January. Then the Recorder of the city reported to the Common Council, that certain persons had lately taken upon them to act plays in the city, and, as he was informed, intended to make frequent practice thereof, which, it was to be feared, would be attended with very mischievous effects—such as the encouragement of idleness, and drawing great sums of money from weak and inconsiderate persons, who are apt to be fond of such kind of entertainment, though the performance be ever so mean and contemptible; whereupon the Board unanimously requested the magistrates to take the most effectual measures for suppressing this disorder, by sending for the actors, and binding them to their good behaviour, or by such other means as they should think proper. From the premises it is probable they were Thespians of homemade production, of such untutored genius as had never trod the stage.

In the year 1754 some real Thespians arrived, called “Hallam’s Company” from London, including Mrs. Hallam and her two sons. In the month of March they obtained license to act a few plays in Philadelphia, conditioned that they offered nothing indecent or immoral. In April they opened their “new theatre in Water street”—in a store of William Plumstead’s, corner of the first alley above Pine street. Their first entertainment was the *Fair Penitent*, and *Miss in her Teens*.—Box, 6s. pit, 4s. and gallery, 2s. 6d. said to have been offered “to a numerous and polite audience,”—terms of attraction intended for the next play. In the prologue to the first performance some hints at their usefulness as moral instructors were thus enforced, to wit:

“ Too oft, we own, the Stage with dangerous art,  
In wanton scenes, has play’d a Syren’s part,  
Yet if the Muse, unfaithful to her trust,  
Has sometimes stray’d from what was pure and just ;



Has she not oft, with awful virtuous rage,  
 Struck home at vice, and nobly trod the stage ?  
 Then as you'd treat a favourite Fair's mistake,  
 Pray spare her foibles for her virtue's sake :  
 And whilst her chastest scenes are made appear,  
 (For none but such will find admittance here)  
 The muse's friends, we hope, will join the cause,  
 And crown our best endeavours with applause."

In the mean time those who deemed them an evil to society were very busy in distributing pamphlets gratis, if possible, to write them down. They continued, however, their plays till the month of July.

We hear nothing of this company again till their return in 1759 ; they then came in the month of July to a theatre prepared the year before at the south west corner of Vernon and South streets, called the theatre on " Society Hill." It was there placed on the south side of the city bounds, so as to be out of the reach of city control, by city authorities : and " Society Hill" itself was a name only. Having no laws, great efforts were now made by the Friends and other religious people to prevent plays even there ; much was written and printed pro and con. The Presbyterian Synod, in July, 1759, formally addressed the Governor and Legislature to prevent it. The Friends made their application to Judge William Allen to repress them. His reply was repulsive, saying he had got more moral virtue from plays than from sermons. As a sequel, it was long remembered that the night the theatre opened, and to which he intended to be a gratified spectator, he was called to mourn the death of his wife. This first built theatre was constructed of wood, and is now standing in the form of three dwellinghouses at the corner of Vernon and South streets. The chief players then were Douglass, who married Mrs. Hallam ; the two Hallams, her sons : and Misses Cheer and Morris. Francis Mentges, afterwards an officer in our service, was the dancing performer,—while he danced, he assumed the name of Francis. The motto of the stage was " Totus mundus agit histrionem." F. Mentges had talents above his original profession, and was, in the time of the Revolution, esteemed a good officer.

In the course of ten years these comedians had so far acted themselves into favour as to need more room, and therefore they had got themselves ready, by the year 1760, to open another theatre—a larger building, constructed of wood, situate also in south street, above Fourth street, and still keeping within the line of Southwark and beyond the bounds of city surveillance. The managers were Hallam and Henry.

As a parting measure, in quitting their former theatre for the last mentioned one, they, in 1759, announced their regard to church by proposing to give the play of George Barnwell " at their theatre on Society Hill," as a benefit to the College of Philadelphia,

“for improving the youth in the divine art of psalmody and church music,” meaning thereby to help to buy an organ for the use of the charity children in the old academy.

While the British occupied Philadelphia, they held regular plays in the Southwark theatre, the performers being officers of Howe’s army,—the box tickets at one dollar, and the proceeds used for the widows and orphans of soldiers. Major André and Captain Delancy were the chief scene painters. The waterfall scene, drawn by the former, continued on the curtain as long as that theatre lasted. It was burnt down a few years ago.

When the theatre was erected in Chesnut street in 1793, it received and retained the name of the “New Theatre,” in contradistinction to the Southwark Theatre, which afterwards generally was called the Old Theatre. Mr. Wignell was first manager.

There was a small wooden theatre, about the year 1790, on the wharf up at Noble street; it was turned into a boat shed. “Jack Durang,” as Scaramouch, is all that is remembered by those who saw the company of that day.

The reminiscences of the “Old Theatre” of 1788 to 98, as furnished by my friend Lang Syne, are to the following effect, to wit:

“The Old Theatre (Southwark) was the only theatre with a regular company, and all “Stars,” in the United States, or at that time in the new world. The building, compared with the new houses, was an ugly ill-contrived affair outside and inside. The stage lighted by plain oil lamps without glasses. The view from the boxes was intercepted by large square wooden pillars supporting the upper tier and roof. It was contended by many, at the time, as Mr. James Fortin will testify, that the front bench in the gallery was the best seat in the house for a fair view of the whole stage.

The stage box on the east side was decorated with suitable emblems for the reception of *President* Washington, whenever he delighted the audience by his presence; at which time *The Poor Soldier* was invariably played by his desire. “Old Hallam” prided himself on his unrivalled *Lord Ogleby* in the *Clandestine Marriage*, and *Mungo* in the *Padlock*. “Old Henry” was the pride of the place in *Irishmen*. An anecdote is related of his being one night in a passionate part, and whirling his cane about, when it flew out of his hand into the pit, without doing any damage; on its being handed to him, he bowed elegantly and said, in character, “Faith, whenever I fly in a passion my cane flies too.” Another: that, on being hit with an orange from the gallery, he picked it up, and bowing said, “That’s no Seville (civil) orange.”

A gentleman of this city, known familiarly to the inhabitants generally, as “Nick Hammond,” used to play for his amusement in Jews. Wignell’s *Darby* was always beheld with raptures. Hodgkinson was the universal favourite in *Tragedy*, *Comedy*, *Opera* and *Farce*, and was supposed to be one of the best actors of

of "*All work*," that ever trod the boards. His Robin in No Song No Supper, and Wignell's Darby, in the Poor Soldier, were rivals in the public taste, and have never been equalled here. Does none remember? About this time Wignell and Reinagle being about to build a new theatre, the corner stone of which had been laid at the north west corner of Sixth and Chesnut streets, and Wignell having started "for England," to beat up for theatrical forces, Hallam and Henry made arrangements to retire from "Old South" to New York, where an immense pile of stone work was put up opposite the Park for their reception as a theatre. The old company went out, and the new company came into public notice, in the winter of 1793. The only house on the "tother side of the gutter" at the time, was Oeller's Hotel, which was fired by flames from Ricketts' Circus, (erected some years afterwards,) and both were burnt to the ground one evening.

## CUSTOM HOUSES.



AMONG the earliest remembered Custom Houses, and Collectors of Customs, was William Peters, Esq. uncle of the late Judge Peters; then succeeded Abraham Taylor, Esq.—these kept their offices at their own dwellings. Next followed John Swift, Esq. who had his residence and office in the house now Henry Pratt's, in Front below Race street. He continued in office from the year 1760 to the time of the Revolution. The first Collector after the Revolution was Frederick Phile, who had his office in Second street above Christ church, *vis a vis* the Sorrel Horse Inn. From thence he removed it to the corner of Blackhorse alley and Front street. After this the office was held by Sharp Delany, Esq. who dwelt at the south east corner of Walnut and Chesnut streets, and did the business of the Port of Philadelphia (within my recollection) in his front parlour—these were “the days of small things.” Its next remove was to something greater, to wit: to “Ross’ buildings”—a collection of two or three good houses on the east side of Front street below Walnut street. As business increased, the government of the United States finally determined on building the present large Custom House in south Second street. In providing for that location they pulled down a large expensive house, not long built there by Doctor Hunter, as a Laboratory, &c.

There was a tradition that the very old buildings which till lately stood on Walnut street, at the south east corner of Third and Walnut streets, had been “the old Custom House,” but I never had any facts to sustain the idea.

## BANKS.



“Gold imp'd by thee can compass greatest things!”

OUR city enjoys the pre-eminence in this department of finance, as having been the first city in the Union to establish a Bank. The first permanent Bank was that of the North America in Chesnut street. although it is also true that there was an earlier one called “the Bank of Pennsylvania,” established by some patriotic gentlemen in 1780, for the avowed temporary purpose of “supplying the army of the United States with provisions for two months”—creating thereby a specie subscription of 300,000£. by about ninety persons, and the two highest subscriptions by Robert Morris and Blair M'Clenachan—10,000£. each. The particulars of this Bank may be seen in Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania, vol. 2d. p. 259.

The Bank of North America, founded in 1781 by Congress, began its career of specie with coin sent out from France, at the instance of Robert Morris, by Mr. De Chaumont. It was landed at Boston. This fact was told to me by Mrs. Morris not long since. She also told me that the same generous friend, Mr. De Chaumont, extended to her an annual pension, by which she was enabled to live without assistance from others. From the government her husband had so nobly served she received no succours.

On page 248 of my MS. Annals in the City Library, is an exhibition of a small “one penny bill” of the Bank of North America, of the year 1789. It is to be sure a small exhibit of a National Bank, but it had much greater concerns; and its history as an eventual restorer of sound credit and a good circulating medium, is already familiar to the public. The little bill reads—

“The President and Directors of the Bank of North America promise to pay to the bearer on demand one ninetieth of a dollar. August, 1789.

TENCH FRANCIS, *Cashier.*”

The next Bank, the Pennsylvania, was originally located in Lodge alley (the same now called Bank street) in a three story double front brick house, which had once been a distinguished lodging house by Mrs. Sword and Mrs. Brodeau. To rear the present stately marble Bank, they pulled down several houses which had themselves once enjoyed the reputation of “great things” in their early day. The facts concerning them is all that is intended in this notice, to wit:

On Second street, on the south west corner of Lodge alley, stood

D. Griscom's house, of antiquated construction, called in an old Almanac "the first built house of brick erected in Philadelphia:"\* adjoining to it, southward, stood the house of James Logan, jun. bought of Thomas Storey, who derived it from the first owner, Edward Shippen, sen. It was a large house of double front, and a great display of dormer windows. These two buildings occupied the whole present front of the Bank. The latter had "the privilege of the wharf on the dock, at Dock creek, forever!" On the Lodge alley, westward of the former Bank there, stood the Masonic Lodge. The house which had been Shippen's and Storey's was thus described in 1707-8, by Samuel Preston, in his letter to Jonathan Dickinson, then in Jamaica, to wit: "In choosing thee a house I am most inclined to Thomas Storey's—it adjoins to David Lloyd's, [originally Griscom's, "directly opposite to Norris'" slate house]—it is most like Edward Shippen's, [where is now Waln's row] but larger—a story higher, and neatlier finished, with garden out-houses, &c. [down to Dock creek] and I know it will suit, or none in Philadelphia. The rent is prodigious high—he asks 70£. I offer 50£. and rather than fail will give 10£. more."

The present Girard's Bank, built originally for the first Bank of the United States, was erected upon what had been the rear of Pemberton's fine garden, upon ground much lower than the present Third street.

The Philadelphia Bank occupies the site of an old inn called the Cross Keys, an antiquated house, with double hipped roof, fronting on Fourth street, and having a range of stables at the Fourth street side. It had a heavy brick portico at the front door, and the house stood out far upon the Chesnut street pavement.

Where the present Bank of the United States now stands, was once Norris' house and gardens, once much distinguished as a beautiful place "out of town."

\* Leed's Almanac, printed by W. Bradford, New York, 1694, says it is now 11 years since Andrew Griscom built the first brick house in Philadelphia.

## NORTH END.



IN early times, "North End" was the common name given to the Northern Liberties, when having its only road out Front street. In the present notice it will include the region of Cohocksinc creek over to Kensington, and westward over the former Campington. The object is to bring back to the mind's eye "its face of nature, ere banished and estranged" by improvement.

The whole region was originally patented to Jurian Hartsfielder, in 1676, by Governor Andros of New York government. In ten years afterwards he sold out to D. Pegg his whole 350 acres, extending from Cohocksinc creek, his northern line, to Pegg's run, his southern line. That part beyond Cohocksinc, northward, which came under Penn's patent, was bought, in 1718, by J. Dickinson—say 945 acres—at 26s. 8d. sterling, and extending from the present Fairhill estate over to Bush Hill. Part of the same estate has been known in more modern times as "Masters' estate and farm," and some of it is now in possession of Turner Camac, Esq. who married Masters' daughter.

The primitive state of the North End near the Cohocksinc creek, is expressed in a petition, of the year 1701, of the country inhabitants (115 in number) of Germantown, Abington, &c. praying the Governor and Council for a settled road into the city, and alleging that "they have lately been obliged to go round new fences, from time to time set up in the road by Daniel Pegg and Thomas Sison,"\* for that as they cleared their land, they drove the travellers out into uneven roads and very dangerous for carts to pass upon. They therefore pray "a road may be laid out from the corner of Sison's fence straight over the creek [meaning the Cohocksinc, and called also Stacey's creek] to the corner of John Stacey's field, and afterwards to divide into two branches—one to Germantown and the other to Frankford." They add also that Germantown road is most travelled—taking thereby much lime and meal from three mills, with much malt, and a great deal of wood, timber, &c. At the same time they notice the site of the present "long stone bridge and causeway over to Kensington, by saying "they had measured the road that is called the Frankford road, over the long bridge from about the then part of the tobacco

\* This name was spelt Tison in another place.

field, to a broad stone upon Thomas Sison's hill near his fence, and find it to be 380 perches, and from thence to the lower corner of John Stacey's field to the aforesaid tobacco field 372 perches, beside (along) the meadow and creek by John Stacey's field, and of the latter we had the disadvantage of the woods, having no line to go by, and finding a good road all the way and very good fast lands." I infer from this petition (now in the Logan collection) that they desired the discontinuance of the then road over the long bridge to Frankford,\* and that both Germantown and Frankford might be in one, until they passed over the Cohocksinc creek on the present Germantown road, and then the Frankford road should diverge "by as near a road, having fast land all along."

A letter of Robert Fairman's, of the 30th of 8 mo. 1711, to Jonathan Dickinson, speaks of his having a portion of 13 acres of his land next the Coxon creek (Cohocksinc) and in Shackamaxo.† In another letter of the 12th of 3 mo. 1715, he says "the old road and the bridge to it being so decayed and dangerous for passengers, my brother Thomas, with Thomas Masters, and others, thought it proper to move your court for a new road, which being granted, a new bridge was made and the road laid out, and timber for the bridge was cut from my plantation next the creek: but not being finished before my brother Thomas died, has been since laid aside and the old bridge and road are repaired and used—thus cutting through that land of mine and his, so as to leave it common and open to cattle, &c. notwithstanding the new road would have been a better route. This has proceeded from the malice of some who were piqued at my brother."

In the year 1713, the Grand Jury, upon an inspection of the state of the causeway and bridge over the Cohocksinc, on the road leading to "the Governor's mill"—where is now Craig's manufactory—recommend that a tax of one pence per pound be laid "to repair the road at the new bridge by the Governor's mill, and for other purposes." In 1739 the said mill took fire and was burnt down. It was thought it occurred from the wadding of guns fired at wild pigeons.

This mill seems to have been all along an ill adventure; for James Logan, in 1702, speaking of the Governor's two mills, says "those unhappy expensive mills have cost since his departure upwards of 200 in dry money. They both go these ten days. The "Town Mill," (now Craig's place) after throwing away 150*l.* upon her, does exceeding well, and of a small one is equal to any in the province." The other mill alluded to was at Chester.

In 1739, Mrs. Mary Smith with her horse were both drowned

\* It is possible, however, that the long bridge may have been one on piles directly out Front street as it now runs—as such piles were there in my youth, and a narrow causeway. It was either the remains of old time, or it had been made by the British army when they flooded that land.

† Thus determining, as I presume, that Shackamaxon began at Cohocksinc creek, and went up to Gunner's creek.



“near the long bridge in the Northern Liberties.” “’Twas supposed it occurred by her horse attempting to drink at that place where the water is very deep.” At the same causeway was quicksand, in which a horse and chair and man all sunk!

When the long stone bridge was built, in 1790, (its date is marked thereon and done by Souders) they came, at the foot of the foundation, to several curiosities, described to me by those who saw them, to wit:—a hickory hand-cuff, perfectly sound—several leaden weights, for weighing—a quantity of copper farthings, and a stone hollowed out like a box, and having a lid of the same.

Old Mr. Wager (the father of the present Wagers) and Major Kisell have both declared, that as much as 60 to 65 years ago they had seen small vessels with falling masts go up the Cohocksinc creek with grain, to the Globe mill—the same before called the Governor’s mill. Old Captain Potts, who lived near there, told me the same thing when I was a boy.

While the British army occupied Philadelphia, in the year 1777 and ’78, they dammed in all the Cohocksinc meadows, so as to lay them all under water from the river, and thus produced to themselves a water barrier of defence in connection with their line of redoubts across the north end of the city. Their only road and gate of egress and ingress northward, was at the head of Front street where it parts to Germantown, and by Kensington to Frankford.

On the 29th of July, 1824, the course of the Cohocksinc creek was overwhelmed with the heaviest and most sudden torrent of rain ever before remembered. The water rested four feet on the lower floor of Craig’s factory. White’s dwelling house had nine inches depth on its lower floor. It flowed four feet above the crown of the arch of the bridge at Second street. All this unprecedented flood was occasioned by three hours of rain at midnight. The general desolation that was presented at daylight will be long remembered by those who witnessed it.

Formerly the Delaware made a great inroad upon the land at the mouth of the Cohocksinc, making there a large and shallow bay, extending from Point Pleasant down to Warder’s long wharf, near Green street. It is but about 30 years since the river came up daily close to the houses on Front and Coates’ street, and at Coates’ street the dock there, made by Budd’s wharfed yard, came up to the line of Front street. All the area of the bay (then without the present street east of Front street, and having none of the wharves now there) was an immense plane of spatterdocks, nearly out to the end of Warder’s wharf, and on a line to Point Pleasant. The lower end of Coates’ street was then lower than now; and in freshets the river laid across Front street. All the ten or twelve houses north of Coates’ street, on the east side, were built on made-ground, and their little yards were supported with wharflogs, and bush-willows as trees. The then mouth of Cohocksinc

was at a wooden drawbridge, then the only communication to Kensington, which crossed at Leib's house opposite to Poplar lane; from thence a raised causeway ran across to Point Pleasant. The stone bridge north of it, leading to Kensington, was not then in existence. On the outside of this causeway the river covered, and spatterlocks grew, and on the inside there was a great extent of marshy ground alternately wet and dry, with the ebbing and flowing of the tide; the creek was embanked on the east side. The marsh was probably 200 feet wide where the causeway at the stone bridge now runs. The branch of this creek which run up to the Globe mill, [on the place now used as Craig's cotton manufactory] was formerly deeper than now. Where it crosses Second street, at the stone bridge north of Poplar lane, there was in my time a much lower road, and the river water, in time of freshets, used to overflow the low lots on each side of it. The houses near the causeway, and which were there 30 years ago, are now one story buried under ground. The marsh grounds of Cohocksinc used to afford good shooting for woodcock and snipe, &c. The road beyond, "being Front street continued," and the bridge thereon, is all made over this marsh within the last 16 years; also, the road leading from the stone bridge across Front to Second street—the hill, to form that road, has been cut down full 20 to 25 feet, and was used to fill up the Front street causeway to the York road, &c. The region of country to the north of this place and of Globe mill, over to Fourth street mill-dam, was formerly all in grass commons, without scarcely a single house or fence thereon, and was a very great resort for shooting kill-dear and snipe. It was said the British had burned up all the former fences, and for many years afterwards no attempt was made to renew them. On these commons bullbaiting sometimes occurred, and many military trainings. None of the present ropewalks were then there: but one run where Poplar lane now lies, from Front to Second street—that not having been a street till within 25 years ago. The British redoubts remained till lately—one on the Delaware bank in a line with the stone-bridge street—then no houses were near it; now it is all built up, and streets are run where none were seen. The next redoubt, west, stood in an open grass lot of Captain Potts, on Second street and in front of where St. John's Methodist church now stands.—[John street was not then run there.] Another redoubt stood on Poplar lane and corner of Fifth street,—another back of Bush Hill house, and another was on Fair Mount,—another on the hill south of High street, where the Waterworks were located. All the Cohocksinc marsh is now filled up and built upon, and an immense long wharf and a bridge from it is made to join a street to Kensington.

There was a creek or inlet of water, as told to me by the aged John Brown, which went up from the river at the north side of Coates' street and Front street, and thence westward over Second

street at midway from Coates' to Brown street (named after this Brown, who is a large owner) up to the south side of Coates' burial ground. Up this creek he has gone in a boat as high as Second street, and gathered wild plums from small trees which overhung the sides of it; this was only done in times of floods. At the burial place were several springs; and all the vaults there have sinks in them to drain off the water. He gave it as his opinion that several springy pieces of ground lay under the present St. John's church there.

From Coates' street to 200 feet up Front street, it used to be formerly overflowed from the river, even after the causeway there was formed. John Brown has seen boys many times ferrying passengers up and down Front street in times of springtides. Before the causeway was formed spatterdocks grew there, and the tide flowed in there as high as Budd street.

I remember that when the present Butler's row, near the said creek, was built, the cellar foundations were begun upon the then surface, and the ground was then filled up around them one story high. Between this low ground and Coates' street was a descending hill, and on that hill, a friend, aged 56 years, tells me they used to dig deep pits, in his boyhood, in search of pirates' money. The same they did also at Pegg's run from Front to Third street.

At the spot of ground east of Oak street, and on the north side of what was called Warder's wharf, then a water dock for vessels, (now firm ground) a young woman of good connections was drove into the river there at night and stoned and drowned by some miscreants who had abused her person. It occurred about 35 years ago, and the perpetrators have never since been found out. It was then a very forlorn place at night.

There were no wagon-pavements in any part of the Northern Liberties till within the last 25 years, and in many streets within 10 years: several of the present streets were not even run, and of course there were no houses built. Thus Fourth, Fifth and Sixth streets from Vine or Pegg's run out to the Germantown road are all opened, and the bridges built thereon, and the low grounds filled up (some places running over deep brick-kiln ponds and gullies, &c.) within the last 12 and 16 years. The market houses from Coates' street to Poplar lane, were only begun 26 years ago, and the northern end was finished within 10 years. The Presbyterian church, at the corner of Coates' and Second streets, and the Episcopal at the corner of St. John street, and the Methodist church at the north end of St. John street, are all within 18 years. The Baptist church, now on Budd street near Noble street, is placed on a street now opened down to Vine street, which was not even run (and when it did, it ran down some small houses) 16 years ago. Old Fourth street was, indeed, an old road, and was called the Old York Road before the Revolution.

Within 55 years the whole of Third street from Noble lane up to Coates' street, out westward from thence, was all in grass lots, commons, or ponds. At the north east corner of Green and Old Fourth streets was a great skating pond, and near it, towards Third street, was another. Ponds were also beyond Fourth street. These had been dug out for bricks in former years. The Northern Liberties were incorporated in 1803.

Mr. John Brown told me that all the lots on the western side of Second street, from Green to Coates' street, were originally let for lower ground rents than will pay the present taxes, so that they were virtually lost to the primitive owners.

Thomas Bradford spoke of his sometimes visiting what was called Coates' woods; they consisted of 4 or 5 acres, near about the present Coates' burial ground, at the south east corner of Brown and Third streets. The most of it was cut down by the late Colonel Coates, for pocket money, when he was young. Another aged gentleman, W. W. informed me that he used to go out to the neighbourhood of Robin Hood, on Poplar lane, to gather chesnuts and hickory nuts, there being there plenty of such trees when he was a youth—say 65 years ago. Mr. John Brown said that in his youth the woods thereabout were so far primitive and wild, as that he and other boys used to go there of nights with a dog to tree raccoons, and then shake them off to let the dog seize them.

In 1741 Thomas Penn laid out the plot up town, at Callowhill street and Cabal lane, for a market house and town, and endeavoured to have the adjacent lots sold. "Arbuckle's Row," along Callowhill street, and the market houses were made in consequence, but none of them answered. It was then a speculation too far off from Philadelphia!

In 1743 the scheme was also first projected of making a Second street over Pegg's marsh—called then "the Swamp"—but it did not quickly take.

## SOUTH END & SOCIETY HILL.



THE southern section of the city, although incorporated nine years earlier than the Northern Liberties—say in 1794—did not make such rapid improvements. About the new market square the change, as a place of business, has been greatest, occasioned in part by the lengthening of the market house, building it up from Lombard street to Pine street, and by the increase of wealthy population out Pine and other southern streets. Thirty-five years ago no dry-goods, hardware, or fancy stores, as now there, were then seen. Twenty-five years ago none of the streets below South street running westward, were laid out beyond Fifth street; and Catharine and Queen streets were only laid out as far as Second street. All beyond was commons or fenced lots. The south western part of the city was always a *wooden town*, with a surplus population of the baser sort; and the general level of the ground there was lower than the general level now required for Southwark, especially all that part lying south of Pine street and westward of Sixth street. Numerous houses still there show the streets now raised above their door sills one or two steps. Toward the river side, however, the ground was high, so much so, that along Swanson street from below Almond street, the oldest houses now remaining there show themselves much higher than the present level of the street. From this cause the old house at the south west corner of Swanson and Almond streets may be seen to have its original cellar, once under ground, now at least ten feet out of ground; and several houses now on western side of Swanson street, below there, may be seen to have a high ascent of steps. Similar notices may be made of houses north of Catharine and Queen streets, which show that their doors, once on the ground floor, are now in their second stories. The same, too, may be seen of houses in Front and Penn streets below South street. At one time a great portion of the south western end of Southwark belonged to Edward Shippen. In the year 1730, after his death, his estate was advertised as containing “240 acres on the south side of said city.”

Southwark, especially in the neighbourhood of the present market house, by Pine and South streets, was so new and unsettled as late as the year 1767, that then we see public advertisement is made by Joseph Wharton and others, proposing to *bestow* lots “for the promotion of religion, learning, and industry,” and, *sub rosa*, to

benefit themselves, by making grants of lots for school houses, meeting houses, and market houses; saying also, that the market place was already fixed upon, having a length of 1200 feet, and a width of 100 feet.

By this fact we learn the measures which were taken to hasten the improvement of the South End, and to convert the former commons of Society Hill into something more productive to the landholders.\* Before this time it had been the locality for field trainings or for field preachings, and before Penn street was formed through the high bluff formerly along the line of that street, the flag staff possessed the ground a little north of South street, to designate the Water Battery which lay at the base of the bank.

As late as the year 1750 there was a place called "the Vineyard" and sometimes "Stanly," [William Stanly was an original purchaser of 5000 acres,] which belonged then to Edward Jones, and contained  $8\frac{1}{2}$  acres of meadow, orchard and garden, having its garden front on the south side of South street, not far from Second street, an abundance of cherries and peaches, and a spacious house with a piazza on its eastern and southern sides.

Anthony Cuthbert, Esq. now aged, remembers when woods were general in Southwark from Third and Fourth streets to Schuylkill, and when a ropewalk extended from Almond street and Second street westward. Mrs. H. S. now 78, remembers gathering whortleberries at the new market place, and blackberries at the corner of Pine and Fourth streets.

"Society Hill," a name once so prevalent for all the region south of Pine street, even down to the Swedes' church, has been discontinued for the last 60 or 70 years. In olden time we used to read of "Cherry Garden on Society Hill," the "Friends' Meeting on Society Hill," the "Theatre (in 1759) on Society Hill," "George Wells' place on Society Hill, near the Swedes' church," &c. The name, we take for granted, was derived from the "Free Society of Traders," who originally owned all the land "from river to river, lying between Spruce and Pine streets," including of course part of the prominent hill once a knoll at and about Pine and Front streets. The aged Thomas Bradford, however, suggests that it took its name from the Welsh Society of Landholders, who, he says, once had a residence there in a large long building made by them. As I never met with any other mention of such a Society and building, I can only speak of it as his opinion.

\* Mr. Powell, who dwelt there about that time, to encourage the establishment of the market there, used to give out he would buy all the butter which should be left unsold on market days. His ancestor, Samuel Powell, built the row of houses on the north side of Pine street, east of Second street; and although three stories, they brought but 15£. rent, seventy years ago!

## WESTERN COMMONS, &c.



WITHIN the short period of 35 years of the memory of the writer, the progress of change and improvement in the western bounds of the city have been very great. If we take a survey of that section of the city lying south of Walnut street and westward of sixth street, we shall say that it does not exceed 25 years since all the houses out Walnut street were built, a still shorter period for those out Spruce street, and still later than either out Pine street. Before the houses were built they were generally open commons, clothed with short grass for cows and swine, &c.

When the Roman Catholic church, at the corner of Sixth and Spruce streets was built, it was deemed far out of town,—a long and muddy walk, for there were then no streets paved near to it, and no houses were then nigh. From this neighbourhood to the Pennsylvania Hospital, then having its front of access on its eastern gate, was quite beyond civilization. There were not streets enough marked through the waste lots in the western parts of the city to tell a traveller on what square he was travelling. Jamestown weeds and briars then abounded.

We shall be within bounds to say, that 25 years ago so few owners enclosed their lots towards Schuylkill, that the street roads of Walnut, Spruce, and Pine streets, &c. could not be traced by the eye beyond Broad street, and even it was then known but upon paper drafts. Roads traversed the commons at the convenience of the traveller; and brick kilns and their ponds were the chief enclosures or settlements that you saw. The whole area, however, was very verdant and of course agreeable in summer.

The ground forming the square from Chesnut street to Walnut street, and from Sixth to Seventh streets, was all a grass meadow under fence, down to the year 1794,\* when it was sold out for the benefit of the Gilpin and Fisher families. On the Chesnut street side it was high, and had steps of ascent cut into the bank, and across it went a footpath as a short cut to the Almshouse out Spruce street; towards the Walnut street side, the ground declined, so as in winter to form a little ice-pond for the skaters near the north west corner of Sixth and Walnut streets. On page 238 of

\* Persons of but 60 years of age, remember it when they were accustomed as boys to gather blackberries there.

my MS. Annals in the City Library, is a picture of a military parade as seen there in 1795, and showing that then there was nothing but open field—the fences being then removed. The only houses to be seen, were the low brick building once the Logan Library, on Sixth street—in 1793 made an asylum for the orphans,—and the Episcopal Academy, built in 1780, on Chesnut street, *vis a vis* the Arcade, converted afterwards into Oeller's hotel. About the year 1797 or 8, "Rickett's Circus," of brick, was constructed upon the south west corner of Chesnut and Sixth streets, which burnt down in 1799. As it stood *vis a vis* the Chesnut street Theatre, and combined theatrical farces, it excited rivalry. The Theatre, to cast the Circus into ridicule used to exhibit "scrub races," and performances, called "Across the Gutter."

At the south east corner of Seventh and Chesnut streets, where Wain's house was afterwards erected, stood an old red painted frame house, looking strangely to the eye, by being elevated at its ground floor full fifteen feet higher than the common level of the street. By cutting through the street there, the whole cellar stood exposed, and the house was got up to by a coarse flight of steps on the outside of the house. The next square beyond, westward, was Norris' pasture lot, where the boys sometimes made their battle ground—afterwards made into Morris' square, to ruin him in the erection of an intended palace. On the north west corner of Chesnut and Seventh streets was a high grass lot in a rail fence extending half-way to Eighth street. Except one or two brick houses at the corner of Eighth street, you met not another house to Schaykill.

There were no houses built out Arch or Race street, save here and there a mean low box, of wood, beyond Sixth street,—of course no pavements, but wide ranges of grass commons "close cropt by nibbling sheep." None of the present regular and genteel rows in long lines of uniformity, were known there beyond 25 years ago; and those now beyond Tenth street are the fabric of the last ten years.

'Tis but lately that about sixty large houses have been constructed by William Sansom, Esq. and others, at the place called Palmyra Square, out Vine street beyond Tenth street. Twenty years ago, or even fifteen, to have made such an investment of capital would have been deemed gross folly, but now such is the march of improvement westward, that the houses are all occupied, and the whole is fairly united to what was before the older city.

From the west side of Fourth street north of Vine street out to Spring Garden, except a row of two story brick houses called the "Sixteen Row" on the present Crown street, there was not to be seen a single house, nor any line of a street,—it was all green commons, without any fences any where, till you got among the butchers at Spring Garden, where they formed a little village *far*



off by themselves. From the corner of Vine and Sixth streets the commons was traversed to Pegg's run in a north easterly direction by a deep and wide ravine—the same route in which a concealed tunnel is now embedded.

Finally, we shall close this article by some of the observations and musings of Robert Proud the historian, made by him in the year 1787, as he made his walk over these western ranges, at a period anterior to those scenes and impressions, which I have also attempted to trace. They may afford some interest by their comparison with things now. Withal it comes to us like the visit of an old friend, and leaves us almost the only specimen we have from the historian—of the picturesque or sensitive, to wit :

In the afternoon of the 18th of 8 mo. 1787, I left the place of my usual residence in Fifth street, about three o'clock in the afternoon; I went up Arch street two or three squares, from which, turning up to Race street, I passed between the brick-kilns and Byrns', then turning to the right I proceeded directly to Vine street, or the north boundary of the city plan, which led me westward to near the place called Bush Hill, formerly the property of Governor Hamilton, where, opposite to his former mansion house, I went over the fence, and stood and sometimes walked under a grove of trees for about a quarter of an hour.

Here I contemplated a small water-course which run pleasantly under these trees, near Vine street, south of Hamilton's house, and which, as far as I could here observe, came hither from the north east through some low meadows, and in appearance might probably originate somewhere about John Pemberton's ground, near Wissahiccon road, westward of Joseph Morris' old villa. From the place where I now was, this stream runs west, southward, to the Schuylkill, being increased in its passage by some springs issuing from the high grounds about Bush Hill and Springetsbury, &c. but wasting nearly in proportion.

I thence passed on within the fence, in Hamilton's meadow, to the western boundary of the field, and westward of the house; from thence turning north I kept that course, between Springetsbury and Bush Hill, along the eastern side of the fence, or Hamilton's western boundary, where grew many plants, shrubs, bushes, wild flowers, &c. watered by a small stream, issuing from the springs in the higher grounds, a little above, northward,—here I broke off a sprig of American willow, observing along the water-course a variety of plants and wild flowers, and raising divers wild fowl on passing along, till I ascended the high ground, north-westward from Hamilton's house aforesaid. From thence turning round on the right hand above, or northward of the place where the gardens formerly belonging thereto used to be, I directed my course towards the east, observing, as before, many plants and flowers in bloom.

But what more particularly drew my notice and reflection in this place, was, in observing the ground formerly occupied by pleasant large gardens, walks, groves and woods, now all naked and desolate, without a tree, and laid in common, like a barren wilderness or desert, heightened by the sight of the ruins at the place called the Vineyard, near the same—the woods entirely gone, fences down, the garden places covered with wild shrubs and bushes, and joined to the common ground, a kind

of general desolation! &c, a few years ago exhibiting a very different appearance to me, when I have visited those then pleasant places, &c. now affording cause of solemn reflection on the transitoriness and uncertainty of human affairs, besides the neglectful management of the present owner, which may properly bear such strictures as at present I forbear to make.

Passing along, eastward, through divers fields now laid in commons, fences down, &c. I directed my course towards the city, here in full view from one end of it to the other, appearing, as it were, under or lower than my feet,—a beautiful prospect; thence going right forward over divers fields, I came to John Pemberton's ground in a lower situation, where I stood awhile to look about and consider where I was; for at first I did not know, though I had often been here many years ago; so great a change had taken place, even in this part of the vicinity of Philadelphia, &c. In this ground I noticed a spring of water which I had formerly observed when here; this spring in its course from its fountain forms a pretty large stream running towards the city, to a still lower ground; I followed it till I came to a low place, where it divides into two. One stream manifestly appeared to me to run south westward towards Schuylkill, as before observed, south of Hamilton's house or Bush Hill, and the other, eastward to the Delaware, neither of them appearing to have much fall or descent, except the former, where it approaches near Schuylkill. I followed the latter through divers fields, till I came near the brick-kilns before observed, when this stream, crossing the Wissahiccon road, forms what is called Pegg's run, and falls into Delaware river northward of the city plan.

From my observation it appeared to me, that probably by means of these two streams, and other circumstances, which two streams manifestly appear to form at present one water-course between the two rivers, aided by other springs issuing from the high lands about Bush Hill and Springetsbury, &c. a very useful canal of water might easily be effected, and that without very much expense, to the great future utility of the city and vicinity in divers respects, all the way or space between the two rivers, at or near the boundary of the city plan, where the ground is lowest.

From this place I came home by David Rittenhouse's new dwelling, north west corner of Arch and Eighth streets; after this I immediately wrote these notes,—this in the space of an hour and an half nearly, slowly walking, and sometimes standing.

## SPRINGS.

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“Yet often from the spring the draught is sought,
Which here to all doth freely flow unbought.”

MACKIN'S POEM—1729.

PENN expressed his surprise, when here, at our numerous brooks, and added besides, “There are mineral waters, which operate like *Barnet and North Hall*, that are not two miles from Philadelphia.” Gabriel Thomas too, in his description of 1698, speaks probably of the same springs, saying: “Not two miles from the metropolis are purging waters that pass by siege and urine, all out as good as Epsom.” The idea of some good springs about the city was also expressed in the motto above, from Thomas Mackin's Latin poem, descriptive of Philadelphia in 1729. At this day none have any knowledge of any existing springs, and almost as little of any that are past. When Dr. Bond came to Philadelphia to settle as a physician in 1734, he found such fine chalybeates near the city as to attract his admiration; and it is known that he gave much encouragement to their free use by the sick and infirm.

Having never been able to find one person who had any idea of the location of any of the springs so clearly referred to in the above citations, I have felt myself stimulated to find out, if possible, all and every case of springs, at any time formerly known to the ancients. I give the following facts, to wit:

“The Mineral Springs” I presume to have been the same found at “Bath town,” in the Northern Liberties, and at a run a little this side of “Lemon Hill” seat, near the Schuylkill. The latter at present excites little or no attention; the former was brought into much celebrity by the influence of Dr. Kearsley. In the year 1765, we see an advertisement of John White and wife, who advertise their bath at the town of Bath, saying they will provide refreshments for those who visit it; and they hope, from the virtues of the water, to answer the salutary purposes which the Founder [Dr. Kearsley,] originally intended. Their house at that day stood on a pleasant farm, called White's farm, having about the house a grove of grateful shade—itsself on a green bank gently declining into the Cohocksinc creek. The house was sometimes called the “Rose of Bath,” because of the sign of a *rose* attached to the house. The house is now standing, dismantled of all its former rural and attractive charms, a two story brick building, on the next lot north of the Methodist church in St. John street; and the spring, now obliterated, once flowed on the south side of that church, on ground

now converted into a tanyard by Pritchett, nearly due east from the Third street stone bridge. The spring, over which Dr. Kearsley had erected a bath house, stood about twenty to twenty-five feet west from the line of St. John street, on the southern side of the tanyard, as I have been told. I mention the location with such particularity, that it may at some day cause a better speculation for some of our citizens, to revive it there by digging or boring, than that of "Jacob's Well" at New York. "The town of Bath," so imposing in name, never existed but on charts. It was a speculation once to make a town there, but it did not take.

Under the article "Pegg's Run" I have already spoken largely of an extraordinary spring there, the property of Prosper Martin, which is also of purging quality, though not a chalybeate, throwing out sixty thousand gallons of water a day! This also was near the line of St. John street.

Bathsheba's "Spring and Bower," sometimes called "Bath and Bower," near the junction of Little Dock and Second streets, has been described elsewhere under the article "Loxley's House."

Dock creek in early days abounded with springs, and I have been able to trace as many as three of them on the western side, to wit: At Morris' brewery, now called Abbott's, at the junction of Pear street and Dock street, there is now a spring arched over, which has a vault from it into the great tunnel. The fact was told to me by Timothy Matlack, who had it so covered in his early days, when once concerned in that brewery. They once esteemed their beer as surpassing that of any in the city, from the use of that spring, which they then concealed and kept a secret. It stood twenty feet east from the east end of the brewhouse premises, and fifteen feet back from the street. With such a guide I was afterwards enabled to detect some issues from it in the cellar of the eating-house now on the place.

The late aged Owen Jones, Esq. told me he remembered a spring in the cellar of a brewhouse on the western side of Dock street, nearly opposite the present Custom House.

There was formerly an excellent and much used spring on the west side of Dock creek, nearly due west from the Drawbridge. It may now be found under a platform in the area of the cellar door appertaining to the stone house late of Levi Hollingsworth. John Townsend, an aged Friend, who died four or five years ago, told me, when in his 78th year, that he well remembered when the spring was open, and was much visited by boatmen, to take in their water for sea voyages. It had seats around it, and some shade trees about it. Thomas Brown, a Friend, afterwards built the stone house there, having previously built a frame house in front of it, which was pulled down, as lying beyond the proper line of the street.

The present aged Colonel A. J. Morris, now ninety years of age, told me he well remembered the spring which he presumed gave

name to "Spring Garden." He saw it in his youth when there was no village there, but so much in nature's wildness, that he hunted birds' nests, and got stung by some hornets, whose nests he was inspecting. At that time he knew an elderly lady who told him that when she was young she and other company used to go up Pegg's run, then beautifully rural, and lined with shrubbery,* going in a boat up to the spring at its source, and there drinking their tea and making their regale in a place of great rural attraction. As early as the year 1723, I observe "the house and land called Spring Garden, well known to most people, is offered for sale by Dr. Francis Gandovet."

In the year 1773 the citizens were much excited to the admiration of a fine mineral spring accidentally discovered on the lot of ground at the north east corner of Chesnut and Sixth streets, now the premises of P. S. Duponceau, Esq. It was then pronounced, "from many accurate experiments then made, to exceed in strength any chalybeate in the country." While it enjoyed its fame many were supposed to have been benefited, but in a little while they discovered it owed its character to the remains of a sunken pit.

The present aged Joseph Crukshank told me he was shown by the aged Mr. Pearson, formerly City Surveyor, where a creek run into the Schuylkill, somewhere nigh or between Pine and South street. It was then dry and partially filled up. But, he believes, his kinsman, who now occupies a steam engine at the corner of Pine and Schuylkill Seventh street, derives his well-water from the hidden springs of that creek, as they have a surprising supply even when the wells around have generally failed.

The house of Christopher Marshall, in Carter's alley, north side, has had a good spring in its cellar, even from its foundation. And his daughter, Mrs. Haines, told me that the well of the pump on Chesnut street, a little west of Second street, had such a peculiar character many years ago, that Mr. West, at Vine street, who salted up provisions, used to send there for the water used in pickling his meat.

There was a powerful spring, now covered with a pump, at the corner of Dock street and Go-forth alley, in the rear of the Bank of Pennsylvania. It was discovered about 35 years ago, in digging there a pump-well. All the ground was alluvial to the depth of 28 feet, and no appearance of water; but in striking in the spade below that depth, still in alluvial soil, the water spouted up powerfully, and rose so rapidly, to 15 feet, that they could never pump it dry enough to be able to build the well wall. The spring was excellent. Mr. Thomas Dixey, who told me these facts, then had a wooden curb sunk, and settled a brick wall in it.

* Some scrubby remains of these I can even remember in my time; and along the race of Craig's factory, and at his dam, the usual water bank shrubbery abounded, such as alder and rose bushes.

GARDENS.



UNDER this head we shall present slight notices of places conspicuous in their day, as places of observation or resort.

The garden belonging to Isaac Norris at Fairhill, was kept up in fine cultivation as early as the year 1718. F. D. Pastorius, who was himself distinguished at Germantown as a *terri cultore*, gives the praise of Fairhill garden to the wife,—saying to her and her sisters, as daughters of Governor Thomas Lloyd,—“I write an article respecting the treating of gardening, flowers and trees, knowing that you are lovers of gardens,—the one keeping the finest (at Fairhill) I hitherto have seen in the whole country, filled with abundance of rarities, physical and metaphysical,—the other a pretty little garden much like mine own, producing chiefly cordial, stomachic and culinary herbs.”

Of his own garden, Pastorius, who was a German, a scholar and a poet, thus speaks at Germantown—

“—————What wonder you then
That F. D. P. likewise here many hours spends,
And, having no money, on usury lends,
To's garden and orchard and vineyard such times,
Wherein he helps nature and nature his rhymes,
Because they produce him both victuals and drink,
Both med'cine and nosegays, both paper and ink.”

His poetry having been written in different colours, he remarks, that of turmerick and elder leaves

“He forms his red and green, as here is seen.”

The taste which governed at the Fairhill place most probably inspired the fine arrangements of the garden grounds of “Norris” garden in the city, on the site of the present Bank of the United States, there occupying nearly half the square, and when still out of town, alluring strangers and people of taste to visit it.

In the olden time, gardens, where they sold “balm-beer and cakes,” were common as places of resort. Such a one of peculiar celebrity, called the “Cheese-cake-house,” once occupied the ground on the west side of Fourth street opposite to the Lutheran church—having there many apple and cherry trees, arbours and summer-houses, extending from Cherry street to Apple-tree alley—names probably derived from the place which they now serve to commemorate. The Cake-house was ancient.

There was a small "Mead-house" long known up High street, *vis a vis* to Markoe's, above Ninth street. It was chiefly remarkable for its enormously large buttonwood trees.

"Cherry Garden," down on Society Hill, in the parlance of its day, was a place of much fame as a place of recreation. It was a large garden fronting on Front street *vis a vis* to Shippen street, occupying half the square and extending down to the river. The small house of one story brick, in which the refreshments were sold, is now standing with its dead wall on the line of Front street. In 1756, it was advertised for sale as the property of Harrison, who advertised to sell off some of it in lots "on Front and Water streets to the river in Cherry Garden." Colonel Morris spoke of it as he remembered it in the time of Clifton as its owner—said it had abundance of every shrubbery and greenhouse plants. See a picture of the house in my MS. Annals in the City Library, p. 282.

Clement Plumstead, Esq. Alderman, &c. had a finely cultivated garden, distinguished in its day, at the north west corner of Front and Union street. In January, 1729, it was thus noticed in the Gazette, viz. "Some vile miscreants one night this week got into the fine gardens of C. P. and cut down many of the fine trees there."

The Spring Garden has been described under the article of its spring for which it was once famed.

There were once a range of beautiful sloping gardens, declining from Front street houses into Dock creek, so as to be seen by passengers along the western side of Dock street. They belonged to Stedman, Cunningham, and others. They were seen by T. Matlack and such aged persons.

At Turner's country-seat, called "Wilton," down in the Neck, was some remarkable garden cultivation, inviting the strangers visiting the city to inspect it, which has been noticed in connexion with the premises, under the article "Country Seats."

Gray's garden, at Schuylkill ferry, about the time of the Revolution, then enjoyed the last and greatest fame.

PONDS & SKATING PLACES.



“The playful days of other years like shadows stole.”

TO those who still feel they “love the play-place of their early days,” it may afford some interest to see herein revived the recollection of those places, where on “sounding skates” they once made their vigorous and gladdening speed. I speak only of those once within the present thickly inhabited places, to wit :

There used to be a deep pond at the north east corner of Arch and Eighth streets, close by what was once called Dr. Church’s family burying ground on Arch street. Another was on the south side of Arch street above Seventh street, called “Everly’s pond.”

There was “Evans’ pond” on the north side of Race street extending back to Branch street.

A small pond lay at the north west corner of Arch and Fourth streets.

A pond, called “Hudson’s pond,” lay at the north west corner of High street and Fifth street. Another lay near it, called “Kinsey’s pond,” on the south side of High street between it and Minor street at the western end.

Pegg’s run had ponds in the marsh there, always much visited and celebrated, of which mention has been made under the article “Pegg’s Run.”

Colonel A. J. Morris, now 90 years of age, formerly told me of his skating on a deep pond on the west side of Third street above Pine street; and Owen Jones, nearly as old as him, told me of a pond once on the site where Duché’s lot on the opposite side of Third street was formed. There he once saw an enraged bull drove in by dogs and pursuers. The fact of former much lower grounds on the western side of Third street is even now evidenced by a house in Union street, still standing fully two feet lower than the present street.

The foregoing were generally such ponds as had been previously formed by brick-kilns, or by raising streets higher than some miry lots. They were generally of that period when skated upon by such aged persons as Colonel Morris, Thomas Bradford, Alexander Fullerton. These spoke of them to me.

Both Morris and Fullerton spoke to me of the “Great Blue-

house pond,"* at the south east corner of South and Ninth or Tenth streets. It was surrounded by numerous willow trees, the great stumps of which even now remain there, although the former appearance of the pond is almost obliterated. From that pond, they concurred in saying they could skate by a continued line of water down to its outlet at Little Dock creek, by the way of the present St. Peter's church in Pine street—then the whole range being in commons. This long water communication only showed itself in the winter seasons or in heavy rains.

Mr. Thomas White, now but 63 years of age, tells me he used to skate at "Nevill's pond," laying front of the present Presbyterian church in Pine street, and extending to Spruce street up to Fifth street. He also skated on a pond on the north side of Spruce street, up to St. Mary's church, and reaching nearly from Fourth to Fifth street.

Those ponds and those days are no more! The youths who sported on their mirror surface, have gone or are going hence. Those who survive may even yet—

" Be mov'd amidst the shifting scene
To smile on childhood's thoughtless joy,
And wish they had forever been
A careless, laughing, happy boy!"

* The blue house was an old inn on the opposite corner.

FIRES & FIRE-ENGINES.

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“Red flames and blaze there all amaze.”

IN 1683, William Penn speaks of a fire in the city, in which the newly arrived Germans were sufferers, and proposes a subscription for their relief.

1711—Samuel Preston, the Mayor, acquaints the Board of Council that he has frequently had in his consideration, the many providences this city has met with, in that fires that have so often happened, have done so little damage. He thinks it is our duty to use all possible means to prevent and extinguish fires for the future, by providing of buckets, hooks, engines, &c. which being considered, it is the opinion of the Board that such instruments should be provided; the manner of doing it is referred to the next Council.

1724—The Grand Jury recommend the repair of the water engine, and that the city ladders, buckets, &c. be kept in order.

1730—A fire broke out in a store near Mr. Fishbourne's wharf, and consumed all the stores there, damaged several houses on that side of the street, and crossing the way seized the fine house of Jonathan Dickinson with two others towards Walnut street, which are all ruined. The loss is 5000£. The area was for 20 years afterwards called Dickinson's burnt buildings.—[The site was the same, in modern times, called Ross' buildings, in Front street, south of Walnut street, eastern side.] A subscription was forthwith set on foot “to supply the town” with every thing requisite to put out fires. “It was then thought that if the people had had good engines the fire might have been put down.” This was the greatest fire experienced.

The same year we find by the minutes of Council that fire materials were speedily procured, to wit :

Thomas Oldman produced a leather fire bucket as a sample : whereupon they agree to pay him 9 shillings apiece for 100 buckets. The Mayor, soon after, acquainted the Board that the two fire engines and 250 fire buckets sent for to England had arrived in July, and requests a provision of suitable places for their reception.

Whereupon it was ordered that the buckets be hung up in the court house and that measures be used to place the engines, to wit :—one at the corner of the great meeting house yard (south west corner of Second and High street)—one at Francis Jones' lot, corner

of Front and Walnut streets, and the old engine, in a corner of the Baptist Meeting yard, Second street near Arch street. We can perceive by this distribution that there were but three engines in all, (two having just arrived) and shows that the great fire just before, had had but one engine to help to subdue it!

1735—A writer in the Gazette says respecting fires: We have at present got engines enough, but I question if water enough can be had to keep them going, in many places, for half an hour. It seems to me some public pumps are wanting. At the same time he advises the forming of fire companies.

1736—The houses of "Budd's long row" (north of the Drawbridge in Front street) took fire, and threatened to consume the whole, but the engines were worked successfully.

1738—Benjamin Franklin instituted the first fire company organized in Philadelphia.

1753—By an advertisement in the Gazette, I see that "baskets and bags of the fire companies" are called upon to be returned. Thus showing the early use of them, as we used to see them hung up in the old halls and entries where now our ladies hang elegant lamps.

I give in conclusion a list of fires occurring in Philadelphia during the years 1821 to '24 inclusive, making a total of 96 cases. It may be curious hereafter as a matter of reference. The facts were derived from official minutes.

*Number of fires in each month of the following years:—*

|                  | 1821. | 1822. | 1823. | 1824. | Totals. |
|------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|---------|
| January, . . .   | 0     | 1     | 3     | 1     | 5       |
| February, . . .  | 3     | 2     | 7     | 2     | 14      |
| March, . . .     | 4     | 1     | 4     | 5     | 14      |
| April, . . .     | 4     | 1     | 4     | 3     | 12      |
| May, . . .       | 3     | 2     | 4     | 0     | 9       |
| June, . . .      | 4     | 0     | 3     | 0     | 7       |
| July, . . .      | 3     | 1     | 2     | 0     | 6       |
| August, . . .    | 0     | 2     | 2     | 1     | 5       |
| September, . . . | 2     | 3     | 1     | 0     | 6       |
| October, . . .   | 3     | 3     | 0     | 0     | 6       |
| November, . . .  | 2     | 2     | 0     | 0     | 4       |
| December, . . .  | 1     | 4     | 1     | 2     | 8       |
| Totals, . . .    | 29    | 22    | 31    | 14    | 96      |

The fires which happened in the latter part of 1822 and beginning of 1823, were, generally, supposed to be the work of incendiaries.

The only fires of consequence, which occurred during the year 1824, are two—March 29th, in Front above Arch street, and April 18th, in Second below Market street.

The present manner of subduing fires presents an aspect quite

different from former doings in such cases. When there were no hose in use and no hydrants, but only pumps and buckets to keep the engines supplied, the scene was much more busy than now. Few or no idlers could be seen as lookers-on. They made long lines of people to "hand along the buckets," and if the curious and the idle attempted to pass, the cry was passed along the line—"fall in ! fall in !" If disregarded, a bucket of water was discharged upon them. Then it was quite common to see numerous women in the ranks, and it was therefore the more provoking to see others giving no help, but urging their way as near to the fires as they could. Next day was a fine affair for the boys to look out all the buckets they knew of their several neighbourhoods, and carry them home. The street posts too, all along the streets, far from the fire, could be seen capt here and there with a stray bucket, asking for its owner !

## INDIANS.

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“—————A swarthy tribe—
Slipt from the secret hand of Providence,
They come, we see not how, nor know we whence ;
That seem'd created on the spot—though born,
In transatlantic climes, and thither brought,
By paths as covert as the birth of thought !”

THERE is in the fate of these unfortunate beings, much to awaken our sympathy, and much to disturb the sobriety of our judgment, much in their characters to incite our involuntary admiration. What can be more melancholy than their history ! By a law of their nature, they seem destined to a slow but sure extinction. Every where at the approach of the white man, they fade away. We hear the rustling of their footsteps, like that of the withered leaves of autumn ; and themselves, like “the sear and yellow leaf,” are gone forever !

Once the smoke of their wigwams, and the fires of their councils, rose in every valley, from the ocean to the Mississippi and the lakes. The shouts of victory and the war dance rung through the mountains and the glades. The light arrows and the deadly tomahawk whistled through the forest ; and the hunter's trace, and the dark encampment, startled the wild beasts in their lairs. The warriors stood forth in their glory. The young listened to songs of other days. The mothers played with their infants, and gazed on the scene with warm hopes of the future. Braver men never lived—truer men never drew the bow. They had courage and fortitude, and sagacity and perseverance, beyond most of the human race. They shrunk from no dangers, and they feared no hardships. They were inured, and capable of sustaining every peril, and surmounting every obstacle for sweet country and home. But with all this, inveterate destiny has unceasingly driven them hence !

“Forc'd from the land that gave them birth,
They dwindle from the face of earth !”

If they had the vices of savage life, they had the virtues also. They were true to their country, their friends and their homes. If they forgave not injury under misconceptions of duty, neither did they forget kindness—

“Faithful alike to friendship or to hate.”

If their vengeance was terrible, their fidelity and generosity were unconquerable also. Their love, like their hate, stopped not on this side of the grave. But where are they now?—Perished! consumed!

“—————The glen or hill,
Their cheerful whoop has ceas'd to thrill!”

The wasting pestilence has not alone done this mighty work: no, nor famine, nor war. There has been a mightier power—a moral canker which hath eaten into their vitals—a plague which the touch of the baser part of our white men have communicated—a poison, which betrayed them into a lingering ruin. Already the last feeble remnants of the race are preparing for their journey beyond the Mississippi. I see them leave their long cherished homes; “few and faint, yet fearless still,” they turn to take a last look of their deserted villages, a last glance at the groves of their fathers. They shed no tears; they utter no cries; they heave no groans. There is something in their hearts which surpasses speech; there is something in their looks, not of vengeance or submission, but of hard necessity, which stifles both—which chokes all utterance—which has no aim or method. It is courage absorbed in despair.*

If such be the traces we may draw of Indian character, being ourselves the judges, what might it not be, if told by themselves, had they but our art of letters and the aid of an eloquent press! Few or none among themselves can tell their tale of “wrong and outrage.” Yet a solitary case does exist, which, while it shows their capability of mental improvement, shows also in affecting terms, their just claims to our generosity and kindness.

The beautiful and energetic letter, of April, 1824, to the people and Congress of the United States, by the Cherokee natives and Representatives at Washington city, has some fine touches of refined eloquence to this effect—saying, of their communications, they have been “the lonely and unassisted efforts of the poor Indian; for we are not so fortunate as to have such help—wherefore that letter and every other letter was not only written but dictated by an Indian. The white man seldom comes forth in our defence. Our rights are in our own keeping, and the proofs of our loneliness, of our bereaved and helpless state, unknown to the eye of prejudice, having set us upon our resources, is known to those benevolent white brothers who came to our help with letters, and the lights of civilization and christianity. Our letters (we repeat it) are our own, and if they are thought too refined for “Savages,” let the white man take it for proof, that, with proper assistance, Indians can think and write for themselves.” Signed—John Ross, and three others.

The Indians were always the friends of Miquon, of Onas—of our forefathers! It was their greatest pleasure to cultivate mutual

* These introductory sentiments are generally from the leading ideas of Judge Story.

good will and kindness.—“None ever entered the cabin of Logan hungry, and he gave him no meat; or cold, or naked, and he gave him no clothes!” Grateful hearts must cherish kindly recollections of a too often injured race. We are therefore disposed, as Pennsylvanians, to treasure up some few of the facts least known of them, in the times by-gone of our annals.

We begin with their primitive character and habits as seen by William Penn, and told in his letter of August, 1683, to the Free Society of Traders.

The natives I shall consider in their persons, language, manners, religion and government, with my sense of their original. For their persons, they are generally tall, straight, well-built, and of singular proportion; they tread strong and clever, and mostly walk with a lofty chin. Of complexion, black, but by design; as the Gypsies in England. They grease themselves with bear's fat clarified; and using no defence against sun, or weather, their skins must needs be swarthy. Their eye is little and black, not unlike a straight-looked Jew. The thick lip, and flat nose, so frequent with the East Indians and blacks, are not common to them: for I have seen as comely European-like faces among them, of both, as on your side the sea; and truly an Italian complexion hath not much more of the white, and the noses of several of them have as much of the Roman.

Their language is lofty, yet narrow; but, like the Hebrew, in signification full; like short-hand, in writing, one word serveth in the place of three, and the rest are supplied by the understanding of the hearer: imperfect in their tenses, wanting in their moods, participles, adverbs, conjunctions, interjections. I have made it my business to understand it, that I might not want an interpreter, on any occasion; and I must say, that I know not a language spoken in Europe, that hath words of more sweetness, or greatness in accent and emphasis, than theirs.

Of their customs and manners, there is much to be said; I will begin with children; so soon as they are born, they wash them in water; and while very young, and in cold weather, they plunge them in the rivers, to harden and embolden them. The children will go very young, at nine months commonly; if boys, they go a fishing till ripe for the woods; which is about fifteen; then they hunt, and after having given some proofs of their manhood, by a good return of skins, they may marry; else it is a shame to think of a wife. The girls stay with their mothers, and help to hoe the ground, plant corn, and carry burdens; and they do well to use them to that young, which they must do when they are old; for the wives are the true servants of the husbands; otherwise the men are very affectionate to them.

When the young women are fit for marriage, they wear something upon their heads, for an advertisement, but so as their faces are hardly to be seen, but when they please. The age they marry at if women, is about thirteen and fourteen; if men, seventeen and eighteen; they are rarely elder.

Their houses are mats, or barks of trees, set on poles, in the fashion of an English barn; but out of the power of the winds; for they are hardly higher than a man; they lie on reeds, or grass. In travel they

lodge in the woods, about a great fire, with the mantle of duffils they wear by day wrapt about them, and a few boughs stuck round them.

Their diet is maize, or Indian corn, divers ways prepared; sometimes roasted in the ashes; sometimes beaten and boiled with water; which they call *homine*; they also make cakes, not unpleasant to eat. They have likewise several sorts of beans and pease, that are good nourishment; and the woods and rivers are their larder.

If an European comes to see them, or calls for lodging at their house or wigwam, they give him the best place and first cut. If they come to visit us, they salute us with an *Itah*; which is as much as to say, *Good be to you*, and set them down; which is mostly on the ground, close to their heels, their legs upright; it may be they speak not a word, but observe all passages. If you give them any thing to eat or drink, well: for they will not ask; and be it little or much, if it be with kindness, they are well pleased, else they go away sullen, but say nothing.

They are great concealers of their own resentments; brought to it, I believe, by the revenge that hath been practised among them.

But, in liberality they excel; nothing is too good for their friend: give them a fine gun, coat, or other thing, it may pass twenty hands before it sticks: light of heart, strong affections, but soon spent. The most merry creatures that live, feast and dance perpetually; they never have much, nor want much: wealth circulateth like the blood; all parts partake; and though none shall want what another hath, yet exact observers of property. They care for little; because they want but little; and the reason is, a little contents them. In this they are sufficiently revenged on us: if they are ignorant of our pleasures, they are also free from our pains. We sweat and toil to live; their pleasure feeds them; I mean, their hunting, fishing and fowling; and this table is spread every where. They eat twice a day, morning and evening; their seats and table are the ground.

In sickness impatient to be cured, and for it give any thing, especially for their children, to whom they are extremely natural: they drink at those times a *Tesan*, or decoction of some roots in spring-water; and if they eat any flesh, it must be of the female of any creature. If they die, they bury them with their apparel, be they man or woman, and the nearest of kin fling in something precious with them, as a token of their love: their mourning is blacking of their faces, which they continue for a year: they are choice of the graves of their dead; for lest they should be lost by time, and fall to common use, they pick off the grass that grows upon them, and heap up the fallen earth with great care and exactness.

These poor people are under a dark night in things relating to religion, to be sure the tradition of it; yet they believe in a God and immortality, without the help of metaphysics; for they say, "There is a Great King that made them, who dwells in a glorious country to the southward of them; and that the souls of the good shall go thither, where they shall live again."—Their worship consists of two parts, sacrifice and cantico: their sacrifice is their first fruits; the first and fattest buck they kill goeth to the fire, where he is all burnt, with a mournful ditty of him that performeth the ceremony, but with such marvellous fervency and labour of body, that he will even sweat to a foam. The

other parts is their cantico, performed by round dances, sometimes words, sometimes songs, then shouts, two being in the middle that begin, and by singing and drumming on a board, direct the chorus: their postures in the dance are very antick, and differing, but all keep measure. — This is done with equal earnestness and labour, but great appearance of joy. In the fall, when the corn cometh in, they begin to feast one another. There have been two great festivals already, to which all come that will: I was at one myself.

Their government is by kings, which they call *Sachama*, and those by succession, but always of the mother's side: for instance, the children of him that is now king, will not succeed, but his brother by the mother, or the children of his sister, whose sons (and after them the children of her daughters) will reign; for no woman inherits: the reason they render for this way of descent is, that their issue may not be spurious.

Every king hath his council, and that consists of all the old and wise men of his nation; which perhaps is two hundred people: nothing of moment is undertaken, be it war, peace, selling of land, or traffic, without advising with them; and which is more, with the young men too. It is admirable to consider how powerful the kings are, and yet how they move by the breath of their people. I have had occasion to be in council with them upon treaties for land, and to adjust the terms of trade. Their order is thus: the king sits in the middle of an half moon, and hath his council, the old and wise on each hand: behind them, or at a little distance, sit the younger fry in the same figure.

The justice they have is pecuniary: In case of any wrong or evil fact, be it murder itself, they atone by feasts, and presents of their Wampum, which is proportioned to the quality of the offence or person injured, or of the sex they are of: for in case they kill a woman, they pay double, and the reason they render, is, "that she breedeth children, which men cannot do." It is rare that they fall out, if sober; and if drunk, they forgive it, saying, "it was the drink, and not the man, that abused them."

We have agreed, that in all differences between us, six of each side shall end the matter: do not abuse them, but let them have justice, and you win them: the worst is, that they are the worse for the Christians, who have propagated their vices, and yielded them tradition for ill, and not for good things.

For their original, I am ready to believe them of the Jewish race; I mean, of the stock of the *ten tribes*, and that for the following reasons; first, they were to go to "a land, not *planted* or *known*," which, to be sure, Asia and Africa were, if not Europe; and he that intended that extraordinary judgment upon them, might make the passage not uneasy to them, as it is not impossible in itself, from the easternmost parts of Asia, to the westernmost of America. In the next place, I find them of like countenance, and their children of so lively resemblance, that a man would think himself in Dukes-place, or Berry street in London, when he seeth them. But this is not all; they agree in *rites*, they reckon by *moons*; they offer their *first-fruits*; they have a kind of *feast of tabernacles*; they are said to lay their *altar* upon *twelve stones*; their *mourning a year, customs of women*, with many things that do not now occur.

Gabriel Thomas in his description of Pennsylvania, as written in 1698, says, "The natives of this country are supposed by most

people, to have been of the ten scattered tribes, for they resemble the Jews in the make of their persons and tincture of their complexions. They observe new moons; offer their first-fruits to a Manitto or supposed deity, whereof they have two—one, as they fancy, above—(good) another, below—(bad.) They have a kind of feast of tabernacles, laying their altars upon twelve stones. They observe a sort of mourning twelve months; customs of women, and many other rites.* They are very charitable to one another—the lame and the blind living as well as the best. They are also very kind and obliging to the Christians. They have among them many curious physical wild herbs, roots and drugs of great virtue, which makes the Indians, in their right use, as able doctors as any in Europe.”

Oldmixon says there were in 1684, as many as ten nations of Indians in the province of Pennsylvania, comprising 6000 in number.

William Penn held a great Indian treaty, in 1701, with forty Indian Chiefs, who came from many nations to Philadelphia to settle the friendship. The same year he had also a great Indian Council at Pensbury—to take leave of him—to renew covenants, &c.

Mrs. Mary Smith's MS. account of the first settlement of Burlington (herself an eye-witness) thus speaks of the Indians there in 1678, saying—“The Indians, very numerous and very civil, brought them corn, venison, &c. and bargained also for their land. It was said that an old Indian king spoke prophetically before his death, and said the English should increase and the Indians should decrease!”

Jacob Taylor's Almanac of 1743 relates, that “An Indian of the province, looking at the great comet of 1680, and being asked what he thought was the meaning of that prodigious appearance, answered—‘*It signifies, we Indians shall melt away, and this country be inhabited by another sort of people.*’ This prediction the Indian delivered very grave and positive to a Dutchman of good reputation near Chester, who told it to one, now living, of full veracity.”

I have compiled from the work of the Swedish traveller, Professor Kalm, his notices of our Indians preceding the year 1748, to wit :

Of their food and mode of living.—Maize, (Indian corn) some kinds of beans and melons, made up the sum of the Indians' gardening. Their chief support arose from hunting and fishing. Besides these, the oldest Swedes related that the Indians were accustomed to get nourishment from the following wild plants, to wit :

Hopniss, so called by the Indians, and also by the Swedes, (the Glycine Apios of Linnæus) they found in the meadows. The roots resembled potatoes, and were eaten boiled, instead of bread.

* It is scarcely possible to read these coincidences of opinion with Penn's, which preceded it, without thinking of Dr. Boudinot's Star in West, and his efforts to prove them Jewish.

Katniss, so called by the Indians and Swedes, (a kind of *Sagittaria sagittifolia*) was found in low wet ground, had oblong roots nearly as large as the fist; this they boiled or roasted in the ashes. Several Swedes said they liked to eat of it in their youth. The hogs liked them much, and made them very scarce. Mr. Kalm, who ate of them, thought they tasted like potatoes. When the Indians first saw turnips they called them katniss too.

Taw-ho, so called by the Indians and Swedes, (the *Arum Virginicum* or Wake-robin, and poisonous!) grew in moist grounds, and swamps; they ate the root of it. The roots grew to the thickness of a man's thigh; and the hogs rooted them up and devoured them eagerly. The Indians destroyed their poisonous quality by baking them. They made a long trench in the ground, put in the roots and covered them with earth, and over them they made a great fire. They tasted somewhat like potatoes.

Taw-kee, so called by the Indians and Swedes, (the *Orontium Aquaticum*) grew plentifully in moist low grounds. Of these they used the seeds, when dried. These they boiled repeatedly to soften them, and then they ate somewhat like pease. When they got butter or milk from the Swedes, they boiled them together.

Bilberries or whortleberries (a species of *Vaccinium*) was a common diet among the Indians. They dried them in the sun, and kept them packed as close as currants.

Of their implements for domestic or field use.—The old boilers or kettles of the Indians were either made of clay, or of different kinds of pot stone—(Lapis Ollaris.) The former consisted of a dark clay, mixed with grains of white sand or quartz, and probably burnt in the fire. Many of these kettles had two holes in the upper margin; on each side one, through which they passed a stick, and held therewith the kettle over the fire. It is remarkable that none of these pots have been found glazed either inside or outside. A few of the old Swedes could remember to have seen the Indians use such pots to boil their meat in. They were made sometimes of a greenish, and sometimes of a greyish pot stone; and some were made of another species of a pyrous stone. They were very thin. Mr. Bartram, the botanist, shewed him an earthen pot, which had been dug up at a place where the Indians had lived—on the outside it was much ornamented. Mr. Bartram had also several broken pieces. They were all made of mere clay, in which were mixed, according to the convenience of the makers, pounded shells of snails and muscles, or of crystals found in the mountains; it was plain they did not burn them much, because they could be cut up with a knife. Since the Europeans have come among them, they disuse them, and have even lost the art of making them.—[All these remarks much accord with the speculations which I have preserved on this subject, respecting the potteries found in the *tumili* in the western countries.]

The hatchets of the Indians were made of stone, somewhat of the shape of a wedge. This was notched round the biggest end, and to this they affixed a split stick for a handle, bound round with a cord. These hatchets could not serve, however, to cut any thing like a tree; their means therefore of getting trees for canoes, &c. was to put a great fire round the roots of a big tree to burn it off, and with a swab of rags on a

pole to keep the tree constantly wet above until the fire below burnt it off. When the tree was down, they laid dry branches on the trunk and set fire to it, and kept swabbing that part of the tree which they did not want to burn; thus the tree burnt a hollow in one place only; when burnt enough, they chipt or scraped it smooth inside with their hatchets, or sharp flints, or sharp shells.

Instead of knives, they used little sharp pieces of flints or quartz, or a piece of sharpened bone.

At the end of their arrows they fastened narrow angulated pieces of stone; these were commonly flints or quartz.—[I have such, as well as hatchets, in my possession.] Some made use of the claws of birds and beasts.

They had stone pestles of about a foot long and five inches in thickness; in these they pounded their maize. Many had only wooden pestles. The Indians were astonished beyond measure when they saw the first wind-mills to grind grain. They were, at first, of opinion that not the wind, but spirits within them gave them their momentum. They would come from a great distance, and set down for days near them, to wonder and admire at them!

The old tobacco pipes were made of clay or pot stone, or serpentine stone—the tube thick and short. Some were made better, of a very fine red pot stone, and were seen chiefly with the Sachems. Some of the old Dutchmen at New York preserved the tradition that the first Indians seen by the Europeans made use of copper for their tobacco pipes, got from the second river near Elizabethtown. In confirmation of this, it was observed that the people met with holes worked in the mountains, out of which some copper had been taken; and they even found some tools which the Indians probably used for the occasion. They used birds' claws instead of fishinghooks; the Swedes saw them succeed in this way.

Mr. Kalm, who, the reader may observe, was very curious and minute in all his investigations, has given a full catalogue of all the trees and plants he saw in Pennsylvania; and to these he has often affixed a variety of medical uses to which they were applied by the primitive inhabitants; and also the colours to which many of them were adapted as dyes. It is sufficient for my purpose to mention the fact, and to conclude with an unreserved confession of my gratification in having found so competent a chronicler of the incidents of the olden time!



The Indians made their ropes, bridles, and twine for nets, out of a wild weed, growing abundantly in old corn fields, commonly called Indian hemp—(i. e. *Linum Virginianum*.) The Swedes used to buy fourteen yards of the rope for a loaf of bread, and deemed them more lasting in the water than that made of true hemp. Mr. Kalm himself saw Indian women rolling the filaments of this plant upon their bare thighs to make of them thread and strings, which they dyed red, yellow, black, &c.

The Indians at first were much more industrious and laborious, and before the free use of ardent spirits, attained to a great age. In early time they were every where spread about among the

Swedes. They had no domestic animals among them before the arrival of the Europeans, save a species of little dogs. They readily sold their lands to the Swedes for a small price. Such tracts as would have brought 400*l.* currency in Kalm's time, had been bought for a piece of baize or a pot of brandy!

The Indians told Mr. Kalm, as their tradition, that when they saw the first European ship on their coast, they were perfectly persuaded that Manitto, or God himself, was in the ship; but when they first saw the negroes, they thought they were a true breed of devils.



The Indians whom we usually call Delawares, because first found about the regions of the Delaware river, never used that name among themselves: they called themselves *Lenni Lenape*, which means "*the original people*,"—*Lenni* meaning *original*,—whereby they expressed they were an *unmixed* race, who had never changed their character since the creation;—in effect they were primitive *sons of Adam*, and others were sons of the curse, as of Ham, or of the outcast Ishmael, &c.

They, as well as the *Mengwe*. (called by us *Iroquois*) agreed in saying they came from westward of the Mississippi—called by them *Namæsi Sipu*, or river of fish—and that when they came over to the eastern side of that river, they there encountered and finally drove off all the former inhabitants, called the *Alligewi*—(and of course the *primitives* of all our country!) who, probably, such as survived, sought refuge in *Mexico*.

From these facts we may learn, that however unjustifiable, in a moral sense, may be the aggressions of our border men, yet on the rule of the *lex talionis* we may take refuge and say, we only drive off or dispossess *those* who were themselves *encroachers*, even as all our Indians, as above stated, were!

The Indians called the Quakers *Quekels*, and "the English," by inability of pronouncing it, they sounded *Vengees*—from whence probably we have now our name of Yankees. In their own language they called the English *Saggenah*.

William Fishbourne, in his MS. narrative of 1739, says the proprietor's first and principal care was to promote peace with *all*; accordingly he established a friendly correspondence, by way of treaty, with the Indians, at least twice a year. [This fact is worth remembering!] He also strictly enjoined the inhabitants and surveyors not to settle any land to which the Indians had a claim, until he had first, at his own cost, satisfied and paid for the same; so that this discreet method engaged their friendship and love to him and his people—even while other colonies were at war and distress by the Indians.

William Penn's letter of the 25th of 5 mo. 1700, to James Logan, (in the Logan MSS.) says, that because of an injury done his leg,

the Indians must go up to him at Pennsbury, along with the council, &c. Was not this assemblage for something like a treaty?

Another such assemblage of Indians met there also in 1701; for John Richardson tells us in his journal, of his being there when many Indians and Chiefs were present to revive their covenants or treaties with William Penn before his return home. There they received presents—held their cantico or worship, by singing and dancing round the fire on the ground.

In 1724 an Indian Chief, in addressing Sir William Keith, complains that although *Onas* gave his people their lands on the Brandywine, yet the whites have stoppt the river; the fish can no longer go up it: their women and children can no longer, with their bows and arrows, kill the fish in the shallow waters; it is now dark and deep; and they wish they may pull away the dams, that the water may again flow, and the fish again swim!

In 1704, the Indians of the Five Nations (Onandago) came on to Philadelphia, to trade and make a treaty.—James Logan was present.

Mr. Carver, first settler at Byberry, became in great straits for bread stuff: they then knew of none nearer than New Castle. In that extremity they sent out their children to some neighbouring Indians, intending to leave them there, till they could have food for them at home; but the Indians took off the boys' trowsers, and tied the legs full of corn, and sent them back thus loaded—a rude but frank and generous hospitality!—His great granddaughter, Mrs. S. told me of this fact as certain.

The Indians upon the Brandywine had a reserved right (as said James Logan in his letter of 1731) to retain themselves a mile in breadth on both sides of one of the branches of it, up to its source.

In the year 1742, (Vide Peters' letter to the Penns) there were in Philadelphia an assemblage of 220 Indians of the five nations. They had come from the north-westward to get goods. While in the city, a fire of eight houses occurred, at which they gave great assistance.

In the year 1744, by reason of some strife between the frontier people and Indians of Virginia and Maryland, they aim to settle their dispute, by the mediation of the Pennsylvania Governor, through a treaty, to be convened at "John Harris' Ferry," (now Harrisburg) which was, however, not held there, but at Lancaster, where the affair was adjusted satisfactorily.

The last of the *Lenape*, nearest resident to Philadelphia, died in Chester county, in the person of "Old Indian Hannah," in 1803. She had her wigwam many years upon the Brandywine, and used to travel much about in selling her baskets, &c. On such occasions she was often followed by her dog and her pigs—all stopping where she did. She lived to be nearly a hundred years of age—had a proud and lofty spirit to the last—hated the blacks, and scarcely brooked the lower orders of the whites; her family before her, had dwelt

with other Indians in Kennet township. She often spoke emphatically of the wrongs and misfortunes of her race, upon whom her affections still dwelt. As she grew old, she quitted her solitude, and dwelt in friendly families.

A person visiting her cabin, on the farm of Humphry Marshall, thus expressed his emotions :

Was this the spot, where Indian Hannah's form
Was seen to linger, weary, worn with care ?
Yes,—that rude cave was once the happy home
Of Hannah, last of her devoted race ;
But she too, now, has sunk into the tomb,
And briars and thistles wave above the place."

Several facts concerning the Chester county Indians, collected by my friend, Mr. J. J. Lewis, may be read on page 513 of my MS. Annals, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania—such as their thickest settlement being about Pequa, and along the great valley. In other places they usually settled in groupes of half a dozen families. The last remaining family was remembered about 60 years ago, at Kennet, consisting of Andrew, Sarah, Nanny and Hannah, the last being the above mentioned Hannah—"last of the *Lenape* !"

As late as the year 1750, the Shawnese had their wigwam at the Beaver pond, near the present Carlisle ; and as late as 1760, Doctor John, living in Carlisle, with his wife and two children, were cruelly murdered, by persons unknown. He was a Chief. The Governor offered 100£. reward.



Indian Visits to the City.

From a very early period it was the practice of Indian companies occasionally to visit the city—not for any public business, but merely to buy, and sell, and look on. On such occasions they usually found their shelter, for the two or three weeks which they remained, about the state house yard.* There they would make up baskets, and sell them to the visiters, from the ash strips which they brought with them. Before the Revolution such visits were frequent, and after that time they much diminished, so that now they are deemed a rarity.

Such of the Indians as came to the city on public service were always provided for in the east wing of the state house, up-stairs, and at the same time, their necessary support there was provided for by the government.

Old people have told me that the visits of Indians were so fre-

* There was a shed constructed for them along the western wall ; under it was sheltered for some time, as old Thomas Bradford has told me, old king Hendricks and a party of his warriors, just before they went to join Sir William Johnson at Lake George.

quent as to excite but little surprise; their squaws and children generally accompanied them. On such occasions they went abroad much in the streets, and would any where stop to shoot at marks, of small coin, set on the tops of posts. They took what they could so hit with their arrows.

On the 6th of 6 mo. 1749, there was at the state house an assemblage of 260 Indians, of eleven different tribes, assembled there with the Governor to make a treaty. The place was extremely crowded; and Canaswetigo, a Chief, made a long speech. There were other Indians about the city at the same time, making together probably 4 to 500 Indians at one time. The same Indians remained several days at Logan's place, in his beech woods.

As the country increased in population, they changed their public assemblages to frontier towns—such as Pittsburgh and Easton for Pennsylvania, and Albany for New York, &c.

They once hung an Indian at Pegg's run, at the junction of Callow-hill lane. The crowd, assembled there, stood on the hill. He had committed murder. Old Mrs. Shoemaker and John Brown told me of this fact, and said the place afterwards took the name of "Gallows Hill" for a long while. In my youthful days Callow-hill street was often called "Gallows-hill street."

Indian Alarms and Massacre.

The defeat of Braddock's army in 1755, near Pittsburgh, seems to have produced great excitement and much consternation among the inhabitants of Pennsylvania, even within a present day's journey from Philadelphia!—50,000*l.* was voted by the Legislature to raise additional troops. The people at and about Carlisle were in great alarm as frontier inhabitants; and Colonel Dunbar, who had the command of the retreating army, was earnestly besought to remain on the frontier, and not to come on to Philadelphia, as he soon afterwards did to seek for Winter Quarters. He was nicknamed "Dunbar the tardy!"

To give an idea how thin the settlement of our country was at that time, it may serve to say, that such near counties as Northampton and Berks, experienced the ravages of the scalping knife, by predatory parties. From Easton to fifty miles above it, the whole country was deserted, and many murders occurred. Easton town, and the Jerseys opposite, were filled with the terrified inhabitants. Some sculking Indians were seen about Nazareth and Bethlehem. The Gazettes of the time have frequent extracts of letters from persons in the alarmed districts. Philadelphia itself was full of sympathetic excitement. The Governor, for instance, communicates to the Assembly that he has heard that as many as 1500 French and Indians are actually encamped on the Susquehanna only 30 miles above the present Harrisburgh! Some were

at Kittochtiuny Hills, 80 miles from Philadelphia. The burnings and scalplings at the Great Cove is general. At Tulpehocken the ravages were dreadful: One little girl, of six years of age, was found alive, with her scalp off! The Irish settlement at the Great Cove was entirely destroyed.

It may give some idea of the alarm which these events caused, even on the seaboard, to know, that such was the report received at Bohemia, in Cecil county, (received by an express from New Castle, and believed,) that 1500 French and Indians had reached Lancaster, and burnt it to the ground, and were proceeding onward! Three companies of infantry, and a troop of cavalry immediately set off towards Lancaster, and actually reached the Head of Elk before they heard any counter intelligence!—to wit, in November, 1755.

So sensitive as the frontier men must have felt, they became jealous, lest the Philadelphians and the Assembly were too much under the pacific policy of the Friends to afford them in time the necessary defensive supplies. To move them to a livelier emotion, an expedient of gross character was adopted.—it was, to send on to Philadelphia the bodies of a murdered family! These actually reached Philadelphia in the winter, like frozen venison from their mountains—were paraded through our city, and finally set down before the Legislative Hall—as *ecce factum!*

It seems much to diminish the idea of time to say there are now persons alive at Easton, Nazareth, &c. who once witnessed frontier ravages in their neighbourhood, or had their houses filled with refugees; and also persons, still in Philadelphia, who saw that parade of bloody massacre. Thomas Bradford, Esq. now alive, thus writes for me, saying: “I saw, when a boy, in the state house yard, the corps of a German man, his wife, and grown-up son, who were all killed and scalped by the Indians in Shearman’s valley, not many miles from the present seat of government. At that time the Indians marauded all around the Blockhouse at Harris’ Ferry”—(now Harrisburgh.)

John Churchman, the public Friend, also saw those dead bodies, and has thus spoken of them: “The Indians having burnt several houses on the frontiers, and also at Gradenhutzen in Northampton county, and murdered and scalped some of the inhabitants, two or three of the dead bodies were brought to Philadelphia in a wagon, in the time of the General Meeting of Friends there in December, with intent to animate the people to unite in preparations for war on the Indians. They were carried along the streets—many people following—cursing the Indians, and also the Quakers, because they would not join in war for their destruction. The sight of the dead bodies, and the outcry of the people, were very afflicting and shocking.”

With the bodies came the “frontier inhabitants, and surrounding the Assembly Room, required immediate support.”

The excitement in the Assembly ran high, between those who resisted and those who advocated means for the emergency. Outdoor interest too, at the same time, was great; for the citizens of Philadelphia offer, by subscription, and by proclamation, 700 dollars for the heads of Shingas and Captain Jacobs, Delaware Chiefs—gone over to the interests of their enemies! Among the wonders of that day for us now to contemplate, but of little notoriety then, was the presence of “Colonel Washington,” on a mission from Virginia concerning the Indians. Little did he, or any of them of that colonial day, regard him as the future President of a new and great nation!*

In the next year the scourge fell heavy upon the Indians; for Colonel Armstrong burnt their town, and destroyed their people at Kittaning—a great affair in that day! To commemorate it a medal was struck, and swords and plate were distributed at the expense of the city to the officers, &c.

In giving the preceding notices of Indian events, made so interesting and stirring to the Philadelphians in that day, it will be appropriately followed by the history of an Association formed in Philadelphia by leading members among Friends, for the avowed purpose of preserving the former friendly relations with the Indians, without the destructive intervention of war. It had, therefore, its warm abettors and fierce opponents, as may be discerned in the following brief history of that Society, to wit:

Association for Preserving Peace with the Indians—year 1756.

In the spring of the year 1755 the Indians on the frontiers of Virginia having commenced ravages on the people there, excited great alarm at Philadelphia. The pacific principles of the Friends had so long preserved the peace of Pennsylvania, that it seemed but natural, that they should feel peculiar reasons on such an occasion to prevent hostilities from extending to their frontier inhabitants. They therefore united, in 1756, under the denomination of “the Friendly Association for regaining and preserving peace with the Indians,” and by their private and individual subscriptions, raised several thousand pounds to enable them to execute their friendly designs. Benevolent as their disinterested designs were, they were reproached by some; and even the government, in some instances, repelled their proffered services to preserve peace. The Edinburgh Reviewers have said “if Princes would use Friends for Prime Ministers, universal peace might be per-

* I heard one fact of the time, to be relied upon too:—Reese Meredith, a merchant of Philadelphia, seeing Washington at the Coffee House, was so pleased with his personal demeanour as a genteel stranger, that he invited him home, to dine with him on fresh venison. It formed a lasting friendship; and caused afterwards, it is said, the appointment of another Meredith of the family, to be his first Treasurer of the Union. As this acquaintance was formed without formal introduction, it long remained a grateful recollection in Meredith’s family, as a proof of his discernment

petuated," and the manner in which this Association negotiated both with the provincial rulers and the hostile Indians, seemed to verify their peculiar qualifications for such peaceful offices.

The minutes of their proceedings, containing about two quires of MS. cap paper, as preserved by Israel Pemberton, having been in my possession, I made memoranda of incidents therein, which may be consulted by the curious or the interested in my MS. Annals in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, pages 181 to 184.

They begin by addressing a long letter, declarative of their designs, to Governor Robert H. Morris, on the 12th of the 4 mo. 1756, and beseeching him not to declare war against the Indians, until pacific overtures should be made to the Indians, and offering to aid the same by services and money. He and his Council not according with their views, they proceeded forthwith to address a long letter to the General Assembly. A declaration of war was, however, made. They then address letters to bespeak friendship for their designs, and for the Indians, by directing Israel Pemberton to write letters in their behalf to Sir William Johnson, and to Governor Sir C. Hardy at New York: copies of which are preserved—also copies of Governor R. H. Morris' messages, conveyed by Indian agents to the Indians on the Susquehanna at Teagoon. With these agents the Friends made much interest; and their remark on this interference is thus recorded—"From the time of the first messengers arriving at Teagoon, the hostilities on our northern frontiers ceased, and an acceptable respite being obtained for our distressed fellow subjects, we enjoyed so much real pleasure and satisfaction in this happy event of our endeavours as to engage us cheerfully to pursue the business we had begun, though many malicious calumnies and aspersions were cast upon us by persons from whom we had a right to expect encouragement and assistance."

They attended Indian treaties at Easton, at Lancaster, &c. and often made presents—measures which gave the Friends much ascendancy over the minds of the Indians, and inclined them to peace.



The Paxtang Boys, and Indian Massacre.

This was a story of deep interest and much excitement in its day—the year 1764. It long remained quite as stirring and affecting, as a tale of wo or of terror, as any of the recitals, in more modern times, of the recollections of that greater event—the war of Independence. The Indians, on whom the outrage was committed by those memorable outlaws, were friendly, unoffending, christian Indians, dwelling about the country in Lancaster county, and the remnant of a once greater race—even in that neighbourhood where

they had been so cruelly afflicted: For instance, in 1701, a letter of Isaac Norris' (preserved in the Logan MSS.) speaks thus, to wit: "I have been to Susquehanna, where I met the Governor; we had a round-about journey, and well-traversed the wilderness; we lived nobly at the King's *palace in Conestogoe*." "They once had there (says J. Logan) a considerable town"—called Indian town.

The spirit which finally eventuated in the massacre, was discerned and regretted at a much earlier period—say as early as 1729–30. Then James Logan's letter to the proprietaries (Vide Logan MSS.) says, "The Indians themselves are alarmed at the swarms of strangers, (Irish) and we are afraid of a breach with them. The Irish are very rough to them." In 1730, J. Logan complains of the Scotch Irish in a disorderly manner possessing themselves, about that time, of the whole of Conestogoe manor of 15,000 acres—saying, as their justification, (the same as they did in effect at the massacre) that "it was against the laws of God and nature that so much land should lie idle, while so many Christians wanted it to labour on, &c." In truth, they did not go off till dispossessed by the Sheriff and his posse, and their cabins burnt down to the number of thirty. They rested chiefly in Donnegal as a frontier people, at an exemption from rent, &c.

In 1764, under an alarm of intended massacre, 14 being previously killed on Conestogoe, the Indians took shelter in Lancaster, and for their better security they were placed under the bolts and bars of the prison: but at mid-day a party on horseback from the country, rode through the streets to the prison, and there forcibly entered and killed unresisting men and women on the spot! The citizens of Lancaster were much blamed for so tamely suffering such a breach of their peace. Nothing was there done to apprehend the perpetrators. In the mean time, other Indians in amity with us, hearing of the cruelty to their brethren, sought refuge in Philadelphia, which when the Paxtang boys knew, being excited to more daring and insolence by their former sufferance—like blood-hounds, stimulated to a passion for more blood by the previous taste—they forthwith resolved on marching down to Philadelphia to destroy the remainder of the afflicted race, and to take vengeance also on all their friends and abettors there. They were undoubtedly Christian professors—used Bible phrases—talked of God's commanded vengeance on the heathen, and that the saints should inherit the earth, &c. They had even writers to plead their religious cause in Philadelphia!!!

The news of their approach, which out-run them, was greatly magnified; so that "every mother's son and child" were half crazed with fear, and even the men looked for a hard and obstinate struggle; for even among their own citizens there were not wanting of those who having been incensed by the late Indian war, thought almost any thing too good for an Indian. The Paxtang boys, to the amount of several hundred, armed with rifles, and clothed

with hunting shirts, affecting the rudest and severest manners, came in two divisions as far as Germantown and the opposite bank of the Schuylkill, where they finally entered into affected negotiations with the citizens, headed by Benjamin Franklin, and returned home, terrifying the country as they went.

In the mean time the terrified Indians sought their refuge in Philadelphia—having with them their Moravian minister. They were at first conducted to the barracks in the Northern Liberties by the order of the Governor. But the Highlanders there, refused them shelter; and the Indians stood several hours exposed to the revilings of scoffers. This was in the cold of December. They were thence sent to Province Island, afterwards by boats to League Island; then they were recalled and sent to New York. In returning through Philadelphia they held their worship and took their breakfast in the Moravian church in Bread street. William Logan, and Joseph Fox, the barrack master, who gave them blankets, accompanied them as far as Trenton. A company of 70 Highlanders were their guard as far as Amboy, where they were stopt by orders from General Gage; they then returned back to the Philadelphia barracks.* The alarm of the Paxtang boys being near—at night too—the city is voluntarily illuminated!—alarm bells ring, and citizens run for arms, and haste to the barracks! Many young Quakers joined the defenders at the barracks, where they quickly threw up intrenchments.† Dr. Franklin and other gentlemen who went out to meet the leaders, brought them into the city, that they might point out among the Indians the alleged guilty; but they could show none. They, however, perceived that the defence was too formidable, and they affected to depart satisfied.

The Indians remained there several months, and held regular Christian worship. In time they were greatly afflicted with small-pox, and 56 of their number now rest among the other dead, beneath the surface of the beautiful “Washington Square.”

In the spring, these Indians were conducted by Moravian missionaries, via Bethlehem and Wyoming, and made their settlement on the Susquehanna, near to Wyalusing creek. There they ate wild potatoes in a time of scarcity.

The massacre of those Conestogoe Indians was thus described by Susanna Wright, of Columbia, to wit: “The cruel murder of these poor Indians has affected and discomposed my mind beyond what I can express. We had known the greater part of them from children; had been always intimate with them. Three or four of the women were sensible and civilized, and the Indians’ children

* All these removals were measures of security, as fears were entertained from some of our own excited citizens, favourable to the Paxtang boys.

† Among the most conspicuous of these were Edward Pennington and William Logan, who were of course had under dealings by the Society; but as their generous purposes were popular, their sentence was mild—only an exclusion from service in affairs of discipline.

used to play with ours and oblige them all they could. We had many endearing recollections of them, and the manner of effecting the brutal enormity so affected us, that we had to beg visitors to forbear to speak of it. But it was still the subject with every body."

No good succeeded to the wretches. They were well remembered by old Mr. Wright, long a member in the Assembly from Columbia. He used to tell at Charles Norris', where he staid in session time, that he had survived nearly the whole of them, and that they generally came to untimely or suffering deaths!



Present State and Refuge of the Delaware Indians.

The Indian nation of the *Delawares*—our proper Indians—was once one of the most numerous and powerful tribes; but are now reduced to about four or five hundred souls, and scattered among other tribes. The chief place where they now hold any separate character and community, is at the river Thames, in Upper Canada, about 70 miles from Detroit. There is there a place called Moravian town—made memorable by being destroyed by our Americans in the last war, and by the death of Tecumseh, the celebrated Shawnee Chief, in the battle of the "Long woods." This is at present the last and only Moravian missionary establishment among the Indians of our country. There are there about 160 souls under the mission of the Rev. Abram Luchenback, and his assistant, the Rev. Mr. Haman. They worship from printed books in the Delaware tongue.

The wanderings of the poor Delawares under the Moravian auspices are curious. They first collected on Mahony, a branch of the Lehigh, from whence they were driven by the French war. They then removed to near Bethlehem, where they remained till the war of the Revolution; thence they removed to Tioga; thence to Alleghany and to Beaver creek, Ohio. Both of these settlements broke up and went to Muskingum near New Philadelphia, where in 1821 there were but about three families remaining; these removed to the above mentioned settlement on the Thames, which was established about the year 1793.

In connexion with this renewed Moravian town, there is, higher up the Thames, a place called Bingham, occupied by Delawares; and not far from them dwell some Munsee and Chippewa Indians.

A small settlement of Delawares now reside near the mouth of Grand river in Upper Canada, where they form a part of the six nations who have a reserve of sixty miles in length on both sides of that river. Among some of these, the Methodist missionaries have wrought much civilization and moral improvement.

The Indians formerly of Chester county, were of the Delaware

or "Lenni Lenape." Of these was the tribe of the Nanticoke, which dwelt once, and lingered long, along the whole region drained by the stream of the Brandywine—

"Their home for many an age was there!"

They removed from thence in the year 1757, to the vallies of the Wyoming and Wyalusing, on the Susquehanna. At the great treaty of St. Mary's in 1820, there was then present about twenty Chiefs and warriors, of the *Nanticokes*; and among them was *one* who had withstood the storms of ninety winters, who, in most dramatic pathos, told the Commissioners, that he and his people had once roamed through their own domains along their favourite Brandywine. A gentleman then present related this as fact. Ah, poor Indian! what recollections and reflections he must have had, if duly sensible of the change to him, and even to us!

"A mighty Chief, whose hundred bands
Ranged freely o'er those shaded lands;
But now there's scarcely left a trace,
To mind one of that friendly race!"



Tedyuscung,

A Delaware Chief, a frequent visiter to Philadelphia, from 1750 to '60.—By this means, and his frequent intercourse with the whites, he had acquired a competent knowledge of our language; he was a tall, large figure of a man; he always regarded himself as at home in the Norris family, where he was always welcomed: he generally had some retinue with him, and affected the character of something superior as a sovereign: he was addicted to occasional excess in drinking. On one occasion, he went with a dozen of his train to Norris' country house at Fairhill—the male part of the family being absent, the females hid themselves, from terror; he, however, entered and blustered about; one of the hired girls fearing some mischief might be done to the property, for they were searching the closets for food and drink, she took up courage, and went in to restrain them; Tedyuscung affected to frighten her, saying they would kill her if she did not provide them something good; she vapoured in return—but to make the best of it, she laid them a table and refreshments, and by some finesse succeeded to hurry them off: they had much noisy mirth before going. Mr. Norris used to talk of this afterwards good-naturedly to the Chief; and he used to promise no more to take possession where there were none but women to receive him.

Governor Dickinson used to relate, that he attended a treaty at Albany, where Tedyuscung was a negotiator: while there, at a time when the Chief was making an ill-timed speech, being excited by a surplus of strong drink, his wife, who was present, was

heard to speak in the most modest and silvery tones imaginable in the Indian tongue; the melody of her tones enchanted every ear; while she spoke, she looked steadfastly and with much humility to the ground; every body was curious to inquire of the Chief what she said; he answered rudely—"Ho! she's nothing but a poor weak woman!—she has just told me it was unworthy the dignity and the reputation of a great King like me to show myself drunken before the Council of the nation."

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*Isaac Still*

Was a celebrated Indian of good education, a leader of the last remains of the Delawares adjacent to Philadelphia. He was a christian man of fine morals and much good sense; and was therefore employed as agent and interpreter, in French as well as English, in many important missions to distant Indians; he was said to have travelled further over the surface of our country to the unknown wilds of the West, than any other individual, and having seen, as he said, the Rocky mountains and the white Indians; his journal of observations were deemed important, and were therefore taken down by some one for publication; but where it now is, is not known.\* For a considerable time he dwelt with his family, in wigwam style, on a part of Logan's place, now called the Indian field; their only son, Joshua, in the mean time, was educated at the Germantown school house. In 1771, he moved up into Buckingham, purposing there to collect his scattered tribe, and to move them off to the Wabash, "far away, as he said, from war and rum." This he effected in the fall of 1775, having with him about 40 persons, chiefly females, as the men and the young and active (about 20) had gone on before. Mr. Samuel Preston, who witnessed their departure, describes Still as a fine looking man, wearing a hat ornamented with feathers. The women, all bareheaded, each loaded with a large pack on their back, fastened with broad straps across their foreheads, thus making their heads bear much of the burthen, they proceeded in regular form of march. Thus ended, in the year 1775, the last vestige of Leni Lenape from the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, and from Bucks county and Jersey! Many further particulars concerning Isaac Still as an Indian, and of his services as a useful agent and ally to our cause, are told in several MS. letters from the said Samuel Preston, and may be consulted on page 556, and following, in my MS. book deposited with the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, to whom the facts therein told, more appropriately belong.

\* It was done while he was on Logan's place, as he said himself,—and Mr. Samuel Preston has suggested (Vide my MS. book,) some papers and families, where he thinks it might yet be found,—say among the papers of Logan, Doctor Barton, or H. Drinker, or F. Pennington.



Bucks county is also identified with another Indian of greatest fame, even of the renowned Tamanend, (or Tamané, as Penn spells his name,) the tutelary saint of our country ! His remains repose by the side of a spring not far from Doylestown. A letter now before me from my friend E. M. says, "I have just returned from visiting the identical spot in which the celebrated Indian Chief St. Tamané was buried. It is about four miles from this village, in a beautiful situation, at the side of an endless spring, which, after running about a furlong, empties into the Neshaminy,—the spot is worth visiting ; and the reflections it awakens is worth a league's walk !" Another letter says, "I have discovered a large Indian mound, known by the name of the Giant's Grave," and at another place is an Indian burial ground, on a very high hill, not far from Doylestown."

There is some tradition existing that king Tamanend once had his cabin and residence on the meadow near the Ridge road, situated under a great Elm tree on Francis' farm. The character of Tamanend is told at length in the interesting work of Heckewelder.

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Miscellanea.

An original deed "from Wiggonecheenuah, in behalf of all the Delaware Indians concerned," grants unto Edmund Cartridge a piece of ground, formerly his plantation, laying in a turn of Conestogoe creek, called Indian Point [no acres or bounds mentioned,] and dated in the presence of A. Cox, witness, on the 8th of April, 1725. The Indian signature and seal is curious ; the seal is of red wax impressed with a running fox, and the Indian signature, in lieu of his name, is a tolerable good drawing of a similar animal. The deed itself is among the Logan MSS. In 1722, John Cartledge is named as killing an Indian at the same place.

In 1720, the Gazette states that a run-away man was seen last "at an Indian town, called Pehoquellamen, on Delaware river." Who can designate that place ? Or who can now say where was "Upper and Lower Dinderdonk" Islands, where George Fox, the Friend, was ferried across the Delaware in Indian canoes ?

In 1721, Sir William Keith the Governor, and his Council, and 30 gentlemen, set out for Conestogoe, to there hold an Indian treaty with the Heads of the five nations.

In the Gazettes of this period, I often observe Indians named as occasionally serving as sailors on board some of our coasting vessels. The Indians in Maine too, in fighting us, in the year 1727, coasted in an armed vessel there, and fought their cannon, &c. well as others ! At that time too, more Indians than others were employed in all the Nantucket whalers.

In 1728, some ten or twelve Indians in Manatawna, on the Schuylkill, fell into a quarrel with the whites, and several are

killed. Governor Gordon, in consequence, visits the Indians at French creek, and at "Indian town" at Conestogoe, to incite them to peace, and he proclaims, that no molestation shall be offered to any of the Indian nations then in our borders, to wit: "Delawares, Conestogoe, Ganawese, Shawenese, Mingoos." At this time, several Delawares are stated as living about Brandywine. In the same year the Indians assault the ironworks at Marketasoney, and were beaten off with loss.

At this time, two brothers, Welshmen, are executed at Chester for the murder of three Indians; they declared they thought all the Indians were rising on them, in the case of the above strife. They appear to have been maddened with sheer fright, and killed the first unoffending Indians they met.

In the year 1755, the votes of the Assembly—vol. 4, gives some proceedings concerning the Shawnese, which show that their Chief once held a conference with William Penn, under the great tree at Shackamaxon, a fact to which their talks refer.

About the year 1759 advertisements often appear in the Gazettes, describing children recovered from the Indians, and requesting their friends to come and take them home. Several are described as having sustained some injury; and in many cases can only tell their baptismal names, and the same of their parents!

In 1762, a number of white children, unclaimed, were given up by the Indians at Lancaster, and were bound out by order of the Governor.

The Gazettes of the year 1768-9, contain such frequent and various recitals of the havoc and cruelties of the incensed Indians on the frontiers, as would, if selected, make quite a book of itself. Of the numerous calamities, Colonel Boquet, who commanded a regiment of Highlanders, and was at Fort du Quesne (Pittsburgh) after the peace of 1763, gives a very affecting recital of the delivery up to him of all the prisoners surrendered by the Indians. Husbands went hundreds of miles in hopes of finding lost wives or children. The collection amounted to several hundred! and the sight of seeing husbands and wives, rushing into each others arms, and children claimed by their parents, made the joy of all such, extreme! There was also the mourning of others, who hoped to find relatives—but neither finding nor hearing of them, made much lamentation. There were also Indians, who had adopted all those persons, and loved them as their children or relatives, and having then to give them up, showed great signs of distress. Some young Indians had become passionately fond of some young women, and some few women had formed attachments for them. The Indians loaded their friends at their departure with their richest gifts—thus proving they had hearts of tenderness, even to prisoners.

THE PIRATES.



—————A bucaniering race—
The dregs and feculance of every land.

THE story of the pirates had been in early times, one of deep interest and stirring wonder to our forefathers; so much so, that the echo of their recitals, far as we have been long since removed from their fears, have not yet ceased to vibrate upon our ears. Who among us of goodly years but has heard something of the names and piracies of Kid and Blackbeard! They have indeed much of the mist of antiquity about them; for none remember the original tales truly, and all have ceased to read, for none know where to find the book of "the History of the Pirates," as published by William Bradford, in New York, in 1724. That book I have never been able to procure, although I have some conception of it and its terrifying pictures, as once seen and read by my mother when a child. It had every character of the marvellous surely, when it contained notices of the lives of two female pirates—even of Mary Reed and Anne Bonny!

Captain Kid.

Captain Kid (William) used to be the earliest name of terror along our coast, although I believe he never committed any excesses near our borders, or on our vessels; but partisans in his name were often named and dreaded. What countryman he was does not appear, but his residence appears to have been in New York before his piracies were known, where he had a wife and child. He most probably had been a successful privateersman, possessing then the friendship of Governor Fletcher, Mr. Nicolls, and Col. Robert Livingston; the latter of whom recommended him to the Crown "as a bold and honest man to suppress the prevailing piracies in the American seas." It appears on record at New York, as early as March 1691, that Captain Kid then reclaimed a pressed seaman; and on the 17th of August, of the same year, he is recorded as bringing in his prize and paying the King his tenth, and the Governor his fifteenth, of course showing he was once every way a legalized man among them. His being called "bold," probably arose from numerous acts of successful daring which made his name renowned while on the side of the law, and equally a subject of terror when openly acknowledged a pirate. It appears

from a pamphlet of facts in the case, set forth by the friends of the Earl of Bellomont about the year 1702, that Col. Robert Livingston and Captain Kid being both in London in 1694, the former recommended him to the crown officers, and also became his security, by whom he received command of the Adventure Galley, and sailed from Plymouth in February, 1695. He came out direct to New York.* thence went to Madeira, Madagascar, and the Red sea. In the latter he began his piracies, capturing several vessels, and finally the Quedah Merchant, of 400 tons; with her he came back to the West Indies, where leaving her in charge of one Bolton, he came in a sloop† to Long Island sound, and made many deposits on shore. While in the sound he sent one Emmet to the Earl of Bellomont, then transferred from the government at New York to that at Boston, to negotiate terms of reconciliation. The Governor assured him of fair treatment, in such terms of equivocity as ensnared him so far that he landed the first of June, 1699—was then arrested and sent home to England for trial. Finally, he was executed at Execution Dock, the 23d of March, 1701, and so gave rise to the once notable "song of Captain Kid." Col. Livingston again attempted to befriend him after his arrest at Boston, by offering some suggestions for his relief. He was one-fifth owner of his original enterprise, in concert with some noblemen in England. The whole was an unofficial adventure of crown officers, possessing, however, the sanction though not the commission of the King. The expedition itself being thus of an anomalous character, excited considerable political inquiry in England, and finally became, after Kid's death, the subject of Parliamentary investigation. The particulars more at large have been preserved by me in my MS. book of Historical Collections, given to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Smith's History of New York has some few facts concerning him—see 4to edition, p. 91. A writer at Albany, in modern times, says they had the tradition that Kid once visited Coeymans and Albany; and at a place two miles from the latter it was said he deposited money and treasure in the earth. Two families, now of wealth and respectability, of New York, have been named to me as original settlers at Oyster Bay on Long Island, who became suddenly enriched by their connexion with Kid's piracies. The story was, that they deserted from his sloop above-mentioned, in the sound, after seeing the treasure deposited, and that the chief was arrested, and the expedition destroyed, they profited by the exclusive gain.

Many incidental facts of that day show that the pirates often had their friends and accomplices on shore, acting not unlike the armed vessels off our coasts in the time of the French Revolution,

* The Modern Universal History (Edition—1763,) says he left off cruising along New York and New England because of non-success.

† The word sloop often meant a war vessel without reference to the manner of her rigging.

all of whom seemed to have accurate knowledge of fit prizes to sail, or expected to arrive. The very circumstance of Kid's having a family in New York inferred his family alliances, and perhaps, if we now knew all things, we might see, even now, some of his wealthy descendants.

In 1699, Isaac Norris, sen. writes, saying, "We have four men in prison, taken up as pirates, supposed to be Kid's men. Shelly, of New York, has brought to these parts some scores of them, and there is sharp looking out to take them. We have various reports of their riches, and money hid between this and the capes. There was landed about twenty men, as we understand, at each cape, and several are gone to York. A sloop has been seen cruising off the capes for a considerable time, but has not meddled with any vessel as yet, though she has spoken with several."

The above quoted letter, in the Logan MS. collection, goes to countenance the prevalent idea of hidden money. The time concurs with the period Captain Kid was known to have returned to the West Indies. It may have been the very sloop in which Kid himself was seeking means of conveying home his treasure, and with which he finally went into Long Island sound to endeavour to make his peace. Four of the men landed at Lewistown, were apprehended and taken to Philadelphia; I saw the bill of their expense,* but heard no more of them, save that I saw that Colonel Quarry, at Philadelphia, was reproached by William Penn for permitting the bailing of the pirates; some were also bailed at Burlington.—Vide Penn's letter of 1701. One man of Jersey was arrested by James Logan, on his own declaration that he had so hid money on Cape May, but the case was discharged by Logan himself, as something like a hoax. William Clark, the Collector of Customs "down the Delaware," at Lewistown I presume, had his house robbed by pirates, as he alleged.

A letter from Jonathan Dickinson, then at Port Royal, dated the 5th of 4 mo. 1699, to his wife then in Philadelphia, says, "Many pirates are, and have been upon the coast. About two days since came news of Captain Kid's being upon our coast; being come from the East Indies with a great booty, but wants provisions. He is in a ship which he took from the natives of those parts, having thirty odd guns, with 25 white men and 30 negroes. There is gone hence, two days since, Ephraim Pilkerton in a sloop well manned to go and take him." Probably the reason of so few men on board the "Quedah" was, that Kid himself was absent in the sloop before mentioned.

An original letter, which I have seen, from John Askew in London, dated 22d of 3 mo. 1701, to Jonathan Dickinson, contains a *post scriptum* intimating the finale of this bold searover—saying, "Captain Kid, with some other pirates are to execute to-

* Wessell Alricks, of Newr county, (New Castle) was paid 9*£*, for bringing pirates, in 1700, to Philadelphia, from the Whore-kills.—Logan MSS.

morrow at Execution Dock, in Wapping—Kid, to be gibbeted at Tillberry Fort. Gravesend.”

As a sequel to the whole, came out the ballad song of Captain Kid—a great rarity in the present day, although the pensive tones are still known to some, and have been latterly revived in much bad taste among the eccentric Camp-meeting hymns—singing, “Farewell ye blooming youth,” &c. For the use of the curious, both the facts and the style of the pirate song are here preserved from the recollections of an ancient person, to wit :

1. My name was Captain Kid, }
 When I sail'd, when I sail'd, } bis.
 My name was Captain Kid,
 And so wickedly I did,
 God's laws I did forbid }
 When I sail'd, when I sail'd. } bis.
2. My name, &c.
 I roam'd from sound to sound,
 And many a ship I found,
 And them I sunk or burn'd,
 When I sail'd, when I sail'd.
3. My name, &c.
 I murder'd William Moore,
 And laid him in his gore,
 Not many leagues from shore,
 When I sail'd, when I sail'd.
4. My name, &c.
 Farewell to young and old,
 All jolly seamen bold ;
 You're welcome to my gold
 For I must die, I must die.
5. My name, &c.
 Farewell to Lunnon town,
 The pretty girls all round ;
 No pardon can be found,
 And I must die, I must die.
6. My name, &c.
 Farewell, for I must die,
 Then to eternity,
 In hideous misery,
 I must lie, I must lie.



Blackbeard.

It would appear as if none of the pirates so much agitated the minds of our proper ancestors as **Blackbeard**—his very name raising ideas of something terrific and cruel. His proper name

was Teach, who acquired the *cognomen* as possessing in his person an alarming black beard, probably cherished for purposes of effect to terrify his enemy, and as in full keeping with his black or bloody flag. His depredations in our proper seas was considerably more modern than the piracies of Kid; and after Blackbeard's career was ended in 1718, there were many, as we shall presently show, to succeed him. But we have, however, mention of a piracy, even earlier than Kid's known piracies, even as early as his privateering; for very early in the rise of our infant city, one Brown, of the Assembly, a son-in-law too of the Deputy Governor, Colonel Markham, was refused his seat in the House on his alleged connexion with the pirates.* They doubtless found such a defenceless place a ready market to vend some of their spoil, and the naval regulations could have had little or no means to prevent clandestine commerce. The bay and river doubtless furnished them many a secure place in which they could refit or provide their necessary supplies. Perhaps as jolly sailors, full of money and revelry, they sometimes found places even of welcome, from those who might choose to connive at their real character. We find, as early as 1692, that one Babit and others stole a sloop from Philadelphia for purposes of piracy, and also committed some thefts in the river. It was, however, but a small affair, and yet small as it was, it much excited the town.

In the year 1701 such was the apprehensions from pirates, from their depredations on the seacoast, that watches were appointed to give alarm in Sussex.

Mrs. Bulah Coates, (once Jacquet,) the grandmother of Samuel Coates, Esq. now an aged citizen, told him that she had seen and sold goods to the celebrated Blackbeard, she then keeping a store in High street, No. 77, where Beninghove now owns and dwells—a little west of Second street. He bought freely and paid well. She then knew it was him, and so did some others. But they were afraid to arrest him lest his crew, when they should hear of it, should avenge his cause, by some midnight assault. He was too politick to bring his vessel or crew within immediate reach; and at the same time was careful to give no direct offence in any of the settlements where they wished to be regarded as visiters and purchasers, &c.

Blackbeard was also seen at sea by the mother of the late Dr. Hugh Williamson of New York; she was then in her youth coming to this country, and their vessel was captured by him. The very aged John Hutton, who died in Philadelphia in 1792, well remembered to have seen Blackbeard at Barbadoes after he had come in under the Act of Oblivion. This was but shortly before he made

* Wilcox Phillips, who kept the inn for many years at the east end of the long stone bridge leading to the Kensington market place, (who would now be about 100 years of age) told an aged friend of mine that his grandfather, who lived on or about that spot, used to tell him that a pirate had actually wintered his vessel in the Cohocksinc creek, a little above that bridge.

his last cruise, and was killed in 1718. The present aged Benjamin Kite has told me, that he had seen in his youth an old black man, nearly 100 years of age, who had been one of Blackbeard's pirates, by impressment. He lived many years with George Grey's family, the brewer in Chesnut street near to Third street. The same Mr. Kite's grandfather told him he well knew one Crane, a Swede, at the upper ferry on Schuylkill, who used to go regularly in his boat to supply Blackbeard's vessel at State Island. He also said it was known that that freebooter used to visit an inn in High street, near to Second street, with his sword by his side. There is a traditionary story, that Blackbeard and his crew used to visit and revel at Marcushook, at the house of a Swedish woman, whom he was accustomed to call Marcus, as an abbreviation of Margaret.

How long Blackbeard exercised his piracies before the years 1717 and '18, which terminated his profligate career, I am not enabled to say, but in this time the MS. papers in the Logan collection make frequent mention of him and others, as in that hateful pursuit, to wit :

In 1717, Jonathan Dickinson at Philadelphia, writes, saying, "The pirates have not yet quitted our coast, and have taken one of our vessels at the cape, in which you happily did not ship my wine."

In August, 1718, he says, "We have been perplexed by pirates on our coast and at our capes, who plundered many of our vessels, also several from Virginia, Maryland, and New York, and some of the piratical crews are come into our province to lurk and cover themselves."

In March, 1718, he writes—"We have account from Virginia, that two small sloops fitted out there, and manned by the men-of-war's men against Captain Teach, alias Blackbeard, conquered his vessel after a bloody battle, and carried Teach's head into Virginia. We have heard too of Major Bonet and his crew, with another crew, were hanged in South Carolina: and of one Taylor and his crew at Providence. But this latter wants confirmation. How these sort of men have fared in other parts we wait to hear. For these two summers, they have greatly annoyed our trade. They pillaged one of my vessels, and destroyed the letters."

In another letter he writes and says, "Colonel Spotswood, Governor of Virginia, formed a design with the Captain of a small man-of-war to send out two of their country sloops with about 50 men, to attack Captain Teach, alias Blackbeard, a pirate then at North Carolina, whom they took, and brought his head into Virginia, after a bloody battle, and most of them killed and wounded,"*—he also adds a sentence of peculiar character, saying, "I have to remark, that papers and letters taken in Blackbeard's

* James Logan says Governor Spotswood had before sent on to Philadelphia to get proclamations printed, offering a generous reward for pirates.

possession will strongly affect some persons in the government of North Carolina !”

In 1717, James Logan writes, saying, “We have been extremely pestered with pirates who now swarm in America, and increase their numbers by almost every vessel they take—[compelling them to enter by coercion or otherwise.] If speedy care be not taken they will become formidable, being now at least 1500 strong. They have very particularly talked of visiting this place; many of them being well acquainted with it, and some born in it, for they are generally all English, and therefore know our government can make no defence.”

In the same year he writes to the Governor of New York, saying, “We have been very much disturbed the last week [in October.] by the pirates. They have taken and plundered six or seven vessels to or from this place; some they took to their own use, and some they dismissed after plundering them. Some of our people having been several days on board of them, had much free discourse with them. They say they are about 800 strong at Providence, and I know not how many at Cape Fear, where they are making a settlement. Captain Jennings, they say, is their Governor in Chief, and heads them in their settlement. The sloop that came on our coast had about 130 men, all stout fellows, all English, and double armed. They said they waited for their consort of 26 guns, when they designed to visit Philadelphia! Some of our masters say they know almost every man on board—most of them having been lately in the river; their commander is Teach, who was here a Mate from Jamaica about two years ago.” In another letter he says, “They are now busy about us to lay in their stores of provisions for the winter.”

In October, 1718, James Logan again writes to Colonel Hunter, the Governor of New York, by express, saying, “We are now sending down a small vessel to seize those rogues, if not strengthened from sea. We are in manifest danger here, unless the King’s ships (which seem careless of the matter,) take some notice of us; they probably think a proprietary government no part of their charge.* It is possible indeed, that the merchants of New York, some of them I mean, might not be displeased to hear we are all reduced to ashes. [Even so early it seems there were jealousies of trade!] Unless these pirates be deterred from coming up our rivers by the fear of men-of-war outside to block them in, there is nothing but what we may fear from them, for that unhappy pardon [the same Teach, before embraced,] has given them a settled correspondence every where, and an opportunity [mark this,] of lodging their friends where they please to come to their assistance: and nowhere in America, [mark this!] I believe, so much as in this town.

* At that time, as J. Logan writes to John Askew in London, there was a King’s ship at New York, and three or four in Virginia.

Remember too, says he, that one of the capes of Delaware, and half of our bay and river, are under thy government."

Such was the picture of piracy, which once distressed and alarmed our forefathers, and shows in itself much of the cause of the numerous vague tales we still occasionally hear of Blackbeard and the pirates. Here we have direct fact of his then being on the coast, well armed with a crew of 130 men, and waiting the arrival of another vessel, when he meditated a visit of rapine and plunder on Philadelphia itself! Think too of his crew being men generally known to Captains in Philadelphia—some of them born among us,—others had been lately in the river, and the whole busily concerting schemes to lay in their winter supply of provisions; and all this through the assistance on shore of former pirates among them, who had been pardoned by the Act of Oblivion, and on the whole produced such favour to their object, even in Philadelphia itself, surpassing any other town! Think too of the alleged force of the whole concentrated outlaws—such as 800 in Providence, and so many at Cape Fear in North Carolina, as to have their own Governor!

As some incidental proof of "the assistance on shore" from pirates, holding their place among us under the former Act of Oblivion and Pardon, we may add, to wit: Isaac Norris, writing to his friend in October, 1718, says, "My son Harrison, moving from Maryland, had all his household goods and a value of English goods and stores on board of G. Grant's shallop, taken between Apoquiminy and New Castle, and carried off with two valuable negro men, by eight or ten pirates in an open boat—rogues that lately came in on the King's proclamation! Grant (the owner of the shallop!) is suspected to be in the confederacy, and is in prison—having secreted goods belonging to R. Harrison, found with him, to the value of 40 to 50*l.* *"

The same year (1718) I found that the Grand Jury in Philadelphia presented a case of piracy, to wit: John Williams, Joseph Cooper,† Michael Grace, William Asheton, George Gardner, Francis Royer and Henry Burton, with force of arms, viz. with swords, guns, cutlasses, &c. forcibly took the sloop Antelope of 22 tons, riding in the Delaware, and bore her off, &c. It was, however, marked *Ignoramus*, as not found, probably from the difficulty of procuring direct witnesses.

When we thus consider "their friends" thus "lodged among us every where," it presents additional reasons for the ideas of buried treasure of the pirates once so very prevalent among the people, of which I have presented several facts of digging for it under the head of Superstitions. They believing that Blackbeard and his

* This is the same family into which the Hon. Charles Thomson married; they settled at Harriton in Merion, where C. T. lived and died.

† It may be seen in the sequel that Joe Cooper became commander of a pirate vessel, and he and his crew came to their untimely end in the bay of Honduras in 1725.

accomplices buried money and plate in numerous obscure places near the rivers: and sometimes, if the value was great, they killed a prisoner near it, so that his ghost might keep his vigils there and terrify those who might approach. Those immediately connected with pirates might keep their own secrets, but as they might have children and connections about, it might be expected to become the talk of their posterity in future years that their fathers had certain concealed means of extravagant living: they may have heard them talk mysteriously among their accomplices of going to retired places for concealed things, &c. In short, if given men had participation in the piracies, it was but natural that their proper posterity should get some hints, under reserved and mysterious circumstances of hidden treasure, if it existed. Certainly it was once much the expectation and the talk of the times—for instance, the very old two-story house at the north east corner of Second street and Gray's alley, (i. e. Morris' alley) originally built for Stephen Anthony, in digging its cellar they found there a pot of money, supposed to have been buried by the pirates. This story I heard from several very aged persons. I have stated elsewhere the fact of finding another pot of money in Spruce street near Front street.

It may seem strange to us that so much aggregate depravity among English seamen could have been found as to accumulate such numbers of pirates as alleged at Providence and Cape Fear, but they had just come out of a war in which privateering had been much fostered and depended upon by many. It presents an awful proof of the corruption of morals usually produced by the legalized robbery, called privateering, so generally conducted in an irresponsible manner. Indeed the ideas of privateersmen and pirates were so identified in the minds of people generally, that a privateer was often called the pirate.



Other Pirates.

The death of Blackbeard and his immediate companions appears to have had no visible restraint on the spirit of desperate adventure in others. It doubtless broke the connection with us on shore; but as general searovers, there still continued later accounts of several, roaming and ravaging on the high seas, to wit:

In the Gazettes of 1720, there is frequent mention of our vessels encountering "pirates" in the West Indies. They are pillaged, but not murdered; nor otherwise so barbarously maltreated as now.

In 1721, it is observed that "the pirates" act generally under the colours of Spain and France.—"We have advice that Captain Edwards, the famous pirate, is still in the West Indies, where they have done incredible damage," and at the same time the Gazette says, "A large sloop has been seen from hence (off Cape May) cruising on and off for

ten days together, supposed to be a pirate," and three weeks later she is mentioned as running ten leagues up the bay, and thence taking out a large prize.

In 1722, mention is made of a pirate brigantine which appears off and at Long Island—commanded by one Lowe, a Bostonian. They had captured a vessel with five women in her, and sent them into port in safety in another vessel. His name often afterwards occurs as very successful; at one time he took Honduras, &c. One Evans, another pirate, is also named. While Lowe was off Long Island, several vessels were promptly fitted out against him, but none brought back any renown.

In 1723, the above "Captain Lowe, the pirate, and his consort, Harris, came near the Hook; there they got into action with his Majesty's ship the Greyhound. The two pirates bore the black flag, and were commanded by the celebrated Lowe." The Greyhound captured Harris' vessel, having 37 whites and 6 blacks, prisoners; but Lowe's vessel escaped, having on board, it is said, 150,000*£.* in gold and silver. The names of the prisoners are published, and all appear to be American or English. They were tried and all executed, not long after, at Long Island. What a hanging day for 44 persons at once!

Before this action they had probably been near Amboy, &c. as it was just before announced that "two pirate vessels looked into Perth Amboy, and into New York!"

On the return of Captain Solgard to New York, of the Greyhound, he is presented the freedom of the city, in a gold snuff box. Lowe is afterwards heard of as making prizes of twenty French vessels at Cape Breton. He is stated as peculiarly cruel, since his fight above, to Englishmen, cutting and slitting their ears and noses. There is also named one Lowder—another pirate on the banks.

In 1724, Lowe, the pirate, lately came across a Portuguese, and plundered her. His vessel is a ship of 30 guns, called the Merry Christmas; he has another ship in company as his consort. Captain Ellison, of New York, was taken in sight of Barbadoes by Sprigg, the pirate, by whom he was well treated, though plundered some. Soon after, the Gazette announces that it is said that Sprigg the pirate is to come on our coast to the Eastward, to careen. He is in the Old Squirrel man-of-war, which being sold for a merchantman was taken by Lowe, and run away with by Sprigg and others of Lowe's crew. He says when he gets more men he will come and take Captain Solgard, with whom he before fought off the Hook, and who was at this time again out in the Greyhound, cruising along the coast for pirates.

The same year (1724) it is announced that they hear from Honduras by Captain Smith, that "Sprigg, the pirate," is there in the Bachelor's Delight of 24 guns, in company with Skipton in the Royal Fortune of 22 guns—the same which had been commanded by Lowe, but his crew mutinying set him ashore. Skipton is a North countryman, and merciful. They promise to visit our coasts in the spring.

In 1725, it is said that Sprigg, the pirate, was put ashore by his men in the West Indies, whereby he was taken prisoner to Jamaica. From Barbadoes it is heard that Line, who was commander of his consort, was taken into Currocoa. There they were paraded to the prison, with their black silk flag! Line had lost his nose and an eye, and the wounds of

his men *stank* as they walked. Line confessed he had killed 37 masters of vessels!—Possibly it was boasting over-much. Skipton, the pirate, with 80 men, is stated to have been taken by his Majesty's ship the *Diamond*, in the bay of Honduras, together with Joseph Cooper,* another pirate vessel. When one of these vessels saw she must surrender, the Captain with many of his men went into the cabin and blew themselves up!

This year of 1725 appears to have been fatal to the pirates. Their career seemed almost every where run out, and terrible and inglorious their end—"The way of the transgressor is hard!" After this the former frequent mention of pirates, in almost every weekly paper, subsides. The peaceful and honest mariners no longer fear to traverse the ocean. There was still delays of justice to some when, as late as October, 1731, Captain Macferson and four others were tried for piracy and hanged.

* Joe Cooper was before mentioned as a pirate, known and presented by the Grand Jury at Philadelphia in 1718.

THE SWEDES.



THE following few facts concerning the Swedes, the earliest cultivators of our soil, may be worthy of some brief notices, to wit : Penn's letter says the Swedes and Fins came soon after the Dutch ; while the latter pursued traffic the others turned to husbandry, settling chiefly about the freshes of the river Delaware. Such as Penn saw them, they were a plain, strong, industrious people, but had made no great improvements. Their houses were full of fine children.

Numbers of Swedes lived about Kensington and on Gunner's creek, before the arrival of Penn. They had grants of land from Alexander Henoyon, the Governor of New York, as early as 1664—that is the date of the deed to old Peter Cock for Shackamaxon. On that creek, three fourths of a mile from its mouth, now so diminished, they once built large sloeps, and afterwards a brig at its mouth.

The Swedes dwelt in numbers on Tinicum, calling the place New Gottenburg. At their church there, the first corps ever buried was Catharine, daughter of Andrew Hanson, October 24, 1646.

To the church upon Tinicum Island all the Swedes, settled along the Delaware, used to go in their canoes from long distances. They did the same in visiting the primitive log church at Wiccoco,—almost all their conveyances were preferred by water. There was a store upon Darby to which they always went by water, even when the land route was often nearest.

The old Swedish inhabitants were said to be very successful in raising chick turkies : as soon as hatched they plunged them into cold water, and forced them to swallow a whole pepper corn,—they then returned it to the mother, and it became as hardy as a hen's chick. When they found them drooping, their practice was to examine the rump feathers, and such two or three as were found filled with blood were to be drawn, and the chick would revive and thrive.

Kalm, the Swedish traveller, who was here among his countrymen in 1748, has left us such notices as follows concerning them, to wit :

The ancient Swedes used the sassafra for tea, and for a dye. From the persimon tree they made beer and brandy. They called the mullein plant the Indian tobacco ; they tied it round their arms and feet, as a cure when they had the ague. They made their candles generally from the bayberry bushes ; the root they

used to cure tooth ache ; from the bush they also made an agreeable smelling soap. The magnolia tree they made use of for various medicinal purposes.

The houses of the first Swedish settlers were very indifferent ; it consisted of but one room : the door was so low as to require you to stoop. Instead of window panes of glass they had little holes, before which a sliding board was put, or, on other occasions they had isinglass : the cracks between logs were filled with clay ; the chimnies, in a corner, were generally of grey sandstone, or for want of it, sometimes of mere clay ; the ovens were in the same room. They had at first separate stables for the cattle ; but after the English came and set the example, they left their cattle to suffer in the open winter air. The Swedes wore vests and breeches of skins ; hats were not used, but little caps with flaps before them. They made their own leather and shoes, with soles (like moccasins) of the same materials as the tops. The women too, wore jackets and petticoats of skins : their beds, excepting the sheets, were of skins, of bears, wolves, &c. Hemp they had none, but they used flax for ropes and fishing tackle. This rude state of living was, however, in the country places principally, and before the English came, who, rough as they must have also lived for a time, taught a comparative state of luxury.

The Swedes seem, however, to have retained an hereditary attachment to skin garments, for within the memory of the aged Mrs. S. she had seen old Mauntz Stille, down the Passyunk road, in his calfskin vest and jacket, and buckskin breeches.

Many Swedes settled along the western side of the Schuylkill. Matthias Holstein, a primitive settler in Upper Merion, took up 1000 acres there. Mauntz Rambo, an aged Swede, alive about 50 years ago, born near the Swedes Ford, was a celebrated hunter in his day ; he killed numerous deer in the neighbourhood in his time—once he shot a panther which he found attempting to attack his dog. He remembered many Indians still among them, in his younger days.

My friend Major M. Holstein, fond of his Swedish descent, tells me, that when he went to the Swedes' church in Merion as a boy, all the men and women came there on horseback, and all the women wore "safe-guard petticoats," which they took off and hung along the fence.

His grandmother, born at Molothan, four miles from Pottsgrove, remembered the Indians once about them, and that she herself when young, had been carried some distance on a squaw's back. They then did all their travelling by canoes on the Schuylkill. When married, she and her wedding friends came down to the Swedes Ford in their canoes. In the same manner they always made their visits to Philadelphia.

THE GERMANS.



THIS hardy, frugal, and industrious portion of our population in Pennsylvania, so numerous and exclusive in places as to preserve their manners and language unaltered, are so often the subject of remark in the early MSS. which I have seen in the Logan collection, &c. as to deserve a separate notice, to wit :

When the Germans first came into the country, save those who were Friends and settled in Germantown in 1682-3. it is manifest there was a fear they would not be acceptable inhabitants, for James Logan in 1717 remarks, "We have of late great numbers of Palatines poured in upon us without any recommendation or notice, which gives the country some uneasiness, for foreigners do not so well among us as our own people," the English.

In 1719 Jonathan Dickinson remarks, "We are daily expecting ships from London which bring over Palatines, in number about six or seven hundred. We had a parcel who came about five years ago, who purchased land about sixty miles west of Philadelphia, and prove quiet and industrious. Some few came from Ireland lately, and more are expected thence. This is besides our common supply from Wales and England. Our friends do increase mightily, and a great people there is in this wilderness country, which is fast becoming a fruitful field."

Kalm, the Swedish traveller, here in 1748, says the Germans all preferred to settle in Pennsylvania, because they had been ill-treated by the authorities in New York, whither they first inclined to settle. Many had gone to that colony about the year 1709, [say 1711.] and made settlements on their own lands, which were invaded under various pretexts. They took great umbrage, and beat some of the persons who were disposed to dispossess them. Some of their leading men were seized by the government. The remainder in disgust left the country, and proceeded to settle in Pennsylvania. After that, even those who arrived at New York would not be persuaded to tarry, but all pushed on to Pennsylvania, where a better protection was granted to their rights and privileges. This mortified the New Yorkers, but they could not remove the first unfavourable impressions. As many as twelve thousand came to Philadelphia in 1749.

This emigration from New York to Pennsylvania is further incidentally explained by James Logan in his MS. letters to the pro-

prietaries. In writing to them in the year 1724, he manifests considerable disquietude at the great numbers coming among them, so numerous that he apprehends the Germans may even feel disposed to usurp the country to themselves. He speaks of the lands to the northward, (meaning Tulpehocken) as overrun by the unruly Germans,—the same who, in the year 1711, arrived at New York at the Queen's expense, and were invited hither in 1722 (as a State policy) by Sir William Keith when he was at Albany, for purposes of strengthening his political influence by favouring them.

In another letter of 1725, he calls them crowds of bold and indigent strangers from Germany, many of whom had been soldiers. All these go into the best vacant tracts, and seize upon them as places of common spoil. He says they rarely approach him on their arrival to propose to purchase; and when they are sought out and challenged for their rights of occupancy, they allege it was published in Europe that we wanted and solicited for colonists, and had a superabundance of land, and therefore they had come without the means to pay. The Germans in aftertime embroiled with the Indians at Tulpehocken, threatening a serious affair.* In general, those who sat down without titles acquired enough in a few years to buy them, and so generally they were left unmolested. Logan speaks of 100,000 acres of land so possessed, and including the Irish squatters also.

“ Bold master-spirits, where they touch'd they gain'd
Ascendence—where they fix'd their foot, they reign'd !”

The character of the Germans then known to him, he states, are many of them a surly people—divers of them Papists,—the men well armed, and, as a body, a warlike, morose race. In 1727, he states that 6000 Germans more are expected, and also many from Ireland; and these emigrations he hopes may be prevented in future by act of parliament, else he fears these colonies will, in time, be lost to the crown!—a future fact.

In 1729, he speaks of being glad to observe the influx of strangers, as likely to attract the interference of parliament, for truly, says he, they have danger to apprehend for a country where not even a militia exists for government support. To arrest in some degree their arrival the Assembly assessed a tax of 20 shillings a head on new arrived servants.

In another letter he says, the numbers from Germany at this rate will soon produce a German colony here, and perhaps such a one as Britain once received from Saxony in the fifth century. He even states as among the apprehended schemes of Sir William Keith, the former Governor, that he, Harland and Gould, have had sinister projects of forming an independent province in the

* It was at Tulpehocken Conrad Weiser, a German, so often employed as Indian interpreter, was settled and died—say at present Womelsdorf, where he had his farm.

West, to the westward of the Germans, towards the Ohio—probably west of the mountains, and to be supplied by his friends among the Palatines and Irish, among whom was his chief popularity at that time.

In later time, say about the year 1750 to '55, the Germans having become numerous, and therefore powerful as make-weights in the political balance, were much noticed in the publications of the day. They were at that period of time in general very hearty co-operators with the Friends, then in considerable rule in the Assembly. A MS. pamphlet before me, supposed to have been written by Samuel Wharton in 1755, shows his ideas of the passing events, saying, that the party on the side of Friends derived much of their influence over the Germans through the aid of C. Sower, who published a German paper in Germantown from the time of 1729, and which, being much read by that people, influenced them to the side of the Friends, and hostile to the Governor and Council. Through this man, says he, they have persuaded them there was a design to enslave them; to enforce their young men [by a contemplated militia law,] to become soldiers, and to load them with taxes, &c. From such causes, he adds, they came down in shoals to vote, and carry all before them. To this I may add, that I have heard from the Norris family that their ancestors in the Assembly were warmly patronised by the Germans in union with Friends. His alarms at this German influence at the polls, and his proposed remedies for the then dreaded evils, as they show the prevalent feelings of his associates in politics, may serve to amuse the present generation. He says the bad effects of these successes of the Germans will probably be felt through many generations! Instead of a peaceable, industrious people as before, they are grown now insolent, sullen and turbulent.—in some counties threatening even the lives of all those who oppose their views, because they are taught to regard government and slavery as one and the same thing. All who are not of their party they call "Governor's men." and themselves they deem strong enough to make the country their own! Indeed, they come in, in such force, say upwards of 5000 in the last year. I see not but they may soon be able to give us law and language too, or else, by joining the French, eject all the English. That this may be the case, is too much to be feared, for almost to a man they refused to bear arms in the time of the late war, and they say it is all one to them which King gets the country, as their estates will be equally secure. Indeed it is clear that the French have turned their hopes upon this great body of Germans. They hope to allure them by grants of Ohio lands. To this end they send their Jesuitical emissaries among them to persuade them over to the Popish religion.*

* It is true that the Jesuits at an early period founded a missionary station at Lancaster; and in 1734, Governor Gordon, from the fear of their being connected with French interests, brought the subject before the Council.

In concert with this the French for so many years have encroached on our province, and now are so near their scheme as to be within two days march of some of our back settlements—alluding of course to the state of the western wilds, overrun by French and Indians just before the arrival of Braddock's forces in Virginia, in 1755.

The writer imputes their wrong bias in general to their "stubborn genius and ignorance," which he proposes to soften by education—a scheme still suggested as necessary to give the general mass of the inland country Germans right views of public and individual interests. To this end, he proposes that faithful Protestant ministers and schoolmasters should be supported among them—a scheme, as we shall presently see, which actually came to pass. Their children should be taught the English tongue; the government in the mean time should suspend their right of voting for members of Assembly; and to incline them the sooner to become English in education and feeling, we should compel them to make all bonds and other legal writings in English, and no newspaper or almanac be circulated among them unless also accompanied by the English thereof.

Finally, the writer concludes that "without some such measure I see nothing to prevent this province from falling into the hands of the French!" The paper at length, may be seen in my MS. Annals in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, pages 198 to 202. There may be consulted also, in the City Library, several pamphlets, pro and con, concerning the Germans and Quakers, printed in 1747-8—one is "Plain Truth,"—"An Answer to Plain Truth,"—and in 1764 appears "the Plain Dealer," and "An Answer" to it, &c.

The same writer gives a passing notice of a Society in England, of noblemen and gentlemen, to raise funds for some English schools for the Germans among us; and in 1755 Benjamin Franklin published a book, entitled "A Brief History of the Charitable Scheme for Instructing Poor Germans in Pennsylvania." It is the same scheme alluded to in the Pennsylvania Gazette of 1755, saying therein, that a great Society is formed in Europe for the raising of money for instructing the poor German children, and giving them ministers, &c. It is patronised in Holland and England by the first nobility and gentry, and some of our first citizens are made Trustees of the charity—such as Hamilton, Allen, Franklin, Peters, &c. The Rev. Mr. Schlatter is made visiting and travelling Inspector and Agent, and the Rev. Dr. Smith, our Provost, was charged with the publication of a German newspaper. The States of Holland and West Friesland grant 2000 guilders per annum, for five years. Much is given in Amsterdam. The General Assembly of Scotland gave 1200*l.* sterling. The King of England gave 1000*l.*—the Princess of Wales 100*l.*—the proprietaries also agreed to give annually, &c. The style of the whole forcibly re-

minds one of the popular missionary schemes of the present day. It is all done in the name of advancing the interests of the Protestant religion—giving pious education—teaching them “to read their Bible, to sing psalms, to write and cast accounts,” and also “to furnish pious instruction where they have no ministers.” The whole effect of this formidable array, now that the effervescence has subsided, and the means have been fully exerted, might tempt a looker-on to suggest *cui bono!*

THE IRISH.



THE Irish emigrants did not begin to come into Pennsylvania until about the year 1719. Those which did come were generally from the North of Ireland. Such as came out first generally settled at and near the disputed Maryland line. James Logan, writing of them to the proprietaries, in 1724, says they have generally taken up the southern lands, [meaning in Lancaster county, towards the Maryland line] and as they rarely approached him to propose to purchase he calls them bold and indigent strangers, saying as their excuse, when challenged for titles, that we had solicited for colonists and they had come accordingly. They were, however, understood to be a tolerated class, exempt from rents by an ordinance of 1720, in consideration of their being a frontier people, forming a kind of cordon of defence, if needful. They were soon called bad neighbours to the Indians, treating them disdainfully, and finally were the same race who committed the outrage called the Paxtang massacre. These general ideas of them are found in the Logan MS. collection. Some of the data is as follows:

In 1725 James Logan states that there are as many as 100,000 acres of land possessed by persons (including Germans) who resolutely set down and improve it without any right to it, and he is much at a loss to determine how to dispossess them.

In 1729 he expresses himself glad to find the Parliament is about to take measures to prevent the two free emigration to this country. In the mean time the Assembly had laid a restraining tax of 20 shillings a head for every servant arriving; but even this was evaded in the case of the arrival of a ship from Dublin with 100 Papists and convicts, by landing them at Burlington. It looks, says he, as if Ireland is to send all its inhabitants hither, for last week not less than six ships arrived, and every day two or three arrive also. The common fear is, that if they thus continue to come they will make themselves proprietors of the province. It is strange, says he, that they thus crowd where they are not wanted. But few besides convicts are imported thither.* The Indians themselves are alarmed at the swarms of strangers, and we are

* Augustus Gun, of Cork, advertised in the Philadelphia paper, that he had power from the Mayor of Cork, for many years, to procure servants for America.

afraid of a breach between them—for the Irish are very rough to them.

In 1730 he writes and complains of the Scotch Irish, in an audacious and disorderly manner possessing themselves about that time of the whole of Conestogoe manor of 15,000 acres, being the best land in the country. In doing this by force, they alleged that "it was against the laws of God and nature, that so much land should be idle while so many Christians wanted it to labour on, and to raise their bread," &c. The Paxtang boys were all great sticklers for religion and for Scripture quotations against "the heathen!" They were, however, dispossessed by the Sheriff and his *posse*, and their cabins, to the number of thirty, were burnt. This necessary violence was perhaps remembered with indignation, for only 25 years afterwards the Paxtang massacre began by killing the Christian unoffending Indians found in Conestogoe. Those Irish were generally settled in Donegal.

In another letter he writes, saying, I must own, from my own experience in the Land Office, that the settlement of five families from Ireland gives me more trouble than fifty of any other people. Before we were broke in upon, ancient Friends and first settlers lived happily, but now the case is quite altered, by strangers and debauched morals, &c. All this seems like hard measure dealt upon these specimens of "the land of generous natures," but we may be excused for letting him speak out, who was himself from the "Emerald Isle," where he had of course seen a better race.

His successor, Richard Peters, as Secretary to the proprietaries, falls into similar dissatisfaction with them—for in his letter to them, of 1743, he says he went to Marsh creek, in Lancaster county, to warn off and dispossess the squatters, and to measure the manor land. On that occasion, the people there, to about the number of seventy, assembled and forbid them to proceed, and on their persisting they broke the chain and compelled them to retire. He had with him a Sheriff and a Magistrate. They were afterwards indicted—became subdued, and made their engagements for leases. In most cases the leases were so easy that they were enabled to buy the lands ere they expired.

NEGROES AND SLAVES.



He finds his fellow guilty—of a skin
Not colour'd like his own!—For such a cause
Dooms and devotes him as his lawful prey.

IN the olden time dressy blacks and dandy *colour'd* beaux and belles, as we now see them issuing from their proper churches, were quite unknown. Their aspirings and little vanities have been rapidly growing since they got those separate churches, and have received their entire exemption from slavery. Once they submitted to the appellation of servants, blacks, or negroes, but now they require to be called coloured people, and among themselves, their common call of salutation is—gentlemen and ladies. Twenty to thirty years ago, they were much humbler, more esteemed in their place, and more useful to themselves and others. As a whole they show an overweening fondness for display and vainglory—fondly imitating the whites in processions and banners, and in the pomp and pageantry of Masonic and Washington Societies, &c. With the kindest feelings for their race, judicious men wish them wiser conduct, and a better use of the benevolent feelings which induced their emancipation among us.

We have happily been so long relieved from the curse of slavery, that it's scarcely known to the younger part of the community how many features we once possessed of a slave-owning colony. The following facts in the case will prove new to many :

The first negro slaves ever imported into North America were brought in a Dutch ship in 1620, and sold in Virginia.

The state of slavery in Pennsylvania was always of a mild character, not only from the favourable and mild feelings of the Friends in their behalf, but from the common regard they found in families in general where their deportment was commendable. Hector St. John, Esq. who wrote concerning the state of slavery in Pennsylvania* as it was just before the period of the Revolution, says, "In Pennsylvania they enjoy as much liberty as their masters—are as well fed and as well clad; and in sickness are tenderly taken care of—for, living under the same roof, they are in effect a part of the family. Being the companions of their labours, and treated as such, they do not work more than ourselves, and

* Vide his Farmer's Letters.

think themselves happier than many of the lower class of whites.— A far happier race among us, he adds, than those poor suffering slaves of the South.”

The first efforts ever made in Pennsylvania towards the emancipation of the blacks proceeded from the Society of Friends in Germantown, the most of whom, at that period, were emigrants from Germany. These in the year 1688, under the auspices of F. D. Pastorius, moved a petition or remonstrance to the Yearly Meeting of Friends, saying in effect, it was not Christian-like to buy and keep negroes. The Meeting forbore then to give any positive judgment in the case. But inquiry was created. Contemporaneous with this period William Penn himself, whose light or reflections on the case were not equally awakened, says, in his letter of the 4th of 8 mo. 1685, to his steward, James Harrison, at Pensbury, “It were better they were blacks, for then we might have them for life,” intimating thereby, that his indented servants there, were changed too often.

In 1693, the separate Meeting of Friends under George Keith, assembling at the house of Philip James, in Philadelphia, gave forth a paper declaring their sense of the duty of emancipation—“after some reasonable time of service.”—Vide Gabriel Thomas.

The large original proprietors of property in Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, called “the Free Society of Traders” of 1682, although as a corporation they might be said, like others, “to be without souls,” conceded an article very favourable to emancipation, saying, “If the Society should receive blacks for servants, they shall make them free at 14 years end, upon condition that they will give unto the Society’s ware-house two-thirds of what they are capable of producing on such a parcel of land as shall be allotted to them by the Society, with a stock and necessary tools.” Then comes a proviso of rather singular character, saying, “And if they will not accept of these terms they shall be servants till they will accept of it!”

I have seen among the earliest pamphlets extant of Philadelphia publication, one from the Friends’ Meeting of Philadelphia, of the 13th of 8 mo. 1693, giving “exhortation and caution to Friends concerning buying and keeping negroes.” The sum of the counsel was, that none should attempt “to buy except to set free.” This little address contained many of the arguments now usually set forth against slavery.

In 1696, the Yearly Meeting of Friends having concerted some measures to discourage the bringing in of more slaves, and to preserve the morals of those they had, the subject was renewed in the year 1700, on the arrival of William Penn, in consideration of his pressing upon the Philadelphia Meeting his wishes concerning the same. Their sense of the subject was expressed as follows, to wit: “Our dear friend and Governor, having laid before this Meeting a concern that hath laid upon his mind for some time

concerning the negroes and Indians, that Friends ought to be very careful in discharging a good conscience towards them in all respects, but more especially for the good of their souls; upon consideration whereof, this Meeting concludes to appoint a Meeting for negroes, to be kept once a month, &c."

At the same time he introduced a bill into the Assembly "for regulating negroes in their morals and marriages,"—also another "for their trials and punishments." The former was defeated by the jealousies then in the House. From the same causes an act of more security was substituted in 1705 against the negroes, entitled "An Act for the trial and punishment of negroes." It inflicted lashes for petty offences, and death for crimes of magnitude. They were not allowed to carry a gun without license, or be whipped 21 lashes—nor to meet above four together lest they might form cabals and riots. They were to be whipped if found abroad after nine o'clock at night without a pass, &c. At and before 1705, it had been in practice to bring Indians as slaves from the Carolinas, to the offence of the Pennsylvania Indians. This was prevented by an Act.

In 1715, Mr. Isaac Norris in one of his letters speaks thus concerning a question in Meeting respecting slaves: "Our Meeting was large and comfortable, and our business would have been very well were it not for the warm pushing by some Friends, of Chester chiefly, in the business of negroes. The aim was to obtain a minute that none should buy them for the future. This was opposed as of dangerous consequence to the peace of the church: for since they could not tell how to dispose of those we have, and that many members must still possess them, and then it might fall to their lot in duty to deal with future offenders, which as it could not in itself be equitable, such must do it with an ill grace, and at best it would be a foundation for prejudice and evil speaking one of another, so that it was got over." The liberating genius of Benezet has since cast better lights upon this subject, perplexed as they then deemed it.

The early efforts made to repress slavery were reiterated and numerous in our Provincial Assembly. As early as the year 1705, a duty was imposed on their importation: this was renewed in 1710. In 1711, they struck at the root of the evil, by forbidding their introduction in future; but the Privy Council in England, scandalized by such liberal policy in so new and so diminutive a community, whilst their policy was to cherish slavery in so many other colonies, quashed the act in an instant. The Assembly, not daunted by such a repulse, again in 1712, upon petition, "signed by many hands," aimed at the same effect, by assessing the large sum of 20*l.* a head. This was again cancelled by the same transatlantic policy. When the petition for the 20*l.* duty was presented, another was offered in the name of William Southeby, praying "for the total abolition of slavery in Pennsylvania!"

Thus early were the minds of our forefathers awake to this manifest infraction of human rights, and having their consciences and feelings enlisted in the cause, though often thwarted in their purposes, they still continued to renew their efforts, so that more than one dozen of acts may be counted upon our statute books, tending directly or indirectly to repress or abolish slavery prior to our Revolution. Finally, the memorable act of 1780, when we had "set up for ourselves," for ever released us from the thralldom of "Sinews bought and sold!"

A letter of 4 mo. 1715, from Jonathan Dickinson, a merchant of Philadelphia, and a Friend, to his correspondent in Jamaica, says, "I must entreat you to send me no more negroes for sale, for our people dont care to buy. They are generally against any coming into the country. Few people care to buy them, except for those who live in other provinces."—Vide the Logan MSS.

Some benevolent individual, as early as the year 1722, advertised in the Mercury Gazette of Philadelphia, that "a person, lately arrived, freely offers his services to teach his poor brethren, the male negroes, to read the Holy Scriptures without any charge."

The celebrated Whitfield embraced the benevolent scheme of ameliorating the condition of the blacks he saw in our colonies. In 1739 he published his letter to the southern planters, against the practice of slavery, and in favour of the blacks; at the same time he takes up 5000 acres on the Forks of Delaware, (the same sold to Count Zinzendorf for Bethlehem,) in order to erect a negro school, &c. His choice of Pennsylvania for his negro colony and settlement, showed thus early his favourable opinion of the good feelings to that race in Pennsylvania.

At the same time we may perceive, that as a slave holding colony the odious features of slavery were necessarily to be seen among us,—such as the public buying and selling,—their arrival and landing from ships, &c. I give the following facts in illustration of things as they were once among us, to wit:

Year 1736—William Allen and Joseph Turner, merchants, advertise for sale some likely negroes from Barbadoes; another about the same time advertises for sale a likely breeding negro woman and her boy of two years old.

Year 1762—Messrs. Willing and Morris advertise for sale 170 negroes just arrived from the Gold Coast.

It was the common incident of the day to vend blacks of both sexes at public sale, at the old London Coffee House, setting up the subject upon the head of a cask for display to the purchasers around.

After better views and feelings had long prevailed, old recollections were strongly revived in an incident which occurred in the year 1800.—The Ganges sloop of war captured two vessels engaged in slavery, and brought them into our Delaware—one had 118 and the other 16 slaves. In encamping these at the Lazaretto

for the benefit of free air and health, a husband and wife, separated in the ships, never expecting to meet again, recognised each other. Their mutual recognisance was passionately fond and affecting. The sudden surprise and joy was too powerful for the wife, and she became a premature mother. But through the well directed kindness of the Abolition Society she was restored to health and freedom.

Before the Revolution it was a common incident in Philadelphia to send family servants to the jail to get their dozen lashes, for acts of insubordination. This was done at the pleasure of the master, and was usually executed on receiving a written message from the owners. An old gentleman told me of a case which he witnessed :—A master sent his servant, "Hodge's Cato," with his letter, wherein he requested to have him well whipt. The black was shrewd, suspected it conveyed some ill to him, and fell upon a device to shun it. He stretched himself on the stall at the market house near the prison, affecting to have been seized with violent cramps and pains in the bowels. When he had succeeded to excite the pity of some bystanders, he begged a black fellow near him to hurry away and deliver his letter, as it was a matter requiring haste. The appeal answered the purpose fully; for, maugre all his remonstrances, he received all the lashes bespoke for "the bearer!"

When slaves were purchased in early times with intention to be taken to other colonies, there was seen, even in Philadelphia, the odious spectacle of "the drove," tied two and two, passing through the city towards the country.—Several of the aged have told me of witnessing such things even in the gentle city of Penn!

Many can still remember when the slaves were allowed the last days of the fairs for their jubilee, which they employed ("light hearted wretch!") in dancing the whole afternoon in the present Washington Square, then a general burying ground—the blacks joyful above, while the sleeping dead reposed below! In that field could be seen at once more than one thousand of both sexes divided into numerous little squads, dancing, and singing, "each in their own tongue," after the customs of their several nations in Africa.

Finally, a discerning lady, who has witnessed "the former years," and has seen the comparative happiness of the blacks—has felt too, her strong affections and domestic relations to her family servants—thus speaks of her sense of the change produced in family comforts! "In the olden time domestic comforts were not every day interrupted by the pride and profligacy of servants. The slaves of Philadelphia were a happier class of people than the free blacks of the present day generally are, who taint the very air by their vices, and exhibit every sort of wretchedness and profligacy in their dwellings. The former felt themselves to be an integral part of the family to which they belonged. They experienced in all respects the same consideration and kindness as white

servants, and they were faithful and contented." The truth is, in numerous cases where they were freed, they preferred to remain and receive their wages till their deaths.

Kalm, the Swedish traveller, speaks of the then only free negroes in Philadelphia in 1748, as having been manumitted by a Quaker master—probably referring to Ralph Sandiford, who freed all of his in the year 1733, and probably presenting to us the first instance of the kind known in our annals.

There is an ancient charity for the blacks of Philadelphia, founded as early as the year 1696, and yet, although in actual operation, is as much unknown to the mass of our citizens as if it were in Africa!

It originated with the Rev. Dr. Bray, American missionary, the Bishop of London, and Mr. D'Alone, Secretary to King William. Its primary object was "the conversion of adult negroes, and the education of their children" in the British plantations. Its operation with our Philadelphia blacks began about the year 1760. And in 1774 the ground rents of a large lot in our city was set apart for the payment of the expenses of two schools for blacks, one for each sex, to be educated gratuitously. "The Associates" in England are perpetual; and from their appointments, three of our citizens, churchmen, constantly serve the schools as directors and governors.—Those now in service are William Meredith, Thomas Hale, and James S. Smith, Esquires. Such a charity, supported by foreigners, deserves to be better known, and especially by those blacks who may become its beneficiaries.

REDEMPTION SERVANTS.



NUMEROUS persons used to arrive every year from Germany and Ireland, who engaged themselves for a term of years to pay their passages. Some of them turned out frugal and industrious, and became in time a part of our wealthy citizens. In some few cases they appear to have been convicts from Ireland. In one case the servant was found to be a Lord, and returned home to inherit his estate. The general facts are to the following effect, to wit :

In 1722 the Palatinè servants were disposed of at 10*l.* each, for 5 years of servitude. About this time a MS. letter of Jonathan Dickinson says, “Many who have come over under covenants for four years are now masters of great estates.”

1728—An advertisement reads, “Lately imported, and to be sold cheap, a parcel of likely men and women servants.”—These were probably servants from Europe.

1729—In New Castle government there arrived last year, says the Gazette, 4500 persons, chiefly from Ireland ; and at Philadelphia, in one year, 267 English and Welsh, 43 Scotch—all servants, 1155 Irish, and 243 Palatines, of whom none were servants.

In 1737, an article appears in the Pennsylvania Gazette to the following effect, to wit : “An errant cheat detected at Annapolis ! A vessel arrived there, bringing 66 indentures, signed by the Mayor of Dublin, and 22 *wigs*, of such a make as if they were intended for no other use than to set out the *convicts* when they should go ashore.” Thus these convicts were attempted, under fraudulent papers and *decent wigs*, to be put off as decent servants, and especially when surmounted with wigs ! Same time is advertised “for sale, a parcel of English servants from Bristol.”

In 1741, public information is given to merchants and captains that Augustus Gun of Cork, bellman, has power from the Mayor there, to procure servants for America for this many years past.

Such an advertisement in a Philadelphia paper, was of course an intimation that the Mayor of Cork was willing to get off sundry culprits to the colonies.

In 1750, some of our good citizens take alarm at the idea of having criminals, “unwhipt of justice,” imposed upon them. They thought the offences of such, when among us, swelled our criminal list.—One writes upon the subject and says “When we see our pa-

pers filled so often with accounts of the most audacious robberies, the most cruel murders, and other villainies, perpetrated by convicts from Europe, what will become of our posterity! In what could Britain injure us more than emptying her jails on us? What must we think of those merchants, who, for the sake of a little petty gain, will be concerned in importing and disposing of these abominable cargoes." From the tenor of the preceding article it is probable they got premiums in some cases for taking off such unwelcome guests. In some cases the severity of British laws pushed off young men, of good abilities, for very small offences, who made very capable clerks, storekeepers, &c. among us. I have knowledge of two or three among us, even within my memory, who rose to riches and credit here, and have left fine families. One great man before my time had been sold in Maryland as an offender in Ireland.—While serving his master as a common servant, he showed much ability, unexpectedly, in managing for him an important lawsuit, for which he instantly gave him free. He then came to Philadelphia, and amassed a great fortune in landed estate, now of great value among his heirs.

When Kalm was here, in 1748, he speaks of wages of hired people as from 16 to 20*l.* currency. A servant woman got from 8 to 10*l.* a year, and laid up money. About the same rate of wages continued down to the period of the Revolution. At such wages families were better served than now, and most of them were accustomed to remain in the same families for years.

The case of Lord Altham, who came to this country in 1728 when a lad, and served out his servitude, as James Annesley, with a farmer, on the Lancaster road, forms in itself a curious and interesting recital. The circumstance has furnished the groundwork for Roderick Random, and for the popular novel of Florence M-Cartey. The facts are as follows, to wit:

The facts concerning this singular case are taken from the evidence given on the trial, and may be depended on as authentic.

Arthur Annesley (Lord Altham) married Mary Sheffield, natural daughter of the Earl of Buckingham. By her, in the year 1715, he had a son, James, the subject of this memoir. In the next year the parents had some differences, which terminated in a separation. The father, contrary to the wish of the mother, took exclusive possession of his son James, and manifested much fondness for him, until the year 1722, when he formed some intimacy with Miss Gregory; and about the same time his wife died. Miss G. expecting now to become his wife, exerted herself greatly to alienate his affections from his son, by insinuating that he was not his proper child. She succeeded to get him placed from home, at a school in Dublin. In November, 1727, Lord Altham died; and his brother Richard, wishing to possess the estate and title, took measures to get rid of his nephew, James, by having him enticed on board an American vessel, which sailed from Dublin in April, 1728. He was landed at Philadelphia, then in his thirteenth year, and sold as a Redemp-

tioner! and actually served out 12 years in rough labour, until a seeming accident, in the year 1730, brought him to such acquaintance, as led, in the next year, to his return home. The case was this: Two Irishmen, John and William Broders, travelling the Lancaster road, in the year 1730, stopt at the house near the 40 milestone, where James was in service with an old German. These countrymen entering into conversation perceived they were severally from Dumaine, in the county of Wexford, and that James Annesley was the son of Arthur. The two Broders volunteered to go back to Ireland, and testify to the discovery they had made, and actually kept their word at the trial which afterwards occurred. James subsequently stated his case to Robert Ellis, Esq. of Philadelphia, who, compassionating his case, procured a passage for him to Admiral Vernon, then in the West Indies, by whom he was afterwards landed in England. But shortly after his arrival at London James unfortunately killed a man, for which he had to stand a trial; and then Lord Altham, the unnatural uncle, exerted himself to have him convicted, but he was nevertheless acquitted as innocent. An action was brought against the uncle, and went to trial in November, 1743, and the verdict was given in favour of James, our Redeptioner. The uncle appealed to the House of Lords; and while the case was pending James died, leaving the uncle in quiet possession of his ill-gotten estate, showing, however, while he lived, which was not long, the spectacle of a finished villain, even in an Irish nobleman.

THE FRIENDS.



“In stillness thus the little Zion rose.”

THE following constitute such special notices of the Friends as I occasionally met with in the course of my researches.

In 1684, Thomas Lloyd in writing a letter to the Friends' Meeting at Dolaran, in North Wales, dated the 2d of 6 mo. says, that there were then 800 people at Friends' Meeting in the city. At that time, says another writer, all denominations assembled with the Friends in much harmony and good fellowship, until discord and confusion was introduced by George Keith's schism.

In 1691 a scene of rare confusion was exhibited in Friends' Meeting. The facts in the case have been told by Thomas Wilson, a public Friend, who was present. George Keith who had just separated, sent T. Wilson and his companion, James Dickinson, a challenge to dispute. They readily agreed to meet, and many Friends of both parties assembled. George Keith railed much. He and his abettors requested another meeting, which was also granted. At another time George Keith went into Friends' Meeting while James Dickinson was there, and preached fawningly, as though he and James Dickinson were in unity; but James stood up and confuted him. Then Keith withdrew in much wrath, and the people of other denominations present, being numerous, cried aloud,—“Give way and let the devil come out, for the little black man from England (J. D.) has got the day!”

In 1702—8th of 9 mo. Isaac Norris' letter says, “George Keith hath been twice here, but has not yet disturbed our Meeting as hath been his custom to the Eastward. He is now the talk and news of the town; but has little to boast of in all his progress hitherto. His own party here is like to fall with him. All his sermons is railings against the Friends.

During the time of this schism there came out a printed pamphlet of 24 pages against orthodox Friends, which might be deemed a curiosity for its rare and gross scurrility. It is without imprint, but shows from its context that it was done at Philadelphia about the year 1701. Ample extracts of the whole have been preserved in my MS. Annuals in the City Library, on pages 190 to 193. There indeed they deserve to be buried, were it not that their style of abuse is so unique as to show a characteristic of some minds of

that day, which we could not conceive of in modern times; they besides contain some local references which may possibly serve on some needful occasion to illustrate some local incidents. The whole has the appearance of being set forth as the venom of Keith's adherents. It assails the characters, by name, of every leading man in Friends' Society, making them severally immoral men (though sly) of the grossest kind. It is called "the Cage of Unclean Birds,"—because so George Fox called false professors. I have purposely suppressed all the names, and refer to the whole now rather as matter of amusement than of scandal. The Friends, then vilified, must have been endowed with much moderation, to have endured such a publication, or else the doctrine of libels was ill understood and without practice among them. Some of the facts are ludicrous enough. One, a minister too, is accused by name of packing his flour barrels with only good flour at the ends! and also of *blowing* in money scales to make his light money pass off as weight! It reproaches them of vainglory in building "a great Cathedral Meeting Place at Philadelphia"—corner of Second and High streets.

I have seen the first record of marriages among Friends in Philadelphia for the first 32 years of the city. The first named is in 1682, of Thomas Smith with Priscilla Allen. These had before passed one Meeting in the Isle of Wight. The next marriage is that of David Breintnall with Jane Blanchard, in 1683. In 1684, eleven couples are married there. My own name—of Watson, is of very frequent occurrence among them. One singular name is, I presume, intended to commemorate a providence of God to the parents in their voyage, to wit:—Seamercy Adams, married to Mary Brett in 1686.

I have in my possession the original parchment certificate of one of those early marriages. It is chiefly curious as showing several signatures of the primitive leading Friends, and the verbal form of the instrument too, is somewhat different from the present.

In early days the bride, among Friends, wore a black silk hood over the head, with the long ends hanging down the front of the shoulder. It was neat and graceful. By this token she was universally known in the street as one "adorned as a bride." She always went on foot publicly to Meeting in a kind of procession of eight or ten couples. She was preceded by the father and mother of the groom, then by her own parents,—next "the happy pair"—then their special friends.

The wedding entertainments in olden times were very expensive and harassing to the wedded. The house of the parent would be filled with company to dine. The same company would stay to tea and supper both. For two days punch was dealt out in profusion. The gentlemen visited the groom on the first floor, and then ascended to the second floor to see the bride in the presence of her maids, &c. Then every gentlemen, even to 150 in a day, sev-

erally took his kiss—even the plain Friends submitted to these doings. I have heard of rich families among them which had 120 persons to dine—the same who had signed their certificate of marriage at the Monthly Meeting—these also partook of tea and supper. As they formerly passed the Meeting twice, the same entertainment was also repeated. Two days the male friends would call and take punch, and all would kiss the bride. Besides this, the married pair for two entire weeks saw large tea parties at their home; having in attendance every night the groomsmen and bridesmaids. To avoid expense and trouble, Friends have since made it sufficient to pass but *one* Meeting. When these marriage entertainments were made, it was expected also, that punch, cakes, and meats, should be sent out generally in the neighbourhood—even to those who were not visitors in the family. Some of the aged, now alive, can remember such weddings.

When the walking on the side-walks in Philadelphia streets was impeded with heavy snows, as in days of yore, the Friends were notable for their early care to provide good paths to Meeting. When Richard Hill (a distinguished man) married Miss Stanley, in 1727, they swept the snow from the corner of Norris' alley and Front street, up to the Meeting-house at the corner of Second and High streets—thus making a snow-path of three squares in length. An old doggerel used to say,—

“The rain rains, and the winds blow :
High heads—what a panic seize 'em !
Old Friends—to Meetings go,
Sweeping their way with a besom.”

Another expressed the fact in these words, to wit :

“The Quakers will to Meetings go,
And if their streets be full of snow,
They sweep it with their besom.”

When the Hectors and Hotspurs of the day were fierce for war-measures on the Indians, finding they could not get the sanction of the Friends to their intended embroiling measures, they fell upon expedients, such as satires and caricatures could enforce. Thus an ancient pamphlet printed at Ephrata,* contains a tirade called the “Cloven Foot Discovered,” some of which reads thus, viz.

“Pray, worthy friends, observe the text :
Get money first, and virtue next.—
Nought makes our Carolina curs
To bark and bite, but skins and furs,” &c.

In another place it reads thus :

“In many things, change but the name,
Quakers and Indians are the same.

* Supposed by Priest Barton, of Lancaster.

I don't say all, for there are such,
That honest are—e'en of the Dutch :
But those who the Indians' cause maintain
Would take the part of bloody Cain,
And sell their very souls for gain !" &c.

When in the year 1756, the Governor had proclaimed a day of fasting and prayer on account of the calamity of the Indian war, the Friends did not join in it as a ceremony. Some squibs appeared against them ; one reads thus, to wit :

" Perverseness is a breach in the spirit :
Quakers (that like to lanterns bear
Their light within them) will not swear.
Like mules—who, if they've not their will
To keep their own pace, stand stock still !"

The passions and the writers who gave point and effect to such trifles in their day, are all dead. I presume I need scarcely add, I give no revival to any of them but in sheer good nature, treating them rather as the comic of history, than as of any power to revive harm in our day !

The state of the Friends as a part of the civil community down to the year 1739, has been thus noticed in a MS. account by William Fishbourne, of that Society, saying, "As the chief part of the inhabitants were Quakers, they with others were and are concerned in acts of government ; but as the province increased and prospered in every respect, many of other persuasions came and settled here with worldly views, who have formerly attempted to wrest the civil power out of the Quakers' hands, as it is very probable they may and will again ; as they publicly begin to think and observe the country in its increased wealth and commerce "cannot be safe" under the conduct of men who from their principles (of religion) would continue it in a defenceless state and leave it an easy prey to any enemy. Thus not regarding (the fact) the peaceable introduction, and continuing from the first settlement both in time of peace and war."

In the year 1748 there was great efforts made in Philadelphia for the defence of the city, by erecting and furnishing two batteries at the Southwark end, and raising about 1000 volunteers. On this occasion some of the Friends, then in public employ, admitted the right of defensive measures, among whom were James Logan, whose letters to Benjamin Franklin on the occasion, I have seen. Kalm, the Swedish traveller, who was then here, remarks. "When the redoubt was erected at Swedes' church to prevent the French and Spanish privateers from landing, there was much opposition and debate, for the Quakers opposed the measure. Papers were printed and circulated pro and con ; but when the danger became imminent at the close of the war, many of the Quakers withdrew their opposition, and helped the measure with their money." This

is probably an overdrawn picture—giving the act of a few under the name of “many.”

In the same year, Governor Thomas having required of the Assembly measures for protection and defence, made some excitement there among the Friends, then members. On this occasion John Churchman, a public Friend, deemed himself called to visit that body and to set forth his testimony against war measures. It perhaps shows the kind feelings of that day, and the influence which Friends then enjoyed in the House, to say, that on making his wish known to speak, through the Speaker, he was allowed to go in and deliver his religious counsel. The sum of what he then said at considerable length is preserved in his Journal. “Beware (said he) of acting to oppress tender consciences, for many whom you now represent would be greatly grieved to see warlike preparations carried on by a law, consented to by their brethren in profession, contrary to the charter, for it is concluded that a reverent and true fear of God, the ancient arm of power, would be our greatest defence and safety,” &c. I have elsewhere spoken more at large on some other facts showing the embarrassments which Friends found in the exercise of civil government, evil as they found it.

A writer, of the year 1755, (Samuel Wharton’s MS.) writing on the political influence of the Friends, and wishing to see them excluded, tells the opinion of his day, as held by him and his party, saying, “But if it be asked by what means the Quakers, whose measures (against war) are so unpopular, get continually chosen into our Assemblies, I answer—they enter into cabals in their Yearly Meetings, which is convened just before the Election, and being composed of deputies from all the Monthly Meetings, provides a fit place for conducting political intrigues under the mask of religion.” I presume few of the present day will credit this scandal; but, as the feature of that day, it may now amuse a modern Friend thus to see such a novel use of their religious meetings! They are also accused of procuring great influence in the Elections among the Germans through the aid of C. Sower’s German paper, which always advocated Friend’s principles. Sower himself was a very good man, and therefore had a deserved influence over his countrymen. In 1759, four Friends, then members of Assembly, vacated their seats at the desire of the Council of the Crown, because it was a time of war.

I have seen in the possession of Mr. Henry Pemberton of Philadelphia, among other letters of William Penn of about the year 1677, one of them, having a Postscript to which is the signature of the celebrated George Fox. He used, like Penn and other writers of that day, two small *ffs*, in lieu of one capital, as thus—“G-ff.” Another autograph of Fox and of Barclay I have seen with R. Haines.

The Friends were long accustomed to hold night meetings on the

Sabbath ; their house on the Bank Hill, in Front near Arch street, was at first called Evening Meeting, because chiefly made for such a convenience when that at the Centre Square was too far off. They continued the Evening Meetings till after the Revolution, when they were constrained, by their sense of "not letting their good being evil spoken of," to disuse them, because their young women (as at some other Meetings almost ever since,) were mobbed by rude young men, who assembled in long lines of idlers, generating and cherishing more evil without the walls, than the good people could counterbalance within. The change met the approbation of the discreet—of those who virtually aim by every means "to suppress vice and immorality "

My friend Lang Syne, who has good feelings for those kind of reminiscences, has left some picturesque traces of some of the old preaching Friends, and of some of their school teachers, calculated to revive pleasing images of the past to those who love the associations of their early days. He thus speaks of his recollections of the preachers, saying, "James Pemberton, Nicholas Waln, Daniel Olley, Arthur Howell, William Savery and Thomas Scattergood were the then "burning and shining lights." From the preacher's gallery, as beheld through the "mist of years," James Pemberton sat at the head of the gallery—an immovable figure, very erect, and resting with both hands crossed on the top of his cane. Nicholas Waln appeared at all times with a smile of sunshine upon his countenance. An imperturbable severity rested on the dark features of Thomas Scattergood. Arthur Howell always sat shrouded beneath his hat drawn down over his face, and the upper part of his outside coat elevated to meet it—like unto a prophet "in his mantle wrapt," and isolated in thought from all sublunary things. William Savery possessed a mild solemnity of voice and feature, which distinguished him as a preacher above other men ; his softer and solemn tones and words in preaching, like those which may be imagined of the Æolian harp rudely touched by the wind, sunk through the ears down into the heart as "the dew of heaven" falling gently to the earth. The voice of Daniel Olley was as a sound produced by the falling of a bar of his own iron on the brick pavement before his furnace door. Among his dozen hammermen he was always accustomed to raise his piercing voice distinctly above their pattering sounds.

Of the teachers, more will be said in another place under the article "Education." Friends' academy then consisted of four different masters :—Robert Proud, Latin master ; William Waring, teacher of astronomy and mathematics ; Jeremiah Paul ; "The Master of Scholars" was John Todd.

PERSONS AND CHARACTERS.

“ A mingled groupe—of good or ill.”

“ The charm of biography consists of minor truths neglected by graver history.”

THE following facts concerning the persons severally named, are not intended as their proper biography, but as slight notices of individual character, which might be usefully preserved. As a general list, it will embrace alike, noble or ignoble—not a roll of merit, but of notoriety, to wit :

The First Born—John Key.

John Key, “ the first-born ” of our *city*, of English parentage, was born in 1682, in a cave at “ Penny-pot landing,” i. e. at the north west corner of Vine and Water street. William Penn was pleased to distinguish the person and the circumstance, by the gift of a city lot; the original patent of which is in my possession through the politeness of George Vaux, Esq. The tradition of the spot granted was utterly lost to common fame; but this patent shows its location to have been on the south side of Sassafras street, nearly opposite to Crown street, say *vis a vis* to Pennington’s sugar house.

The parchment and seal are in fine preservation.—The seal is flat, circular, four inches wide, of brown wax, appended by a green ribbon. It may be curious to preserve the following abstract, to wit: “ William Penn, Proprietary and Chief of Pennsylvania, sends greeting, &c. that a certain lot of ground between the Fourth and Fifth streets, bounded on the north by Sassafras street, &c.—in breadth 49½ feet and in length 306 feet; first granted *by warrant* from myself bearing date the 26th day of 3 mo. 1683, unto John Key, then an infant, being the first-born in the said city of Philadelphia,” &c. The patent to confirm the warrant aforesaid, is dated the 20th of July, 1713; the first-born being then a man of 31 years of age. The lot it appears he sold at the age of 33 years (say on the 24th of May, 1715,) to Clement Plumstead; and the latter in 2 years afterwards, sold it to Richard Hill for only twelve pounds! This he joined to many other lots, and made of it “ Hill’s Farm.” Further particulars may be read in my MS. Annals in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, page 50.

This notable first-born lived to good old age at his home in Chester county, and was accustomed to come occasionally to the city, always walking the streets with an unusually active step, although necessarily wondering at the changing scenes he constantly witnessed. Considering that he only died, in his 85th year, as late as the year 1767, (July) persons must be still alive who must have heard him talk of those things! When the hospital was founded in 1755, he was present by request, to lay the corner stone!

It was remarkable that the same year (August 10th, 1767,) was also the year of the death of "the first born" child in the province of English parents, born in 1681, one year before John Key, in a cave by the side of the Delaware river.—This venerable man of 86 died at Brandywine Hundred, Emanuel Grubb by name. He was active and vigorous to the last, and actually rode to Philadelphia and back on horseback, equal to 40 miles—only a few months before his death. His habits were temperate, never drinking any ardent spirits.

As those two venerable "first-borns" lived both near Chester, they had means of intercourse; and strange must have been their several emotions in talking over the years of improvement which they had witnessed down to the year 1767! What a feast they might have afforded to younger minds!

But another and a still earlier first-born, than either of the preceding, dwelt also in their neighbourhood, in the person of Richard Buffington, (son of Richard) he being "the first born Englishman in *Pennsylvania*," having been born in what was afterwards "the province," in the year 1679. The facts in his case were peculiarly commemorated in the parish of Chester on the 30th of May, 1739; on that day the father, Richard, having attained his 85th year, had a great assemblage of his proper descendants, to the number of 115 persons, convened in his own house, consisting of children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren—the first-born being then present in his sixtieth year.

These affections and respects to "first-borns" were alike commendable and natural. They possessed a peculiarity of character, and a relationship to things around them, which none others could enjoy, or even share with them. They were beings by themselves—alone! Others also have had and signalized their *first-born*! The New Yorkers had their *first-born*, in the person of Sarah Rapaelje, born in 1625, and the maternal ancestor of the Bogerts and Hansens. When she became the widow Forey, Governor Stuyvesant, in consideration of her birth, granted her a valley of land near the city. The Virginians had theirs, and such was their respect to him, that in the case of his rebellion, his life was spared to him, and he lived to be 80 years of age.* Our sister city of Baltimore

* Vide Samuel Bowyer's Journal.

honoured their *first-born*, in the person of Mrs. Ellen Moale, who died in that city in 1825, in her 84th year—she having been the *first born* white woman in that place. Strange it was, that she in her own person could say of such a city as Baltimore, that she had seen it first covered with woods, then become a field, next a village, and last a city of 70,000 souls !

Edward Drinker.

Edward Drinker was born on the 24th of December, 1680, in a small cabin, near the present corner of Walnut and Second streets, in the city of Philadelphia. His parents came from a place called Beverly, in the State of Massachusetts. The banks of the Delaware, on which the city of Philadelphia now stands, were inhabited, at the time of his birth, by Indians, and a few Swedes and Hollanders. He often talked to his companions of picking whortleberries and catching rabbits, on spots now the most improved and populous in the city. He recollected about the time William Penn came to Pennsylvania, and used to point to the place where the cabin stood, in which he, and his friends that accompanied him, were accommodated upon their first arrival. At twelve years of age, he went to Boston, where he served his apprenticeship to a cabinet maker. In the year 1745, he returned to Philadelphia with his family, where he lived until the time of his death. He was four times married, and had eighteen children, all of whom were by his first wife. At one time of his life, he sat down, at his own table, with fourteen children. Not long before his death he heard of the birth of a grandchild, to one of his grandchildren, the fifth in succession to himself.

He retained all his faculties till the last year of his life. Even his memory, so generally diminished by age, was but little impaired. He not only remembered the incidents of his childhood and youth, but the events of latter years ; and so faithful was his memory to him, that his son has informed that he never heard him tell the same story twice, but to different persons, and in different companies. His eye-sight failed him many years before his death, but his hearing was uniformly perfect and unimpaired. His appetite was good till within a few days before his death. He generally ate a hearty breakfast of a pint of tea or coffee, as soon as he got out of his bed, with bread and butter in proportion. He ate likewise at eleven o'clock, and never failed to eat plentifully at dinner of the grossest solid food. He drank tea in the evening, but never ate any supper ; he had lost all his teeth thirty years before his death, which was occasioned, his son said, by drawing excessive hot smoke of tobacco into his mouth : but the want of suitable mastication of his food, did not prevent its speedy digestion, nor impair his health. Whether the gums, hardened by age, supplied the place of his teeth in a certain degree, or whether the

juices of the mouth and stomach became so much more acrid by time, as to perform the office of dissolving the food more speedily and more perfectly, is not known; but it has often been observed, that old people are most disposed to excessive eating, and that they suffer fewest inconveniences from it. He was inquisitive after news in the last years of his life. His education did not lead him to increase the stock of his ideas any other way. But it is a fact well worth attending to, that old age, instead of diminishing, always increases the desire of knowledge. It must afford some consolation to those who expect to be old, to discover, that the infirmities to which the decays of nature expose the human body, are rendered more tolerable by the enjoyments that are to be derived from the appetite for sensual and intellectual food.

He was remarkably sober and temperate. Neither hard labour, nor company, nor the usual afflictions of human life, nor the wastes of nature, ever led him to an improper or excessive use of strong drink. For the last twenty-five years of his life, he drank twice every day of toddy, made with two table spoonfuls of spirit, in half a pint of water. His son, a man of fifty-nine years of age, said that he never saw him intoxicated. The time and manner in which he used spirituous liquors, it is believed, contributed to lighten the weight of his years, and probably to prolong his life. "Give wine to him that is of a heavy heart, and strong drink to him that is ready to perish with age, as well as with sickness. Let him drink and forget his sorrow, and remember his misery no more."

He enjoyed an uncommon share of health, insomuch that in the course of his long life he never was confined more than three days to his bed. He often declared that he had no idea of that most distressing pain called the headach. His sleep was interrupted a little in the last years of his life with a defluxion on his breast, which produced what is commonly called the old man's cough.

The character of this aged citizen was not summed up in his negative quality of temperance: he was a man of the most amiable temper: old age had not curdled his blood; he was uniformly cheerful and kind to every body: his religious principles were as steady as his morals were pure. He attended public worship about thirty years in the Rev. Dr. Sproat's church, and died in a full assurance of a happy immortality. The life of this man is marked with several circumstances, which perhaps have seldom occurred in the life of an individual. He saw and heard more of those events which are measured by time, than have ever been seen or heard by any man since the age of the patriarchs; he saw the same spot of earth, which at one period of his life, was covered with wood and bushes, and the receptacle of beasts and birds of prey, afterwards become the seat of a city not only the first in wealth and arts in the new, but rivalling in both, many of the first cities in the old world. He saw regular streets where he once pursued a hare: he saw churches rising upon morasses, where he had often heard the

croaking of frogs; he saw wharves and warehouses, where he had often seen Indian savages draw fish from the river for their daily subsistence; and he saw ships of every size and use in those streams, where he had often seen nothing but Indian canoes; he saw a stately edifice filled with legislators, astonishing the world with their wisdom and virtue, on the same spot, probably, where he had seen an Indian council fire; he saw the first treaty ratified between the newly confederated powers of America and the ancient monarchy of France, with all the formalities of parchment and seals, near the spot where he once might have seen William Penn ratify his first and last treaty with the Indians, without the formality of pen, ink or paper; he saw all the intermediate stages through which a people pass, from the most simple to the highest degrees of civilization. He saw the beginning and end of the empire of Great Britain, in Pennsylvania. He had been the subject of seven successive crowned heads, and afterwards became a willing citizen of a republic; for he embraced the liberties and independence of America in his withered arms, and triumphed in the last years of his life in the salvation of his country.

It might have been said of him also, that he was in spirit and politics a real whig of the Revolution, and liked to get the King's proclamations and make them into kites for the use of his grand and great-grandchildren. The late Joseph Sansom, who used to often see him at his father's, described him to me as a little withered old man, leaning heavily upon his staff, whilst Mr. Sansom's father, to please the ancient man, searched his clock-case for old tobacco pipes to serve him. When Dr. Franklin was asked in England to what age we lived in this country, he said he could not tell till Drinker died!

Alice—a black woman—

Was a slave, born in Philadelphia, of parents who came from Barbadoes, and lived in that city until she was ten years old, when her master removed her to Dunk's Ferry, in which neighbourhood she continued to the end of her days. She remembered the ground on which Philadelphia stands when it was a wilderness, and when the Indians (its chief inhabitants) hunted wild game in the woods, while the panther, the wolf and the beasts of the forests were prowling about the wigwams and cabins in which they lived. Being a sensible, intelligent woman, and having a good memory, which she retained to the last, she would often make judicious remarks on the population and improvements of the city and country: hence her conversation became peculiarly interesting, especially to the immediate descendants of the first settlers, of whose ancestors she often related acceptable anecdotes.

She remembered William Penn, Thomas Story, James Logan, and several other distinguished characters of that day. During

a short visit which she paid to Philadelphia in her last days, many respectable persons called to see her, who were all pleased with her innocent cheerfulness. In observing the increase of the city, she pointed out the house next to the Episcopal church, to the southward in Second street, as the first brick building that was erected in it. The first church, she said, was a small frame of wood that stood within the present walls, the ceiling of which she could reach with her hands. She was a worthy member of Christ church; used to visit it on horseback at 95 years of age; loved to hear the Bible read; had a great regard for truth. She died in 1802, and retained her hearing; she lost her sight at from 96 to 100 gradually, but it returned again. When blind she was skilful in catching fish, and would row herself out alone into the stream; at 102 years of age her sight gradually returned, partially. Before she died, her hair became perfectly white; and the last of her teeth dropt sound from her head at the age of 116 years; at this age she died (1802) at Bristol, Pennsylvania. For forty years she received ferriages at Dunk's Ferry. This woman said she remembered that the bell of the church was affixed in the crotch of a tree, then standing on the church alley.

F. D. Pastorius.

Among the primitive population of Philadelphia county there were some very fine scholars—such as Thomas Lloyd, Thomas Story, F. D. Pastorius, James Logan, John Kelpius, and others. Lloyd and Pastorius came over in 1683, in the same ship, and ever after were very great friends. Pastorius was a writer of numerous pieces, during his 36 years residence in the colony. He left a beautiful written quarto book of about 300 pages, of various selections and original remarks, entitled the Bee. It was with his grandson, Daniel Pastorius, in Germantown, until very lately, and has got lost by the negligence of some of its readers. I have, however, in my possession some of his MSS. from which I shall here make some remarks.

One book, in my possession, is a quarto MS. of 54 pages, entitled “*Scripta Sunt per Franciscum Danielem Pastorium, Germanopoli, Pennsylvania, 1714. Born in Germany, October 4th, A. D. 1651, at Limpurg.*” The contents of this book are principally dedicatory letters, acrostics and poems, to his friends, the three daughters of Thomas Lloyd, being annual compositions, commemorative of his and their safe landing at Philadelphia, on the 20th of 6 mo. 1683.* All his writings embrace much of piety. Those ladies he treats as eminently religious, to wit: Rachel Preston, Hannah Hill, and Mary Norris, each bearing the names of their husbands. These papers are not calculated for general in-

* It appears he began them to them in 1714.

terest, or inspection : but to the descendants of the families named, they should be very gratifying—even as he himself has remarked ; he writes, “ that some of your children and the children’s children might have a few rhythmical copies to write after.” &c. When we consider that Pastorius was a German, it is really surprising he could write so well in English as he did ! I extract from his poem, entitled a “ Token of Love and Gratitude :”—

“ I’m far from flattering ! and hope ye read my mind,
 Who can’t nor dare forget a ship-mate true and kind,
 As he, your father, was to me, (an alien)—
 My lot being newly cast among such English men,
 Whose speech I thought was Welsh, their words a canting tune,
 Alone with him, I could in Latin then commune ;
 Which tongue he did pronounce right in our German way,
 Hence presently we knew, what he or I could say—
 Moreover, to the best of my remembrance,
 We never disagreed, or were at variance,—
 Because God’s sacred truth (whereat we both did aim)
 To her endeared friends, is every where the same—
 Therefore ’twas he, that made my passage short on sea,
 ’Twas he, and William Penn, that caused me to stay
 In this, then uncouth land, and howling wilderness,
 Wherein I saw, that I but little should possess,
 And if I would return home to my father’s house,*
 Perhaps great riches and preferments might espouse, &c.
 Howbeit nought in the world could mine affection quench
 Towards dear Penn, with whom I did converse in French,†
 The virtues of these two (and three or four beside)
 Have been the chiefest charms which forc’d me to abide.”

In his poem of the next year, 1715, he states the name of the ship by which they came :

“ When I from Franckenland, and you from Wales set forth—
 In order to exile ourselves towards the West ;
 And there to serve the Lord in stillness, peace, and rest !”
 “ —————A matter of eight weeks
 Restrained in a ship, America by name,
 Into America, [Am^orica] we came.”

It appears the Captain’s name was Joseph Wasey, a courteous man, under whose skilful management and God’s providence, they were enabled to escape “ from the cruel enslaving Turks, once supposed to be at our heels.” It appears the panic on board was very great, and at frequent times they used to converse of these things—thus on page 38, he says, “ Pray what would we have given if Joseph Wasey, at our former crossing of the Atlantic plain had been able to set us ashore, when, (on the 26th of 5 mo. 1683)

* His father was born at Erfurth (“ Erfurti”) the 21st of September, 1624.

† His conversing with Penn, was not in the ship, but at Philadelphia, for Penn came in another vessel.

mistaking a French merchantman for a Turkish caper [Were these then expected on the Atlantic wave! *] we were in a panic fear—every mother's child of us! Or when (the 2d and 12th of the 6 mo.) our ship was covered with a multitude of huge surges, and, as it were, with mountains of terrible and astonishing waves; to which that of the 9th of the 5 mo. was but a gentle forerunner."

In his contribution of the 20th of 6 mo. 1718, to his friends and shipmates, Hannah Hill and Mary Norris, he commemorates their arrival on that day, 1683, by the following remarks, "The fortunate day of our arrival, although blessed with your good father's company on shipboard. I was as glad to land from the vessel every whit as St. Paul's shipmates were to land at Melito. Then Philadelphia consisted of three or four little cottages; † all the residue being only woods, underwoods, timber, and trees, among which I several times have lost myself in travelling no farther than from the water side to the house (now of our friend William Hudson,) then allotted to a Dutch baker, whose name was Cornelius Bom. ‡ What my thoughts were of such a renowned city (I not long before having seen London, Paris, Amsterdam, Gandt, &c.) is needless to rehearse unto you here. But what I think now of the same, I dare ingenuously say, viz. that God has made of a desert an enclosed garden, and the plantations about it, a fruitful field."

Thomas Lloyd,

Named with such profound respect and ardent affection by Pastorius in the preceding sketch, was Deputy Governor so long as he would serve—a man of great worth as a scholar, and a religious man. He came to this country in 1682, and died at an early age of a malignant fever, on the 10th of 7 mo. 1694, in the 45th year of his age, leaving behind him three married daughters, very superior women, to wit: Rachel Preston, Hannah Hill, and Mary Norris. His family was respectable and ancient in Wales, he was himself educated at the University, talked Latin fluently on shipboard with Pastorius. He exercised as a public minister among Friends in this country, and in his own country suffered imprisonment for truth's sake.

Norris Family.

The first Isaac Norris came to our city, as a respectable merchant from Jamaica, beginning the fortunes of his family here in

* There must have been a common dread of them then, for I perceive that in 1702, John Richardson in his Journal tells of being encountered off Barbadoes by a "Turkish frigate or Sallee man."

† These cottages were those of the Swedes, &c. before settled there, of which Drinker's was one.

‡ This house of William Hudson was standing 40 years ago in the rear of C. C. Watson's house, No. 92, Chesnut street. Its front was to Third street, with a Court yard, and great trees in it, and a way out to Chesnut street also.

the earliest settlement of this city. He was of the Society of Friends, was always of great influence there and in the public Councils, as a member of the Council, of the Assembly, &c.

The name of Norris has been remarkable for its long continuance in public life, from the origin of the city to the period of the Revolution. In September, 1759, Isaac Norris, who had been almost perpetual Speaker, resolved to resign his public employ, and in declining his re-election remarks thus: "You were pleased to make choice of me to succeed my father in the Assembly at the Election of the year 1735." Thus showing, the latter had been in the Assembly more than 24 years. He adds, "I never sought emolument for myself or family, and I remained at disadvantage to my private interest only to oppose the measures of unreasonable men."—A true patriot in motive, surely.

An anecdote is related of the Speaker Norris, about the time of his resignation, when opposing the measures of Governor Morris' administration; he, having left the chair, concluded his speech with all the fire of youthful patriotism and the dignity of venerable old age combined, saying, "No man shall ever stamp his foot on my grave and say, Curse him! or, here lies he who basely betrayed the liberties of his country."

Jonathan Dickinson,

A name often mentioned in these Annals—was a merchant and a Friend, who came with his family to our city about the year 1697. They had been shipwrecked in their voyage, with other passengers, in the Gulph of Florida, and suffered great hardships among the Indians there; particulars of which have been published in a small book entitled "God's protecting Providence—man's surest help in time of need." He possessed a large estate in Jamaica, from whence he emigrated, as well as landed property near our city. He purchased of the proprietaries 1230 acres of part of the manor of Springetsbury, being the chief part of the north end of the Northern Liberties, extending across from Second street to Bush-hill, and since growing into an immense estate. He lived on that part of it called the Vineyard. One of his daughters married Thomas Masters, to whom the estate descended. Such as it is, it cost originally but 26s. 8d. an acre! He, directly after his purchase, which seemed a reluctant one too on his part, sold out a part to Richard Hill at a good advance, and soon afterwards the whole property bore a nominal great advance in value. As he increased in wealth, he was enabled to live in a style of generous hospitality and elegance, keeping his coach when but eight four-wheeled carriages were owned in the province. He died in 1722, leaving as his issue three sons and two daughters. The eldest son, though married, died in 1727 without issue; his brothers also had no families. The daughter, Mary, married in Rhode Island, and

to her heirs went the Point no Point estate of several hundred acres, sold out in 1740 and '50, to Oldman, Linn, Roberts, &c. The daughter, Hannah, married Thomas Masters, and by her came a large part of "the Masters' estate" in the Northern Liberties, above the Fourth street road, now the property of Penn and Camac, by marriage of Masters' daughters.

The Dickinson family of the present name in Philadelphia and Trenton came from Delaware, and were no connexion of the above.

Samuel Carpenter

Was one of the greatest improvers and builders in Philadelphia, dwelling among us at the same time as a merchant. He was probably at one time, if we except the Founder, the wealthiest man in the province. There is extant a letter of his of the year 1705 to Jonathan Dickinson, offering for sale part of his estate, wherein he says "I would sell my house and granary on the wharf (above Walnut street) where I lived last, and the wharves and warehouses; also the globe and long vault adjacent. I have three-sixteenths of 5000 acres of land and mine, called Pickering's mine. I have sold my house over against David Lloyd's [the site of the present Bank of Pennsylvania] to William Trent, and the scales to Henry Babcock, and the Coffee House [at or near Walnut street and Front street] to Captain Finney, also my half of Darby mills, to John Bethell, and a half of Chester mills, to Caleb Pussey." Besides the foregoing, he was known to own the estate called Bristol mills, worth 5000*l.*—the island against Burlington of 350 acres—at Poquessing creek, 15 miles from the city, he had 5000 acres—he owned about 380 acres at Sepviser plantation, a part of Fairhill, where he died in 1714.

Male descendants of his name, or of his brother Joshua, are not now known in our city: but numbers of his race and name are said to be settled near Salem, in New Jersey. The Whartons, Merediths, Clymers, and Fishbournes, are his descendants in the female line.

James Logan, in writing to the proprietaries respecting him, says, "He lost by the war of 1703, because the profitable trade he before carried on almost entirely failed, and his debts coming upon him, while his mills and other estate sunk in value, he could by no means clear himself, and from the wealthiest man in the province in 1701, he became much embarrassed."

Isaac Norris in his letter of the 10th of 6 mo. 1705, to Jonathan Dickinson, says of him, to wit: "That honest and valuable man, whose industry and improvements have been the stock whereon much of the labours and successes of this country have been grafted, is now weary of it all, and is resolved, I think prudently, to wind up and clear his incumbrances."

He was of the Society of Friends—was one of Penn's commis-

sioners of property—was the chief cause of inducing Penn to abandon the original beautiful design of keeping a Front street open view to the river. His name will appear in numerous places connected with other facts told in these pages.

David Lloyd

Was by profession a lawyer, who emigrated to Philadelphia at the time of the early settlement, from Wales. In 1690, while still in England, he was one of those included in Queen Mary's proclamation as a supposed conspirator at the time King William was in Ireland. Whether the imputation was just or not, he seemed prone, when here, to dabble in *troubled waters*, and was not, it's likely, made welcome to remain in his own country, as one suspected—*"d'etre suspect."*

In the year 1700, James Logan speaks of David Lloyd as the then Attorney General, and as then defending the measures of Penn's administration against the faction, headed by Colonel Quarry the Judge, and John Moore the advocate of the Admiralty—the two ringleaders.

Proud, in his history, appears to have been afraid to touch upon his character, but says "his political talents seem to have been rather to divide than to unite,—a policy that may suit the crafty politician, but must ever be disclaimed by the Christian statesman."

Mrs. Logan in her MS. Selections has given the following facts concerning him, to wit:

His opposition to William Penn appears to have commenced about the year 1701, and had its rise in *resentment*, which he continued till Penn's death in 1718. He had the faculty of leading the members of the Assembly out of their depth, and causing them to drown all others with their clamour. Afterwards, when he exerted himself to thwart the ambitious designs of Sir William Keith, whom he wished to supplant as a troublesome political rival, he readily succeeded. In this, such was his management and success, that although Sir William aimed for the Speaker's chair, and had his support out-doors in a cavalcade of 80 mounted horsemen, and the resounding of many guns fired, David Lloyd got every vote in the Assembly but three, calling himself at same time the avowed friend of Gov. Gordon, in opposition to the wishes of Sir William.

David Lloyd was accounted an able lawyer, and always well able

"————— to perplex and dark
Maturest counsels, and to make the worst
Appear the better reason."

He was, however, believed to be an upright Judge, and in private life was acknowledged to have been a good husband, a kind neighbour, and steady friend.

He married, after he came to Pennsylvania, Grace Growden, a

dignified woman, of superior understanding, and great worth of character. They had but one child—a son—who died at an early age, by a distressing accident. He lived for above twenty years at Chester, in the same house since known as Commodore Porter's. His city house was on the site of the present Bank of Pennsylvania; holding, while he lived there, the office of Register and Recorder for the county, and being, at the time of his death, in 1731, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania. The ashes of himself and wife repose in Friends' ground in Chester, each having a small headstone, with their names and ages attached, he dying at the age of 75, and she surviving him 29 years—to the year 1760, when she died, aged 80 years.

James Logan, in 1704, in writing to William Penn, says, "Were *one* man from amongst us we might perhaps be happy; but he is truly a promoter of discord, with the deepest artifice under the smoothest language and pretences, yet cannot sometimes conceal his resentment of thy taking, as he calls it, his bread from him." This expression he has several times dropt, overlooking his politics through the heat of his indignation.

In 1705, William Penn accuses D. Lloyd of acting as Master of the Rolls without a commission—of his forgery of the Sessions' orders, and of the Assembly's remonstrance of 1704; as also, when Master of the Rolls, suffering encroachments on his lots in the city, and manors in the country—having recorded them without one caveat entered in favour of his master and patron.

James Logan, in 1707, writing of him, says he is "a close member among Friends, a discordant in their meetings of business, so much so, he expects a separation and purging; the young push for rash measures—the old for Penn's interest."

Logan's "Justification," addressed to the Assembly in 1709, contains much of D. Lloyd's portrait, drawn out before him, where-in he shows that much of his hostility and perverseness was induced by his personal pique against Penn.

Thomas Story

Was a distinguished preacher among Friends, who came out from England to Philadelphia in 1699. He there became Master of the Rolls, and keeper of the great seal. He married in 1706, Anne, daughter of Edward Shippen the elder, and received, as a part of her portion, the large house in south Second street, afterwards sold to James Logan, which was pulled down to afford the site, in part, of the present Bank of Pennsylvania. After the death of his wife, which occurred in a few years, he returned to England, where he died in 1742. His Journal, containing notices of our country, and the yellow fever which he witnessed in Philadelphia in 1699, are among the published works of Friends. In 1706, he was chosen Mayor of the city, but refusing to accept, he was fined 20*l.* by the Common Council.

Edward Shippen

Was chosen first Mayor under the city charter of 1701. Tradition says he was distinguished for three things:—the biggest man—the biggest house—and the biggest carriage. His house “was the great and famous house and orchard outside the town,” situate on the site now “Waln’s Row,” in south Second street, below the present Custom House.

He came early into the province from Boston, whither he had gone from England in 1675. There he was persecuted for his religion as a Friend, and actually received from the zealots in power, a public whipping! He was very successful in business as a merchant in our infant city, and amassed a large fortune. He was grandfather to our late Chief Justice Shippen, and ancestor of the first medical lecturer, Doctor Shippen.

I have seen a letter of 1706 to young William Penn, wherein is given a humorous description of his then late marriage to Wilcox’s daughter—then his second or third wife; it was conducted, out of Meeting, in a private way, as he had previously made a breach of discipline. He had certainly, about this time, laid aside his former submissive spirit; for in 1709, his name appears on the minutes of the Common Council, as petitioning for a remission of 7*l.* 10*s.* before imposed on him, as a fine for an assault and battery on the body of Thomas Clark, Esq. They agreed, however, to remit the half in consideration of his paying the other half.

James Logan.

[WITH A PORTRAIT.]

I once had the privilege to see an original MS. of four pages at Stenton, in the handwriting of James Logan, wherein he gave “his parentage and early life.” It appeared that his father, Patrick, was born in Scotland, and there educated as a clergyman. For some time he served as a chaplain, but turning Quaker by conviction, was obliged to go over to Ireland, and there to teach a Latin school; afterwards he taught at Bristol in England. While yet in Scotland, he married Isabel Hume; her family was related to the Laird of Dundas, and the Earl of Panmar.

Besides those facts, related by James Logan, I have met with other facts of the early antiquity and distinction of his family, which, as it is but little known, I shall inscribe from the Scotsman’s Library, and from the memoirs of the Somervilles, to wit:

“The name of Logan is one of those derived from locality, and hence deemed the more honourable. It appears in Scotch history at the early period of William the Lion, and throughout subsequent ages is connected with important national transactions. The Chief was Baron of Restalrig, and this house was connected by various intermarriages with most of the noble families in the king-



ALPHONSE LAMARCA

dom, and even with Royalty itself, one of them having married a daughter of Robert II. who granted him the lands of Grugar, by a charter addressed "militi dilecto fratri suo."

"There are several interesting particulars in the history of this unfortunate and redoubtable clan. In 1329, when that solemn embassy was undertaken, in compliance with the deathbed request of the great king Robert Bruce, that his heart might be taken to the holy sepulchre. Sir Robert and Sir Walter Logan were the chief associates of the good Sir James Douglass, in that illustrious band which comprised the flower of Scots' chivalry. The fatal termination of this mission under the walls of Grenada, where an excess of heroism led them to battle with the Moors, finished in glory the career of most of the troop, and in attempting the rescue of their friend, the Lord Sinclair, the Logans fell in the thickest of the fight. Some centuries since the Scots' navy was able to cope with that of England, and in 1400, Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig, Lord Admiral of Scotland, defeated an English fleet in the firth of Forth. On the return of King James I. from his captivity in England he knighted the Laird of Restalrig, and made him Sheriff Principal of Edinburg. Another was invested Lord Provost of Edinburg in 1520, an honour which he well merited. In 1555, Mary of Lorraine, intending to erect Leith into a royal borough, purchased the superiority from Logan, but being dethroned, the Town Council of Edinburg, who were jealous of its rising importance, took possession of it by an armed force, and claim to this day the superiority.

"The strange and illegal accusation of Restalrig, in 1608, eight years after his death, as a participater in the pretended conspiracy of the Earl of Gowrie, and the singular trial of his mouldering remains, are amongst the most mysterious transactions of King James' reign. The sentence of "Guilty" threw his forfeited estates into the hands of the Earl of Dunbar, and extinguished a large debt which Balmerino owed to the family. The infamous Sprot, the only accuser, was hanged for his perjury, and the last act of the tragedy was a proscription of the name.

"The two sons of the unfortunate Baron went abroad, from whence the youngest afterwards took courage to return, but in the first alarm, many secluded themselves. Several went to America, and *James Logan* was one of the first settlers of Philadelphia. The name is known in most kingdoms of Europe. Frederick Baron Logan was a celebrated German poet, who flourished about 1620; and on the continent several eminent men have appeared of this name."*

Sir Robert Logan married Geilles, second daughter of Lord John Somerville, having "in portion with her the lands of Finningtoun, Becryhill, and Heathryhill, all lying within the Baronie of Cam-

* Proud's history says that the grandfather of our James Logan was Robert Logan, who in the time of James VI. was cut off from his estates by the affair of Earl Gowrie. Thus confirming the above facts.

busnethen, and parishioner thereof." Many years after I find their lands "resigned by the successor of the Laird of Restalrig in favours of Sir John of Quathquan, the first Laird of Cambusnethen, from the tyme that it became in a distinct familie from the house of Cowthally, of whom he held them."

James Logan had several brothers and sisters, but none of them lived long, save his brother William, who became a physician of eminence in Bristol. James Logan was born at Lurgan in Ireland, on the 20th October, 1674; he had learned Latin, Greek, and some Hebrew, even before he was thirteen years of age. While in Bristol, he assisted his father as a teacher. In his sixteenth year he instructed himself in the mathematics, a science in which he afterwards showed much ability in our country, as a scientific correspondent. At nineteen years of age he had studied French, Italian, and Spanish.

In the year 1699, then in his twenty-fifth year, he was solicited by William Penn to accompany him to Pennsylvania as his Secretary, &c. where, in time, he fell into the general charge of all his business; but from motives of tenderness to his harrassed principal, he never charged but 100*l.* a year for all his numerous services, for many years. This was itself a lively proof of his liberality and disinterested zeal for a good man, and showed him at once a faithful and a generous friend. Steadfast as he was to his honoured principal, it is hardly possible to conceive how irksome and perplexing his duties, so moderately charged, always were. In his MS. book of letters to the proprietaries is preserved a long detail of them, such as they were in general, drawn up by him about the year 1729, as reasons to show why he so earnestly prayed to be excused from further servitude, saying, it injured his health, and much trespassed upon the time due to his proper business as a merchant, &c.

When James Logan first consented to come to this country with Penn, he came to it as a place to hide himself from the cares of life, and with no wish or expectation to advance his fortune among us; but the reasons which he gives, in more advanced years, for changing his mind, are instructive, as they show that a religious man may moderately desire a measure of wealth with sincere purposes to make himself a better man, by attaining the proper means of becoming most useful. His words strike me as sufficiently sensible and very impressive, to wit: "When he was a young man, and Secretary to Penn, he felt an indifference to money, and deemed this a happy retirement for cultivating the Christian graces; but after he had some experience in life, finding how little respect and influence could be usefully exerted without such competency as could give man a ready access to good society, he thenceforward set himself seriously to endeavour, by engagements in commerce, (a new track to him) to attain that consequence and weight which property so readily confers." In the same connection, he adds,

“he never had the wish to leave any large possessions to his posterity, from the belief that moderate fortunes were more beneficial legacies than large ones.” It is probably from these views of moderate bequests to heirs, that he was so liberal to bestow his large library and other gifts to public purposes, rather than to his immediate heirs.

In personal appearance James Logan was tall and well-proportioned, with a graceful yet grave demeanour. He had a good complexion, and was quite florid, even in old age; nor did his hair, which was brown, turn grey in the decline of life, nor his eyes require spectacles. According to the fashion of the times he wore a powdered wig. His whole manner was dignified, so as to abash impertinence; yet he was kind and strictly just in all the minor duties of acquaintance and society. The engraved portrait is taken from a family piece now in the Loganian Library.

As a man of learning, he stood pre-eminent. His business never led him off from his affections to the muses. He maintained a correspondence with several of the literati in Europe, and fostered science at home. His aid to Godfrey, the inventor of the quadrant, is in proof to this point; and his literary intercourse with Governor Hunter, Dr. Colden, Col. Morris, Dr. Johnstone, Dr. Jenny, Governor Burnet, and others, at New York and elsewhere in our country, show how much his mind was turned to the love of science, and to its disciples wherever found.

As he advanced in life, he much desired to give up the cares of business. He retired altogether to his country place at Stenton, hoping there to enjoy himself *otium cum dignitate*. Still, however, Penn's business and official employs were occasionally pressed upon him; especially in cases of Indian affairs; because, in them he had merited the peculiar affection and confidence of the Indian tribes, they often visiting his grounds and remaining there some time under his hospitality. As he grew in years, he met with the injury of a limb, which confined him long to his home. He there endeavoured to fortify his mind, like Cicero before him, in cultivating the best feelings of old age, by keeping his mind and attachments young and cheerful. To this cause he translated Cicero de Senectute into English, a work which when published was imputed erroneously to Dr. Franklin, who was only the printer. This fact may be seen demonstrated at large in my MS. Annals in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, page 322. He was also the author of two other works, now in possession of Joshua Fisher, Esq. but not now found in any catalogues, to wit:

“*Demonstrationes de Rudiorum Lucis in Superfices Sphericas, —Auctore Jacobo Logan. Judice Supremo et Præside Concilii Provinciæ Pennsylvaniensis in America.*”—Also.

“*Jacobi Logani Judicis Supremo et Concilii Præsidis Provinciæ Pennsylvaniensis, Epistola ad Virum Clarissimum, Joannem Albertum Fabricium, Experimenta et Meletemata de Plantarum,*” &c.

He died in 1751, aged 77 years, and lies interred at Friends' Arch street ground. Several other facts concerning James Logan having been already distributed through these pages, have been unnecessary to express in the present article.

John S. Hutton, aged 109 years.

[WITH A PORTRAIT BY C. W. PEALE.]

John S. Hutton, silversmith, of Philadelphia, as he related the particulars of his life to the late C. W. Peale, was born in New York, in 1684. He was originally bound apprentice to a sea captain who put him to school to learn the art of navigation. At that time he became intimate with a boy who worked at the white-smith trade, with whom he amused himself in acquiring the use of the hammer, by which means he obtained a facility in working at plate-work in the silversmith's business. He followed the seafaring life for thirty years and then commenced the silversmith's trade. He was long esteemed in Philadelphia one of the best workmen at hollow work; and there are still pieces of his work in much esteem. He made a tumbler in silver when he was 94 years of age.

Through the course of a long and hazardous life in various climes, he was always plain and temperate in his eating and drinking, and particularly avoided spirituous liquors except in one instance, while he was serving as Lieutenant of a privateer in Queen Anne's war. That occasion gave him a lasting lesson of future restraint; for having made a descent on the Spanish main and pillaged a village, while they had all given themselves to mirth and revelry, they were intercepted in their return to their boats, and all killed save himself and one other, who were made prisoners and held in long confinement.

His first wife was Catharine Cheeseman, of New York, by whom he had eight children, 25 grandchildren, 23 great grandchildren, and 3 great great grandchildren.

At the age of 51 he married his second wife in Philadelphia, Ann Vanlear, of 19 years of age, by whom he had 17 children, 41 grandchildren, and 15 great grandchildren—forming in all a grand total of 132 descendants, of whom 45 were then dead. Those who survive were generally dwelling in Philadelphia. His last wife died in 1788, at the age of 72. Mr. Hutton deemed himself in the prime of his life when 60 years of age. He never had a headach.

He was always fond of fishing and fowling, and till his 81st year used to carry a heavy English musket in his hunting excursions. He was ever a quiet, temperate, and hard-working man, and even in the year of his death was quite cheerful and good humoured. He could then see, hear, and walk about—had a good appetite, and no complaints whatever, except from the mere debility of old age. When shall "we behold his like again!"



COL. G. H. H. H. H.

In his early life he was on two scouts against the Indians; he used to tell, that in one of these excursions they went out in the night, that they took a squaw prisoner, who led them to where the Indians lay, of whom they killed the most, before they could get to their arms. The circumstance induced the Indians to come in and make their peace.

He knew the noted pirate, Teach, called Blackbeard; he saw him at Barbadoes after he had come in under the Act of Oblivion to him and other pirates. This was a short time before that pirate made his last cruise and was killed in Carolina.

The father of Hutton was John Hutton, of Bermuda in Scotland, where many of the family reside. His grandfather, by his mother's side, was Arthur Strangeways, who died at Boston at the age of 101 years, while sitting in his chair.

J. S. Hutton died at Philadelphia, on the 20th of December, 1792, in the 109th year of his age. His long life, and numerous children, made him a patriarch indeed! "In children's lives feels his resurrection, and grows immortal in his children's children!" He was deemed so rare an instance of *lusty old age*, that Mr. C. W. Peale was induced to take his portrait as now seen in the Museum, as he appeared in the last year of his life. He was borne to his grave by his fellow craftsmen—all silversmiths.

Thomas Godfrey,

The inventor of the quadrant, was born in Bristol township, about one mile from Germantown, in the year 1704, on a farm adjoining to Lukens' mill, on the Church lane. His grandfather, Thomas Godfrey, a farmer and maltster, had purchased the place from Samuel Carpenter, merchant, of Philadelphia, on the 24th of August, 1697. His father, Joseph, died in 1705, when he was but one year old. His mother afterwards married one Wood, of Philadelphia, and put her son out to learn the business of a glazier and painter. His father's estate became his when he was of age. He appears to have sold it to John Lukens on the 1st of Jan. 1735.

While engaged at his business on the premises at Stenton—J. Logan's place—accidentally observing a piece of fallen glass, an idea presented to his reflecting mind, which caused him to quit his scaffold and to go into Mr. Logan's library, where he took down a volume of Newton. Mr. Logan entering at this time and seeing the book in his hand, inquired into the motive of his search, when he was exceedingly pleased with Godfrey's ingenuity, and from that time became his zealous friend. He procured for him a skilful person to try his quadrant at sea: and finding it fully answered every wish, he endeavoured to serve him by writing to his friends in England, especially to Sir Hans Sloane, so as to get for him the reward offered by the Royal Society. This was intended to be a measure in opposition to the claim of Hadley, who

it was supposed had obtained the description of the instrument from his nephew, who it was recollected had seen it in the West Indies. Such is the tradition of the matter in the Logan family as preserved by Mrs. Logan. James Logan asserts in a letter to one of his friends, that Godfrey's discovery was two years prior to Hadley's.

"Joshua Fisher, of Lewistown, afterwards of Philadelphia, merchant, first tried the quadrant in the bay of Delaware." Afterwards Captain Wright carried it to Jamaica, where, unsuspecting of the piracy, he shewed and explained it to several Englishmen, among whom was a nephew of Hadley's.

Godfrey's affections for mathematical science occurred at an early period, from a chance opportunity of reading a book on that study. Finding the subject perplexed with Latin terms, he applied himself to that language with such diligence as to be able to read the occasional Latin he found. Optics and astronomy became his favourite studies, and the exercise of his thoughts led him on to conceive at length the instrument which should enlarge his fame. Further particulars, in print, on this subject may be found in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 435, and also in Bradford's American Magazine for July 1758, and in my MS. Annals in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, p. 566.

The grave-stones of some of the family still remain upon the farm. I have seen two of them out in the field close to a partition fence. They are of soap-stone, and the letters much effaced; but Mr. Nathan Spencer, near there, who honoured the inventor, had procured the inscriptions as they once stood, being told by Ann Nedrow to Spencer's father, and from him to Nathan, my informant, to wit:

East side:—

Here lyeth the body of *Joseph* son of Thomas
and Frances Godfrey, aged thirty and two years, who dyed
the 14th of 2d mo. in the year 1705.—

As by grace comes election,
So the end of our hope is resurrection.

West side:—

Death ends man's worke
And labour here.
The man is blest
Whose labours just and pure.
'Tis vain for man
This life for to adore,
For our dear son
Is dead and gone before, &c.

On the south side of the above described stone is supposed to have been placed the bodies of his father and mother, and on the north side, the bodies of his son Thomas, the inventor, and his wife. Mrs. Nedrow said she saw Thomas, the inventor, there



GEORGE WALKER PRINCE OF B... ..

buried in December, 1749. There was never any separate stone placed for him. Thus he, who has benefited naval science and commerce with millions, has not had himself the requital of a stone itself to mark his memory! Like Washington's it may live without it—without “storied urn or monumental bust!” Genius was in the family, for he left a son William, a watchmaker, who wrote good poetry, became a Lieutenant in the army, and died in 1763.

Dr. Franklin.

[WITH A PORTRAIT.]

It is but little known, or set down to the commendation of Franklin, that when he was young in business, and stood in need of sundry articles in the line of his profession as a printer, that he had the ingenuity to make them for himself. In this way he founded letters of lead, engraved various printing ornaments, cut woodcuts, made printer's ink, engraved copperplate vignettes, and made his plate press. Sower, an ingenious German printer, did something in the same way at Germantown.

Not long after Benjamin Franklin had commenced editor of a newspaper, he noticed with considerable freedom the public conduct of one or two influential persons in Philadelphia. This circumstance was regarded by some of his patrons with disapprobation, and induced one of them to convey to Franklin the opinion of his friends in regard to it. The Doctor listened with patience to the reproof, and begged the favour of his friend's company at supper on an evening which he named; at the same time requesting that the other gentlemen who were dissatisfied with him should also attend. The invitation was accepted by Philip Syng, Hugh Roberts, and several others. The Doctor received them cordially, and his editorial conduct was canvassed, and some advice given. Supper was at last announced, and the guests invited to an adjoining room. The Doctor begged the party to be seated, and urged them to help themselves; but the table was only supplied with *two puddings and a stone pitcher filled with water!* Each guest had a plate, a spoon, and a penny porringer; they were all helped; but none but the Doctor could eat; he partook freely of the pudding, and urged his friends to do the same; but it was out of the question—they tasted and tried in vain. When their facetious host saw the difficulty was unconquerable, he rose and addressed them thus: “My friends, any one who can subsist upon saw-dust pudding and water, as I can, needs no man's patronage!”

The house No. 141, High street, on the north side, between Third and Fourth streets, (now the property of the heirs of Daniel Wister) was originally the residence of Dr. Franklin, and was the first house in Philadelphia which ever had a lightning rod affixed to it. This was put up by Dr. Franklin. The rod came into the bedchamber in the second story on the gable end, eastern side,

and there being cut off from its communication with the rod descending to the ground, the intermediate space of about one yard was filled up with a range or chime of bells, which whenever an electric cloud passed over the place were set to ringing and throwing out sparks of electricity. These bells remained some time after Daniel Wister occupied the house, and were at last reluctantly taken down, to quiet the fears of his wife. Mr. C. J. Wister, who told me of this, told me they even played and conducted electricity sometimes in the winter.

In 1750, Benjamin Franklin owned and dwelt in the house at the south east corner of Race and Second streets. The same house was afterwards made the Franklin Inn.

I had the pleasure to see several original letters from Dr. Franklin, when province agent in England, to Hugh Roberts in Philadelphia. He speaks in strong terms of affection for the members of the Junto—speaks of the club then existing 40 years. The letters from each of them express their mutual love of punning, and both give good examples of their skill therein.

When I visited the house of Edward Duffield, in Byberry, the executor of Franklin's will, there I saw in the possession of his son, a portrait of Franklin's bust, done for him when apparently about 38 to 40 years of age. It was a present from Franklin, supposed to have been done by West, and would be quite a new face to the public.* There was also there a miniature profile done by Wedgwood in white china, finely delineated, also one as a medal done in France. Edward Duffield, the son, told me that Franklin told his father, that when he was in France, and travelling, he sometimes made a temporary Æolian harp by stretching a silken cord across some crevice where air passed. On one such occasion in repassing such a house after an elapse of years, he found it deserted because of their hearing strange but melodious sounds, which they deemed good evidence of its being haunted. On entering the house he found vestiges of the silk remaining—the creator of all the mischief!

Dr. Franklin's person, as seen at the period of the Revolution, was square built and fat; he wore his own hair, thin and grey; his head was remarkably large in proportion to his figure, and his countenance mild, firm and expressive—looked healthy and vigorous. He was friendly and agreeable in conversation, which he readily suited to his company—with a seeming wish to benefit his hearers; and at the same time possessing a rare talent of himself profiting by the conversation of others, and turning their hints to such purposes as he desired.

He once told Dr. Logan that the celebrated Adam Smith, when writing his "Wealth of Nations," was in the habit of bringing

* I have since procured the present engraving from it. The leading features and general aspect have so many agreements with his older portraits already known to the public, that this may be readily received as his true likeness in middle life.

chapter after chapter as he composed it, to himself, Dr. Price and others of the literati: then patiently hear their observations, and profit by their discussions and criticism—even sometimes submitting to write whole chapters anew, and even to reverse some of his propositions.

On page 170 of my MS. Annals in the City Library, I have preserved a fragment of Dr. Franklin's black silk velvet coat with the pile uncut—such as was his dress coat.

In 1764 Dr. Franklin is sent to England to act as agent for the province. He is sent in consequence of the difference with Governor John Penn concerning taxing the proprietary estates.

In consequence of his thus going abroad, his interest in the Pennsylvania Gazette ceases, and it continued by D. Hall first, and by Hall and Sellers afterwards.

My aged friend, Samuel Preston, tells some anecdotes of Dr. Franklin when he was at the Indian treaty at Easton in 1756. Preston's father, then there, much admired Franklin's ready wit. When the old Indians came in their file to speak to the Governor he would ask their names; then the Governor would ask Ben. as he called him, what he must think of to remember them by. He was always answered promptly. At last one Indian came whose name was Tocarededhogan. Such a name! How shall it be remembered? The answer was prompt:—Think of a wheelbarrow—to carry a dead hog on. Note—One of the Indian names for Governor of Maryland was much like the above long name, "Tocarry-Hogan." Vide Douglass, 1749.

"The Historical Review of Pennsylvania" of 1759, was generally imputed to Dr. Franklin: but his grand-son Bache, declared in court, it was not so. Some extracts from a MS. of 20 pages, found among Governor Hamilton's papers, treats it as the production of Franklin, and says of him, "he certainly will not pretend to a disinterested or undesigning combat in this dispute," &c. There is, however, much reason to believe, that he had much hand in its production. There is so much of his acumen in it, although it too often violates truth and candour, to present false glosses, &c. More may be seen in my MS. Annals, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, page 110, at some length.

On page 344 of the same Annals is an autograph letter of Dr. Franklin to Charles Thomson, of the 13th of May, 1784, saying, "Yesterday evening Mr. Hartley met with Mr. Jay and myself, when the Ratification of the Definitive Treaty were exchanged. God be praised!—an event I hardly expected I should live to see," &c. &c. The advice which he proceeds to give I have told in another place.

There is some reason to believe that Dr. Franklin was not originally thorough-going for the Revolution; there were reasons enough to keep him moderate: such as that he held valuable offices for years of the Crown, and enjoyed the confidence of its officers at the

time of the Stamp Act, so much so, that he readily procured the commissions for its offices, &c. in Philadelphia—procuring thus the office of Stamp Master for his friend Hughes, and having at the same time his natural son, William T. Franklin, in the office of Governor of New Jersey. It was insinuated at the time, that he was too indifferent to the operation of the Stamp Act; and the family of Hughes afterwards got offended at his after-measures, and preserved some correspondence on those points. Some hints of these things I saw also in the MS. of Charles Thomson, and a letter from Franklin's son, exculpating him. Finally, after Franklin's return, and he in Congress, he was known to have been unsettled in his mind respecting the signing of the Declaration of Independence, so much so, as to have hindered Mr. Willing from signing it, even as late as the day before Franklin concluded to sign it himself. Indeed it was a perplexing point, for so wary a man.

Rev. George Whitefield.

Great was the religious excitement in his day; and the consequence was that some fanaticism prevailed—where preachers and people “carried high sail,” and spoke and acted “too often from fires of their own kindling,” as some of those concerned afterwards made their confessions. I give the following facts as I found them, to wit:

1739—Mr. Whitefield preached to 15,000 people “on Society Hill, near to the flag staff,” somewhere near Front and South streets. The Gazette of the time says, that since his preaching among us, the dancing school, assembly and concert room have been shut up as inconsistent with the Gospel; and although the gentlemen concerned broke open the doors, no company went the last assembly night.

During the session of the Presbyterian Synod of one week, there were fourteen sermons preached on Society Hill, (meaning in the open air) to large audiences, by the Tennants, Davenport, Rowland and Blair. The change to religion here (says the Gazette) is altogether surprising, through the influence of Whitefield. No books sell but religious, and such is the general conversation. Benjamin Franklin proposes to publish Whitefield's journal and sermons, by his permission. His paper, No. 606, contains a long letter from the Rev. Ebenezer Kinnersley, the Professor, against the violent and extravagant preachings of Rowland and others; and the Rev. Mr. Cummings of the Episcopal church, publishes sermons against the manner of the awakenings and tumults.

Whitefield publishes a letter to southern planters in favour of their blacks, and against slavery; and it is said he takes up 5000 acres of land in the Forks of Delaware, (since Bethlehem, &c.) in order to erect a negro school, &c. Whitefield's letters, to prove that Tillotson was not a Christian believer, are given in the Gazettes at large.

In December, 1739, Mr. Whitefield left the city, and was accompanied to Chester by about 150 horsemen, and preached there to about 7000 people. At White-clay creek he preached to 8000; of whom as many as 3000 were on horseback. Many complimentary effusions to him appear in the *Gazettes*.

The very tones of his voice had witchery in it; it was both powerful and sweet. Colonel Morris, now 90 years of age, told me he was distinctly heard by persons at Gloucester Point, when he was preaching on Society Hill, making a distance, by water, of 2 miles; and old Mr. Dupuy told me, that when he preached from the balcony of the court house on Second street by the market, he could be readily heard by people in boats on the river—not perhaps to make out the sense, but to hear the sound. However, the words “he taught them saying” were said to have been heard even at Gloucester Point!

A letter from James Pemberton, a Friend, of the 11th of 9 mo. 1739, which I have seen, speaks thus of him, saying, “He preaches here every day to numerous people. Some of our curious IF youths of rash judgment, who look at words more than substance, are very constant in attending, and are much pleased. He preached three nights successively upon our court house steps, (in Second street) where he exceedingly takes with the people. He aims much at priest-craft,* and speaks very satirically of the Papists, whom he incenses much. Last night he had the greatest multitude I ever see, and some accident happened which greatly frightened many. Some thought it was an earthquake, others that it was fire, others that the Spaniards were come, &c. Many were much hurt by falling and being trod upon; many lost their hats, cloaks, &c. The preacher had to leave off speaking till they recovered their senses, which some did and others did not. His intentions are good; but he has not arrived at such perfection as to see so far as he yet may. In his conversation he is very agreeable, and has not much of the priest; he frequents no set company.”

This sober judgment of Friend Pemberton, given to his friend John Smith of Burlington, came to have a singular verification in Whitefield’s own confession, later in life. His friendly biographer has published of him, that as he grew older he thought and acted differently; and of himself he said, “I have carried high sail whilst running through a torrent of popularity and contempt. I may have mistaken nature for grace, imagination for revelation, and the fire of my own temper for the flame of holy zeal; and I find I have frequently written and spoken in my own spirit, when I thought I was assisted entirely by God.”

Here was at least a redeeming penitence and candour; he did not “see so far as he may” in several of his most sanguine projects;

* There is ambiguity in this sentence; but which I understand to mean, that he attacks such craft,—for he says of him further on, “He has not much of the priest in his conversation,” &c.

indeed, generally, they failed. He built the old academy overlarge, and for itinerants forever.—and behold how soon it passed for other purposes: He took up lands for freed negroes at Bethlehem, and it went to the Moravians: his orphan house and scheme in Georgia was quite a failure.

1742—The Gazettes contain much controversy on religious topics, excited by the success of Whitefield, and his friends Rowland, Davenport, Dickinson, and the two Tennants. There are letters to and from G. Tennant, from Evans, from Samuel Finley, and the Querists. Mr. Cummings and others publish pamphlets against the religious excitement. Dr. Kinnersley's letter in the Gazette against them, goes upon sensible ground.

James Logan in a letter he wrote in 1742, calls Whitefield a whimsical enthusiast, "who, through his companion Seward, bought the 5000 acres (at Bethlehem) to form a school for negroes; but the purchaser dying soon after, his wiser executors turned it into money again by a sale, by which it is now the property of Zinzendorf for his Moravians.

"None can be long a stranger to George Whitefield: his journals letters, &c. are so industriously printed here. His life, wrote by himself, and first printed here, is scandalously plain. All I have to say of him is, that by good language, a better utterance, and an engaging manner, and powerful voice, he gained much at first, on most sorts of people; but on his falling foul of Bishop Tillotson, and the most unexceptionable author of the *Whole Duty of Man*, &c. the more judicious fell from him: yet he still gained on the multitude, in so much, that they have begun for him a great brick building, (the present old academy) in which, though not yet covered, he a great many times preached when last here. It must be confessed his preaching has a good effect in reclaiming many dissolute people: but from his countenancing so very much the most hot headed predestinarians, and those of them principally who had been accounted by the more sober as little better than madmen, he and they have actually driven divers into despair, and some into perfect madness! In short, it is apprehended by the more judicious, that the whole will end in confusion, to the great prejudice of the cause of virtue and solid religion—his doctrine wholly turning on the danger of good works, without such a degree of sanctifying faith as comes up to his gage."

A MS. Journal of John Smith, Esq. which I have seen, writes under date of the 21st of 2 mo. 1746, saying, "George Whitefield came to town last Seventh-day and preaches daily; but people's curiosity about him now seems so well satisfied that there is very little talk of him."

In 1750, the foundation of the Rev. Gilbert Tennant's "New Meeting-house" was laid at the north west corner of Third and Arch streets; at the same time, the former used church of Whitefield, in Fourth street, is in its new hands partitioned across for

“the academy.” This church was formed of the Presbyterians who went off from the first church in High street as seceders—receiving the name of “New Lights,” and their minister “Hell-fire Tennant,” in the common parlance of the day. Mr. Tennant was eccentric. He affected to wear a kind of great coat drawn round him by a girdle, and to wear no wig—a great oddity then for a preacher. He at length came to see he had gone beyond sober Christianity, and made his confession in a letter printed in the *Gazettes*—Vide *Pennsylvania Gazette*, No. 713,—year 1741-2; saying “My soul is grieved with such enthusiastic fooleries and perilous *ignis-fatuus*, &c.

In these cases of over-zeal in Tennant and Whitefield, &c. we see the usual retractions which maturer age and observation are usually destined to effect in honest hearts—such as occurs with like natures where other themes engross the minds of ardent Spirits—as Dr. Johnson says of Lyttleton and others in their headstrong ardour for liberty:—“It is what a man of ardour always catches when he enters upon his career, and always suffers to cool as he passes forward.” It is the common fate of enthusiasm, when most excited, to ascend and flame like a rocket, but to go out and fall like its stick.

On page 300 of my MS. *Annals* in the *Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, there is for the inspection of the curious an autograph letter of G. Whitefield, of the year 1754, written from Boston to Dr. William Shippen, the elder, saying he intends to hasten back to Philadelphia soon after. This branch of the Shippen family became his ardent admirers. I have seen a letter of October, 1774, from Edward Shippen, Esq. to this William, his brother, wherein he speaks of an intended *Doctorate* for Mr. Whitefield, saying, “I thank you for Wesley’s funeral sermon upon our deceased, heavenly, mutual friend, G. W. I am sorry you had not an opportunity of presenting him with the proposed *Doctorate* from our Nassau Hall. Such a thing would have been a great honour to him.

Count Zinzendorf.

This founder of the Moravians showed himself an eccentric and strange person in his deportment in this country. I give the facts in his case as I find them—“nothing extenuate nor ought set down in malice,” to wit:

In 1752, came to Philadelphia Count Zinzendorf and daughter, and Peter Bohler—names often noticed in ecclesiastical history. The Count while in Germantown staid at John Wister’s house; and in the same house at this day are two great chairs and a tea-table, left there a present from the Count. They sometimes in those days of religious excitement put their theology into the *Gazettes*. In the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, No. 753, may be seen an article of the Count’s, and a rejoinder in Nos. 759 and 760, by the Rev. Gilbert Tennant.

On page 244½ of my MS. Annals in the City Library are two autograph letters of the Count and of his daughter Benigna, of the year 1742-3—written in German on religious subjects. The Count's letter is one of reproof and pardon to a dear spiritual sister who had been slandered by Beekey. He thinks the sister has talked unadvisedly before Beekey, and he cautions her to set a future watch on her words; he signs himself Nicholas Ludewig. His daughter writes from Bethlehem to her spiritual sister, Magdalene Fende, in Germantown, to whom she commends the blood of Christ in strange metaphysical epithets.

I have seen in the hands of the present Benjamin Lehman of Germantown, a curious autograph letter of Count Zinzendorf to Frederick Fende, (i. e. Vende) being the same which was also published in Bradford's Mercury, No. 1214, on the 14th of August, 1743, together with one to Mr. Neuman. These letters of 1741-2, are addressed to parents who complained to the Count of his taking off their young and maiden daughters to Germany as members of his congregation. The MS. letter which I have mentioned above is dated Philadelphia, December 26th, 1742, and reads in extract translation thus: "To the cooper, F. Vende, in Germantown—I take you both—man and wife—to be notorious children of the devil,* and you, the woman, to be a twofold child of hell. Yet I would have your damnation as tolerable as possible. The laws provide against such unreasonable parents, and will not suffer you to keep your daughter against her consent. Yet you may vex her soul. If that sevenfold devil which possesseth you will permit—then consider and leave your daughter peaceably with the congregation." &c. To Neuman, he wrote, "In case you die without forcing your daughter away, your former sin shall be forgiven you, but if you resume your murdering spirit against her soul, by her consent or not, I recall my peace, and you, I leave to the devil, and the curse of your child, thereby lost, shall rest on you till she is redeemed—Amen!" This is really very curious supremacy as well as theology. Miss Lehman and Miss Vende, much against the will of their families, went off to Germany.

Kalm, the Swedish traveller, here in 1748, says, "his uncommon behaviour here persuaded many Englishmen of rank that he was disordered in his head."

A MS. letter of James Logan of the year 1742, written in confidential frankness to a friend, speaks of the Count as follows, to wit: "I have had frequent intercourse with him, and heartily wish I could say any thing concerning him to satisfaction; but his conduct has lost him all credit here, being now only regarded by his own few Moravians. He sent to the Friends' Meeting a letter signed *Anne the Elder*, written in an odd French style, which it was difficult to put into any consistent meaning or sense. About

* They bore excellent moral characters; and he used to preach in their house, where now J. Bowman's house is.

the same time he framed an instrument of resignation of all his honours and dignities to some relatives. This was done in Latin, but still more odd than his French—in some parts carrying a show of elegance, but in other parts mere nonsense; in other places plain enough, and in others perfectly unintelligible.—This he desired of me to put into English. As I could not, he had it printed as it was, and invited the Governor and all who understood Latin to meet him. Several met, when he read off his instrument, giving each of them a printed copy; but after all this parade, he withdrew his papers and himself too, saying, on reflection, he must first advise with some of his friends in Germany. This conduct much astonished the company, who generally concluded him insane. He has lately been visiting the Iroquois. In short, he appears a mere knight-errant in religion, scarce less than Don Quixote was in chivalry!" Other facts of his singular behaviour are mentioned by Logan. I have preserved some other facts respecting his strange conduct in Germantown. Very wild notions are imputed to him too, and told in detail by Rimius, of Prussia, who printed a book of it in London, in 1753. The decree of George III. as Elector of Hanover against them, and which induced them to come to Pennsylvania, see in *Pennsylvania Journal* of the 20th of December, 1750.

Bethlehem, where the Count settled his sect, was said to have received its name from his purpose of adding all the other names of the Holy Land. Secretary Peters' MS. letter to the Penn family says "The Count desired to name his villages after all the names in the Holy Land, and to settle there 10,000 people on 16 miles square of land."

Bradford Family.

William Bradford was the first printer who settled in this colony—(Pa.) He was the son of William and Anne Bradford, of Leicester, England, at which place he was born. He served his apprenticeship in London with Andrew Sowles, printer, in Grace Church street, and married his daughter Elizabeth. Sowles was intimately acquainted with George Fox, the founder of the English sect of Quakers. Sowles was one of this sect, and printed for the society. Bradford adopted the principles of the Quakers, and was among the first emigrants from England to Pennsylvania in 1682, and landed at the spot where Philadelphia was soon after laid out, before a house was built. The next year his wife arrived.

At what place he first settled is rather uncertain; but, it was, as he expresses it, "near Philadelphia." As the general assembly was holden at Chester, and this borough became, for a time, a place of consequence, it is probable that Bradford resided there until Philadelphia assumed the appearance of a city; he might, however, have set up his press at Burlington, which is but eighteen miles distant from Philadelphia, and was then the capital of New Jersey, or even at Kensington, then a small village.

The first work printed by Bradford, which has reached us with a date, is, "An Almanac for the year of the Christian account 1687, Particularly respecting the Meridian and Latitude of Burlington, but may indifferently serve all places adjacent. By Daniel Leeds, Student in Agriculture. Printed and Sold by William Bradford, near *Philadelphia* in *Pennsylvania* pro Anno 1687."

In 1689, Bradford lived in the city. A quarto pamphlet by George Keith, respecting the New England churches, printed by Bradford in Philadelphia in that year, is the oldest book I have seen, printed in the city.

In the year 1692, much contention prevailed among the Quakers in Philadelphia, and Bradford took an active part in the quarrel. George Keith, by birth a Scotchman, a man of good abilities and well educated, was Surveyor General in New Jersey; and the Society of Friends in this city employed him in 1689, as the superintendent of their schools. Keith, having attended this duty nearly two years, became a public speaker in their religious assemblies; but being, as the Quakers asserted, of a turbulent and overbearing spirit, he gave them much trouble; they forbade him speaking as a teacher or minister in their meetings; this, and some other irritating circumstances, caused a division among the Friends, and the parties were violently hostile to each other. Bradford was of the party which was attached to Keith, and supported him; their opponents were the majority. Among them were the Lieutenant Governor Lloyd, and most of the Quaker magistrates. Keith and Thomas Budd wrote against the majority, and Bradford published their writings.

Keith was condemned in the city meetings, but he appealed to the general meeting of the Friends; and, in order that his case might be generally known and understood, he wrote an address to the Quakers, which he caused to be printed, and copies of it to be dispersed among the Friends, previous to their general meeting. This conduct was highly resented by his opponents; the address was denominated seditious, and Bradford was arrested and imprisoned for printing it. The Sheriff seized a form containing four quarto pages of the types of the address; he also took into his custody a quantity of paper, and a number of books, which were in Bradford's shop, with all the copies of the address which he could find. The civil authority took up the business; and, as Keith and Bradford state the facts, they who persecuted them in the religious assemblies, condemned and imprisoned them by civil process—the judges of the courts being the leading characters in the meetings. Several of Keith's party were apprehended and imprisoned with Bradford; and, among them, Thomas Budd and John Macomb. The offence of the latter consisted in his having two copies of the address, which he gave to two friends in compliance with their request.

The following was the warrant for committing Bradford and Macomb:

"Whereas William Bradford, printer, and John Macomb, taylor, being brought before us upon an information of Publishing, Uttering and Spreading a Malicious and Seditious paper, intituled, An Appeal from the twenty-eight Judges* to the Spirit of Truth, &c. Tending to the disturbance of the Peace and the Subversion of the present government,

* "Twenty-eight," meaning those who condemned Keith, in what he called "their Spiritual Court."

and the said Persons being required to give Securitie to answer it at the next court, but they refused so to do. These are therefore by the King and Queens Authoritie and in our Proprietarys Name, to require you to take into your Custody the Bodies of William Bradford and John Maccomb, and then safely keep till they shall be discharged by due Course of Law. Whereof fail not at your Peril; and for your so Doing, this shall be your sufficient Warrant. Given under our Hands and Seales this 24th of August, 1692.

“These to John White, Sheriff of Philadelphia, or his Deputies.”

Signed by Arthur Cook and four others.

The day after the imprisonment of Bradford and his friends, a “Private Sessions,” as it was called, of the county court was holden by six Justices, all Quakers, who, to put a just complexion on their proceedings, requested the attendance of two magistrates who were not Quakers.

This court assembled, it seems, for the purpose of convicting Keith, Budd, and their connexions, of seditious conduct; but the two magistrates who were not Quakers, if we credit Keith and Bradford, reprobated the measure, and refused to have any concern in it, declaring, that the whole transaction was a mere dispute among the Quakers respecting their religion, in which the government had no concern. They, however, advised that Keith and others accused should be sent for, and allowed to defend themselves, and affirmed that if any thing like sedition appeared in their practice, they would join heart and hand in their prosecution. To this the Quaker magistrates would not consent, and the others in consequence left the court. The court then, as is stated in a pamphlet,* “proceeded in their work, and as they judged George Keith in their spiritual court without all hearing or trial, so in like manner they prosecuted him in their temporal court without all hearing.” The pamphlet further states that “one of the judges declared that the court could judge of matter of fact without evidence, and therefore, without more to do, proclaimed George Keith by the common cryer, in the market place, to be a seditious person, and an enemy to the King and Queen’s government.”

Bradford and Maccomb, who had been imprisoned, appeared at this court, and requested that they might be brought to trial; pleading that it was very injurious to them and their families to remain in confinement. They claimed, as free born English subjects, the rights secured by Magna Charta, among which was the prompt administration of justice; and Bradford, in particular, desired that his trial might then take place, “because, not only his person was restrained, but his working tools, and the paper and books from his shop were taken from him, and without these he could not work and maintain his family.”

Soon after this session of the court, Bradford was, by some indulgence, released from his confinement. It is said, that in the examination of the ‘frame,’ the jury not being acquainted with reading backwards, attempted to raise it from the plank on which it was placed, and to put it in a more favourable situation for inspection; and that one of them assisting with

* This pamphlet is entitled, “New England Spirit of Persecution, transmitted to Pennsylvania, and the Pretended Quaker found Persecuting the True Christian Quaker in the Tryal of Peter Boss, George Keith, Thomas Budd and William Bradford, at the Sessyons held at Philadelphia the Ninth, Tenth, and Twelfth days of December, 1692. Giving an account of the most Arbitrary Proceedings of that Court.”

his cane, pushed against the bottom of the types as the form was placed perpendicularly, when, like magic, this evidence against Bradford instantly vanished, the types fell from the frame, or chase as it is termed by printers, formed a confused heap, and prevented further investigation.

Bradford having incurred the displeasure of the dominant party in Pennsylvania, and receiving encouragement to settle in New York, he, in 1693, removed to that city; but it is supposed he had a concern in the press which was continued in Philadelphia.

Bradford continued to print for the government of New York, and during thirty years, was the only printer in the province.

On the 16th of October, 1725, he began the publication of the first newspaper printed in that colony.

He continued his residence in that city, and enjoyed a long life, without experiencing sickness or the usual infirmities of age. Several years before his death he retired from business, and lived with his son William, in Hanover Square.

On the morning of the day which closed his life, he walked over a great part of the city. He died May 23d, 1752, aged ninety-four. The *New York Gazette*, which announced his death on the Monday following, mentions, "that he came to America seventy years ago; was printer to the government upwards of fifty years; and was a man of great sobriety and industry; a real friend to the poor and needy, and kind and affable to all:—His temperance was exceedingly conspicuous; and he was almost a stranger to sickness all his life. He had left off business several years past, and being quite worn out with old age and labour, his lamp of life went out for want of oil."

When William Bradford had had his trial before Justice Cook and others, for the part he had taken in publishing for George Keith's party against the orthodox Friends, he went to New York; and it appears that Reinier Janson (now called Rhiner Johnson) conducted his press in Philadelphia from the year 1690, until his son Andrew took charge of it in 1712.

The whole of the curious trial he encountered at Philadelphia in 1692, before the court of justice, (all Friends like himself,) may be seen in Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania, vol. 2, page 55.

In 1702, William Bradford is spoken of in Samuel Bonas' Journal, as having combined with George Keith to have said Bonas prosecuted and imprisoned on Long Island. Bonas says he was dispossessed of his place as printer for Friends, and was disowned because of his contentions among them at Philadelphia.

Andrew Bradford, his son, began "the *Weekly Mercury*," the first city gazette, in 1719, in conjunction with John Copson. In 1725, he was arraigned before the Council, concerning a late pamphlet, entitled "Some Remedies proposed for restoring the sunk credit of the province;" and also for printing a certain paragraph in his *Mercury* of the second of January: The Governor informed him he must not thereafter publish any thing relating to affairs of this government without permission from him or his Secretary; to

which he promising submission. the subject was dismissed. About this time he held the place of Postmaster. The father (William) and the son (Andrew) are thus spoken of in Keimer's poetic effusion of the year 1734, saying—

“In Penn's wooden country Type feels no disaster,
The Printers grow rich; one is made their Post Master;
His Father, a Printer, is paid for his work,
And wallows in plenty, just now at New York,
Tho' quite past his labour, and old as my Grannum,
The Government pays him, Pounds sixty per annum.”

Andrew Bradford died 23d November, 1742.

About the year 1754, William Bradford, probably the son of Andrew, with whom he was once a partner in the *Mercury*, opened “the London Coffee House,” for the first time, at the south west corner of High and Front streets. The peculiar terms under which he engaged to manage it as a place for the refreshing beverage of coffee, served up daily from a “hissing urn,” and the after terms of 1780, by his successor Gifford Dally, to keep it without games, or sales on the Sabbath, &c. may be seen under the article “Old London Coffee House.” The same William had, however, then a *Gazette* under publication, called the “*Pennsylvania Journal*,” began directly after the death of his father Andrew in 1742. In 1766, he united to his imprint the name of his son Thomas Bradford, now alive at the age of 84. William Bradford lived till the year 1791, leaving his paper in the hands of his son Thomas, who finally merged it into the “*True American*,” a daily paper of modern times.

In the year 1757, an “*American Magazine*” was started by William Bradford, to continue monthly, but it was soon discontinued, probably for want of sufficient support.

The sons of Thomas Bradford also became printers and publishers,—thus continuing this ancient family in the line of printers and publishers, even to the present day.

The Hudson Family.

Mrs. Deborah Logan told me that she was informed by one of the daughters of the Hudson family of Philadelphia, which came here from Jamaica at the time of the first settlement, that they were the kinsfolk of the celebrated Captain Henry Hudson, the discoverer of our country. That lady was respectable and intelligent, and if now alive would be past 100 years of age. Her brother, Samuel Hudson, was the last male of the family, the decendants by the female line are now respectable members of society. A table of family descent is now in possession of William Howell, a descendant. The original William Hudson, who first came here, had been an Episcopal clergyman, and became a Friend by convince-

ment; while he lived, he was honoured with several offices. The house which he built and dwelt in, in Philadelphia, was of very respectable and venerable appearance, having a brick portico before the door, and a court yard on Third street, and another as an outlet in Chesnut street—thus placing his house on the premises now of Charles C. Watson, near the corner of Third and Chesnut streets; he had property also on the line of Hudson's alley, which gave rise to that name.

John Bartram.

John Bartram was a most accurate observer of nature, and one of the first botanists this country ever produced, a self-taught genius whom Linnæus called "the greatest natural botanist in the world." He seated himself on the bank of the Schuylkill, below Gray's ferry, where he built a comfortable stone house and formed his botanic garden, in which there still remains some of the most rare and curious specimens of our plants and trees, collected by him in Florida, Canada, &c. The garden is still kept up with much skill by Colonel Carr, who married his granddaughter, and is always worthy of a visit. He enjoyed for many years preceding the Revolution, a salary as botanist to the royal family of England.

In the year 1741, a subscription was made, to enable him to travel through Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York, to observe and collect plants and fossils.

In 1729, James Logan in a letter to his friend in England, thus writes respecting him, saying, "Please to procure me Parkinson's Herbal; I shall make it a present to a worthy person, worthy of a heavier purse than fortune has yet allowed him. John Bartram has a genius perfectly well turned for botany; no man in these parts is so capable of serving you, but none can worse bear the loss of his time without a due consideration."

Hector St. John of Carlisle, has left a picturesque description of things seen and observed of John Bartram and his garden, &c. as they appeared on a visit made to him before the Revolution. There Mr. Bartram with his visiter, his family and slaves, all set down to one large table, well stored with wholesome fare. The blacks were placed at the foot—the guest near the host; there was kindness from the master to them, and in return, they gave him affection and fidelity. The whole groupe and manner reminds one of the Patriarchal manner of the Old Testament. Some whom he freed still chose to remain with him until their death. Bartram described his low grounds as at first a putrid swampy soil, which he succeeded to reclaim by draining and ditching.* Although he

* This was then deemed a novel experiment, the first then made in our country. He also led waters from higher grounds through his higher lands which were before worthless; and in both cases succeeded to form artificial grass pastures, by means now common enough.

was a Friend he had a picture of family arms, which he preserved as a memorial of his father's having been a Frenchman, and the first of the family who came to Pennsylvania. In this visit he particularly speaks of noticing the abundance of red clover sowed in his upland fields—an improvement in agriculture, since thought to have not been so early cultivated among us. He spoke of his first passion for the study of botany, as excited by his contemplating a simple daisy, as he rested from his ploughing, under a tree; then it was he first thought it much his shame to have been so long the means of destroying many flowers and plants, without even before stopping to consider their nature and uses. This thought, thus originated, often revived, until at last it inspired real efforts to study their character, &c. both from observation and reading.

John Bartram was born in the year 1701, in Chester county, in Pennsylvania, being of the second line of descent from his grandfather John Bartram, who, with his family, came from Darby-Shire, England, with the adherents of the justly famed William Penn, proprietor, when he established the colony, and founded the city of Philadelphia, Anno Domini 1682.

Thus being born in a newly settled country, at so vast a distance from the old world, the seat of arts and sciences, it cannot be supposed that he could have acquired great advantage from the aids of literature; having acquired, however, the best instruction that country schools at that early time could afford, and at every possible opportunity, by associating with the most learned and respectable characters, with difficulty obtained the rudiments of the learned languages which he studied with extraordinary application and success. He had a very early inclination and relish for the study of the *Materia Medica* and Surgery, and acquired so much knowledge in these sciences as to administer great relief to the indigent and distressed. And as the vegetable kingdom afforded him most of his medicines, it seems extremely probable this might have excited a desire and pointed out to him the necessity of the study of botany. Although bred a husbandman and cultivator as the principal means of providing subsistence for supporting a large family, yet he pursued his studies as a philosopher, being attentive to the economy of nature and observant of her most minute operations. When ploughing and sowing his fields, or mowing the meadows, his inquisitive mind was exercised in contemplating the vegetable system, and of animated nature.

He was perhaps the first Anglo-American who imagined the design, or at least carried into operation a botanic garden for the reception of American vegetables as well as exotics, and for travelling for the discovery and acquisition of them. He purchased a convenient place on the banks of the Schuylkill near Philadelphia, where, after building a house of hewn stone with his own hands, laid out a large garden, containing six or seven acres of ground, that comprehended a variety of soils and situations, and soon replenished it with a variety of curious and beautiful vegetables, the fruits of his distant excursions; but though highly gratified and delighted with beholding the success of his labours, yet his benevolent mind contemplated more extensive plans, which was to communicate his discoveries and collections to Europe and other parts of the earth, that

the whole world might participate in his enjoyments. Fortunate in the society and friendship of many literary and eminent characters of America, namely, Dr. B. Franklin, Dr. Colden, J. Logan, Esq. and several others, who, observing his genius and industry, liberally assisted him in establishing a correspondence with the great men of science in England, particularly P. Collinson, whose intimate friendship and correspondence continued unabated nearly 50 years, and terminated only with life. through whose patronage and philanthropy his collections, relating to Natural History, Physiological and Philosophical investigations, were communicated to men of science in Europe, and annually laid before their Societies, of which he was in fellowship.

He employed much of his time in travelling abroad through the provinces then subject to England, during the autumn, when his agricultural avocations least required his presence at home; the object of the peregrination was collecting curious and nondescript vegetables, fossils, and the investigation and economy of nature; his ardour in these pursuits was so vigorous and lively that few obstacles opposed or confined his progress. The summits of our highest mountains are monuments of his indefatigable labours and inquisitive mind. The shores of Lake Ontario and Cayuga contributed through his hands to embellish the gardens and enrich the forests of Europe with elegant flowering shrubs, plants and useful ornamental trees. The banks and sources of the rivers Delaware, Susquehanna, Alleghany and Schuylkill, received his visits at a very early date, when it was difficult and truly perilous travelling in the territories of the aborigines. He travelled many thousand miles into Virginia, Carolina, East and West Florida, in search of materials for Natural History and to enrich the funds of human economy. At the advanced age of near 70 years he performed an arduous and dangerous task; a tour into East Florida. Arriving at St. Augustine, he embarked on board of a boat at Picolota, on the River St. Juan, navigated with three oars and a sail, with a hunter to provide flesh meats. From Picolota he proceeded up the east bank to its source—originating from immense inundated marsh meadows, the great nursery of the nations of fish and reptiles, the winter asylum of the northern fowl, ducks and the Anser tribes in their annual festive visits to their southern friends, but held in awe by the thunder of the devouring alligator; and returning down the west bank to the capes, noting the width, depth and courses of its winding flood, the vast dilatations of the river with its tributary streams, at the same time remarking the soil and situation of the country and natural productions.

His stature was rather above the middle size, erect and slender, visage long, his countenance cheerful and gay, regulated with a due degree of solemnity. His manners modest and gentle, yet his disposition active and of the greatest good nature. A lover and practiser of justice and equity. Such a lover of philanthropy, charity and social order, that he was never known to enter into litigious contest with his neighbours, or any one, but rather relinquish his rights than distress his neighbours. He was through life a rare example of temperance, particularly in the use of vinous and spirituous liquors, as well as other gratifications; not from a passion of parsimony but in respect to morality; nevertheless he always maintained a generous and plentiful table—annually on a New Year's

day he made liberal entertainment at his own house consecrated to friendship and philosophy.

He was industrious and active, indulging repose only when nature required it, observing that he could never find more time than he could with pleasure employ, either intellectually or in some useful manual exercise, and was astonished when people complained that they were tired of time, not knowing how to employ it, or what they should do.

In observing the characters of illustrious men, it is generally an object of inquiry of what religion they were. He was born and educated in the Society of Friends, (called Quakers,) devoutly worshipped the Supreme Deity, the Creator and Soul of all existence, all goodness and perfection. His religious creed may be seen by any one, sculptured by himself in large characters on a stone in the wall over the front window of his apartment where he usually slept, and which was dedicated to study and philosophical retirement. This pious distich runs thus:—

'Tis God alone, the Almighty Lord,
The Holy One by me ador'd.

JOHN BARTRAM—1770.

He was an early and firm advocate for maintaining the natural and equal rights of man, particularly for the abolition of negro slavery, and confirmed his zeal in these great virtues by giving freedom to a very excellent young man of the African race at the age of between 20 and 30, who he had reared in his house from a young child; and this man afterwards manifested in return the highest gratitude and affection, for he continued constantly in the family to the end of his life, receiving full wages as long as he was able to perform a day's work.

William Bartram, his son, another distinguished florist and botanist, who succeeded in the same place, died in July, 1723, at his garden, at the advanced age of 85 years. His travels, in search of botanical subjects, in the Floridas, &c. were published in 1791;—he preceded Wilson as an ornithologist, and gave his assistance to that gentleman in his celebrated work.

Eccentric Persons.

1736—Michael Welfare, one of the Christian philosophers of Conestogoe, appeared in full market in the habit of a pilgrim,—his hat of linen. —his beard full, and a long staff in his hand. He declared himself sent of God to denounce vengeance against the citizens of the province without speedy repentance. The earnestness of the man, and his vehemence of action commanded much attention. This "Warning" was afterwards announced for sale at four pence.

Directly afterwards appeared one Abel Noble, preaching on a Monday from the court house stairs (in Second street,) to a large congregation standing in Market street, on the subject of keeping the Sabbath.

1742—Benjamin Lay, "the singular pythagorian, cynical,

christian philosopher." in the time of the Friends' general meeting (where he usually worshipped.) stood in the market place, with a large box of china of his deceased wife's, to bear his testimony against the use of tea! There with a hammer he began to break his ware piece by piece; but the populace, unwilling to lose what

1744—"A young man from old England" appoints a day to hold might profit them, overset him, and scrambled for the china, and bore them off whole!

a meeting in the market house; but the Mayor and Council determine it is improper, and require him to desist.

In the year 1770, a number of white men, confederated under the name of black boys, to rob, plunder and destroy, were to be always secretly armed, and to rescue prisoners, &c. They were to have their faces blacked when acting. They did considerable mischief; and actually assaulted a neighbouring goal, and rescued the prisoners. An act of Assembly was made respecting them, and to punish them, when taken, with death.

Rare Persons.

In the year 1739 *Shiek Sidi*, the Eastern Prince, arrived here (the same probably spoken of in Smith's History of New Jersey) with his attendants, and is treated with great respect. 'Tis said he is recommended by his Majesty to the charity of all good Christians.

Sheick Shedid Allhazar, Emir (or Prince) of Syria, was introduced to James Logan's notice by a letter from Governor Clarke of New York, who says "he appeared to us here to be a gentleman, whatever else he might be besides. As he spoke nothing but Arabic and a little Syriac he put me on scouring up what I had formerly got and forgot of these, and we exchanged some little in writing. He was well treated, and accepted the bounty of the charitable, having received from the Meeting of Friends one hundred pistoles, but not quite so much from all others." He went from us to Barbadoes, and John Fothergill speaks of meeting him there, with approbation.—Vide his Journal. On the whole, it was certainly a very strange expedition for such a personage, and inclines one to fear he may have been some *Chevalier d'Industrie*, after all!

In the year 1746, the "Infamous Tom Bell" is advertised in Philadelphia as having went on board Captain Charles Dingee's vessel at New Castle as a merchant, and while there made out to steal sundry clothing, and among others the Captain's red breeches. He says he is well known for frauds in many of the provinces, and at different times pretends to be a parson, doctor, lawyer, merchant, seaman, &c. I see him in another place advertised as being part of a gang of counterfeiters of province-bills, at their log house in New Jersey. I refer to this Tom Bell thus, because he once made such a strange figure in once personating the Rev. Mr. Row-

land, and stealing a horse from the house where he had lodged in the name of said Rowland, and affecting to be going to Meeting, with the horse, to preach there.—See the facts in *William Tenant's Life*.

In 1757 (March) Lord Loudon, as General in Chief of all his Majesty's troops in America, being in Philadelphia, is feasted by the Corporation at the State-house, together with the officers of the Royal Americans, sundry gentlemen strangers, &c. General Forbes is also present as commander at Philadelphia and Southward. At or about the same time Colonel Montgomery arrives with the Highlanders, and are provided for at the new barracks in the Northern Liberties.

Among the truly strange people which visited our city was "Jemima Wilkinson," a female—winning the regard and deeply imposing on the credulity of sundry Religionists. Habited partially as a man, she came preaching what she called the Last Gospel which would be preached to mankind. By her own testimony, as recorded in *Buck's Theological Dictionary*, she had died, and her soul had gone to Heaven, where it then remained; but that "The Christ" had re-animated her dead body, whereby he had come again, for the last time, in the flesh.

As it hath invariably happened, to the many bubbles of "Lo Here and Lo There," which, from the beginning of Church History, have arisen upon its surface,

"The earth hath bubbles as the water has,
And these are of them———."

She also had her votaries, her followers; some of whom separated themselves from the closest ties nearest the heart, and went out after her into "The Desert" of Goshen, State of New York, where, after a term of delusion, (in the mouths of every one) and in consequence of an unexpected discovery, accidentally made by one of her most ardent votaries, the whole concern of fanaticism exploded and collapsed at once, like the balloon from whence the gas had escaped, suddenly precipitating itself to the earth. Laughter succeeded the consequent amazement, and the disconcerted followers separated immediately from her, every one their own way through "by-roads" home.

Lang Syne who had seen her in Philadelphia, describes her thus, to wit:—One Saturday of the time she held forth in this city, seeing a crowd at the door of the meeting house, at the south west corner of Fifth and Arch streets, a few of us, who had been just liberated from a neighbouring school, animated by the curiosity of extreme youth, and the want of deference to the opinions of others, usual at that period of life, insinuated our way into the throng, until we stood in the full view of Jemima Wilkinson, as we learned afterwards, standing up and speaking from the south end of the gallery to a staring audience. What she said, or of the subject matter,

nothing is remembered; but her person, dress and manner is as palpable "to the mind's eye," as though she thus looked and spake but yesterday.

As she stood there, she appeared beautifully erect, and tall for a woman, although at the same time the masculine appearance predominated; which, together with her strange habit, caused every eye to be rivetted upon her. Her glossy black hair was parted evenly on her pale round forehead, and smoothed back beyond the ears, from whence it fell in profusion about her neck and shoulders, seemingly without art or contrivance—arched black eyebrows and fierce looking black eyes, darting here and there with penetrating glances, throughout the assembly, as though she read the thoughts of people—beautiful aquiline nose, handsome mouth and chin, all supported by a neck conformable to the line of beauty and proportion; that is to say, the portion of it visible at the time, being partly hidden by her plain habit of coloured stuff, drawn closely round above the shoulders, by a drawing string knotted in front, without handkerchief or female ornament of any kind. Although, in her personal appearance she exhibited nothing which could realize the idea of

"A sybil that had numbered in the world,
Of the sun's courses, *two hundred compasses.*"

And although she spoke deliberately, not "startingly and rash," but resting with one hand on the bannister before her, and using but occasional action with the other, nevertheless she seemed as one moved by that "prophetic fury" which "sewed the web" while she stood uttering words of wonderful import, with a masculine feminine tone of voice, or kind of croak, unearthly and sepulchral.

A few days afterwards, a carriage having stopped at the next door, south of the Golden Swan, in north Third street, she was seen slowly to descend from it, and remain a short time stationary on the pavement, waiting, it seems, the descent of her followers, which gave to the quick assembled crowd one more opportunity to behold the person and strange habiliments of this, at the time, very extraordinary character.

She was clothed as before; her worsted robe, or mantle, having the appearance of one whole piece, descending from her neck to the ground, covering her feet. Her head was surmounted by a shining black beaver hat, with a broad brim, and low flattened crown, such as worn at the time by young men, of no particular age or fashion, and (seemingly in accordance with the display of her superb hair,) was placed upon her head, erect and square, showing to the best advantage the profusion of nature's ringlets, bountifully bestowed upon her, and floating elegantly about her neck and shoulders, and the more remarkable, as the fashion of the day for ladies' head dress consisted in frizzled hair, long wire pins, powder and pomatum. Nowadays, her beautiful Absalom curls, as then exhibited,

would be considered as being from the manufactory of Daix, (rue de Chestnut,) from Paris,

“The scull that bred them in the sepulchre.”

She waited with composure and in silence the descent of her followers, with whom, when they had formed, in solemn order, in the rear, she entered the house; when, to keep out the pressing crowd, the door was suddenly clapped to, by the person who lodged them, causing the curious ones, who stood gazing after the preacher, first to look foolishly, then laughingly and sillily at one another, a few moments on the outside.

In the year 1828 there came to Philadelphia a native Prince of Timbuctoo. It being a rare circumstance to find in this country a Chieftain of so mysterious a city and country, so long the *terra incognita* of modern travellers, I have been curious to preserve some token of his visit in an autograph of his pen.—Vide page 130 of my MS. Annals in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It was done by him in Arabic, at the writing table of our late Mayor, Joseph Watson, Esq. It reads—“Abduhl Rahaman, Prince of Timboo.”—was written with ready facility, in the Arabic manner, from right to left; which was the more remarkable as he had been for forty years out of practice, toiling with his hands as a slave at field labour at Natchez.

Samuel Keimer,

The printer whose name so often occurs in the early history of Benjamin Franklin, appears to have been of a singular turn of mind. In 1728 he started the Pennsylvania Gazette in opposition to Bradford's Weekly Mercury. It was announced in strange braggart style, and in one year failed of its object—success, and thence fell into the hands of Franklin, who conducted it to advantage many years,—poor Keimer in the mean time getting into a prison.

In the year 1723 I saw a paper from the Friends' Monthly Meeting, setting forth that Samuel Keimer, who had then lately arrived, had printed divers papers, particularly one styled “The Parable,” wherein he assumes the style and language of Friends: wherefore they certify that he is not of their Society, nor countenanced by them. This was rather an awkward introduction for one so sedulous to make his *debut* to his personal advantage.

In the year 1734 he appears to have secured his establishment as a publisher and printer at Barbadoes. In his poetic appeal to his patrons he gives some facts respecting the then compensation of American colonial printers, which may elucidate the reward of type setters then—to wit:

“What a pity it is that some modern Bravadoes,
Who daub themselves Gentlemen, here in Barbadoes,
Should time after time run in debt to their Printer,

And care not to pay him in summer or winter !
 In Penn's wooden country Type feels no disaster—
 The Printers grow rich—one is made their Postmaster," &c.

In further pursuing the subject he shows that old William Bradford of New York has 60*l.* a year from the King. In Maryland and Virginia each province allows 200*l.* a year ; for, he adds, "by law he's paid 50,000 weight country produce"—meaning tobacco.

" But, alas ! your poor Type prints no Figure like *nullo* ;
 Curs'd, cheated, abused by each pitiful fellow—
 Tho' working like slave, with zeal and true courage,
 He can scarce get as yet ev'n Salt to his Porridge !"

His paper, however, continued, and must have produced some good articles, as I remember to have seen in the Stenton Library a London edition, 8to in 2 vols. of Extracts, from it.

Virgil and Wife.

These were black people, whose surname was Warder. They had been house servants of William Penn, and because of their great age were provided for by the Penn family, living in the kitchen part of the house at Springetsbury. Virgil was probably upwards of 100 years of age when he died. His wife died in 1782 ; and there is something concerning both of them to be seen published in Bradford's Gazette of that time. The aged Timothy Matlack told me he remembered talking with Virgil often about the year 1745, and that he was then quite grey headed, but very active. When Matlack saw him there he was under charge of James Alexander, the gardener. Near there he remembered a spring which on one occasion was made into grog to please the whim of some sailors.

The Claypole Family.

Miss Claypole, now about 75 years of age, whom I saw at T. Matlack's, Esq. told me she was a direct descendant of Oliver Cromwell's daughter, who married Lord General Claypole. Her ancestor in this country came out with Penn, and is often mentioned among the earliest officers in the government. His name was James Claypole—was a merchant, a partner in the Free Traders Company, and a public character in Friends Meeting. He passed his first winter in a cave in the bank of Front street with his family and servants. In the spring following, he built his house, the same afterwards known as the Rattle Snake Inn. No. 37, Walnut street, north side, a few doors east of Second street. It was a double two story brick house, had four leaden framed windows in front, and the same in the rear. The present Miss Claypole was born in that house, and her grandmother, Deborah Clay-

pole, told her that when that house was built, their dogs used to go up to the woods at and about the Second street court house, (built in 1707) and there catch rabbits and bring them home. Their house long had a beautiful south exposure, down a descending green bank into the pleasant Dock creek.

The present Mrs. Logan possesses a lively recollection of this Deborah Claypole; she was the wife of George Claypole, and daughter of Abraham Hardiman. She lived to be upwards of 90 years of age, had told Mrs. L. of the original arborescent state of Market street, &c. Her history was remarkable for having buried her husband and five children in the course of a few weeks, of the very mortal smallpox of the year 1730. Mrs. Logan said it was well understood that her husband, George Claypole, was descended from the protector Oliver Cromwell. Dr. Franklin too, has said something; he has said she had one child which survived the mortality, but as that also died, she was long left a widow. There is, however, another branch of the family name still among us in Philadelphia.

I perceive by William Penn's letter of 1684, to his steward J. H. that he thus speaks of James Claypole, whom he had made Register, to wit: "Tell me how he does; watch over him, his wife and family," &c. Penn also speaks of sending to his lot near the creek for red gravel, to form his garden-walks at Penusbury, if they found none nearer.

Hannah Griffeths,

A maiden lady of the Society of Friends, died in 1817, at the advanced age of 91 years—born and bred in Philadelphia—was a very fine poetess. She wrote only fugitive pieces. I have seen several in MS. in the possession of her cousin Mrs. Deborah Logan. Her satires were very keen and spirited; she was a very humane and pious woman. Had she wrote for fame, and made her productions public, she might have been allured to write more. She wrote a keen satire on the celebrated Meschianza; "she was a grand-daughter of Isaac Norris, and a great grand-daughter of Thomas Lloyd. The goodness of her heart was very great, her wit lively and ever ready; and her talents of a high order, but her modesty and aversion to display always caused her to seek the shade."

The French Neutrals,

Were numerous French families transported from Arcadia, in Nova Scotia, and distributed in the colonies, as a measure of State policy, the readier to make the new population there of English character and loyalty. The American General, who had orders to execute it, deemed it an unfeeling and rigorous command. These

poor people became completely dispirited; they used to weep over the story of their wrongs, and described the comfortable settlements and farms, from whence they had been dragged, with very bitter regret. The humane and pious Anthony Benezet was their kind friend, and did whatever he could to ameliorate their situation. He educated many of their daughters. His charities to them was constant and unremitting.

For further particulars of this cruel business of the removal of these poor inoffensive people, see Walsh's Appeal, PART I. p. 88.

The part which came to Philadelphia were provided with quarters in a long range of one story wooden houses built on the north side of Pine street, and extending from Fifth to Sixth streets. Mr. Samuel Powell, the owner, who originally bought the whole square for 50£. permitted the houses to be tenanted rent free, after the neutrals left them. As he never made any repairs they fell into ruins about 50 years ago. Those neutrals remained there several years, showing very little disposition to amalgamate and settle with our Society, or attempting any good for themselves. They made a Frenchtown in the midst of our society, and were content to live spiritless and poor. Finally they made themselves burdensome; so that the authorities, to awaken them to more sensibility, determined in the year 1757, to have their children bound out by the overseers of the poor, alleging as their reason, that the parents had lived long enough at the public expense. It soon after occurred that they all went off in a body, to the banks of the Mississippi, near New Orleans, where their descendants may be still found under the general name of Arcadians, an easy, gentle, happy, but lowly people.

Lieutenant Bruluman,

Of the British American army, a Philadelphian by birth, was executed at Philadelphia in the year 1760, for the murder of Mr. Scull. The case was a strange one, and excited great interest at the time. The Lieutenant had got a wish to die, and instead of helping himself "with a bare bodkin," he coveted to have it done by another, and therefore hit upon the expedient of killing some one. He sallied forth with his gun, to take the first good subject he should fancy; he met Doctor Cadwallader, (grandfather of the present General C.) and intended him as his victim; but the Doctor who had remarkably courteous manners, saluted him so gently and kindly as he drew near, that his will was subdued, and he, pursuing his way out High street, came to the bowling green at the Centre Square,—there he saw Scull playing; and as he and his company were about to retire into the Inn to play billiards, he deliberately took his aim and killed him; he then calmly gave himself up, with the explanation above expressed. Some persons have since thought he might have been acquitted in the present day as a case of mona insanity.

Colonel Frank Richardson

Was a person of great personal beauty and address, born of Quaker parentage at Chester. As he grew up, and mixed with the British officers in Philadelphia, he acquired a passion for their profession,—went to London, got a commission, and became at length a Colonel of the King's life guards. This was about the year 1770.

Susanna Wright

Was usually called a "celebrated" or an "extraordinary" woman in her "day and generation." She was a woman of rare endowment of mind—had a fine genius, and a virtuous and excellent heart. She made herself honoured and beloved wherever she went, or her communications were known. She came with her parents from England when she was about 17 years of age; they settled some time at Chester, much beloved, and then removed up to Wright's Ferry, now Columbia, on the Susquehanna, in the year 1726. At that time the country was all a forest, and the Indians all around them as neighbours; so that the family were all there in the midst of the alarm of the Indian massacre by the Paxtang boys.

She wrote poetry with a ready facility; her epistolary correspondence was very superior. She was indeed the most literary lady of the province without sacrificing a single domestic duty to its pursuit. Her nursery of silkworms surpassed all others, and at one time she had 60 yards of silk mantua of her own production.

David I. Dove

Came to this country in 1758–9. He became a teacher of the languages in the academy. He was made chiefly conspicuous for the part he took in the politics of the day, and by the caustic and satirical poetry he wrote to traduce his political enemies. Although he never obtained and perhaps never sought any office himself, yet he seemed only in his best element when active in the commotions around him; he promoted the caricatures, and wrote some of the poetry for them, which were published in his time, and was himself caricatured in turn.

The late Judge R. Peters, who had been his Latin pupil, said of him, "he was a sarcastical and ill-tempered doggereliser, and was called *Dove* ironically—for his temper was that of a hawk, and his pen was the beak of a falcon pouncing on innocent prey."

At one time he opened a private academy in Germantown—in the house now Chancellor's, and there used a rare manner in sending for truant boys, by a committee who carried a lighted lantern—a sad exposure for a juvenile culprit!

Joseph Galloway

Was a lawyer of talents and wealth, of Philadelphia, a speaker of the Assembly, who took the royal side in the Revolution—joined the British when in Philadelphia, and became the general superintendent of the city under their sanction. He was at first favourable to some show of resistance, but never to independence or arms. His estates became confiscate: he joined the British at New York, became Secretary to the Commander in Chief, and finally settled in London. There he wrote and published against his patron, Sir William Howe, as having lost the conquest of our country by his love of entertainment and pleasure, rather than the sturdy self-denial of arms. Galloway owned and dwelt in the house now the Schuylkill Bank, at the south east corner of High and Sixth streets. He had an only daughter, whom he found about to elope with a gentleman, afterwards Judge Griffin, whom, for that reason, he shot at in his own house.

The Rev. Morgan Edwards,

Minister to the First Baptist church, arrived in this country in the year 1758. In 1770, he published a history of the Baptists in Pennsylvania—a work which is made curiously instructive as history, because it is chiefly limited to their proper civil history, their first settlements in various parts of the country. On these points it contains facts to be found nowhere else. His book embraces notices of all those Germans, &c. who used adult baptism as essential parts of their system. He thus gives the history of George Keith's schism—an account of the Tunkers and Mennonists, &c.

The same gentleman became himself a curiosity of our city. President Smith of Princeton College, has noticed the aberrations of his mind in his Nassau lectures. Edwards was persuaded he was foretold the precise time of his death. He announced it from his pulpit, and took a solemn leave of all his people. His general sanity and correct mental department created a great confidence in very many people. At the time his house was crowded—all on tiptoe of expectation; every moment was watched. He himself breathed with great concern and anxiety, thinking each action of his lungs his last; but a good constitution surmounted the power of his imagination, and he could not die! Could a better subject be devised for the exercise of the painter's skill, as a work, showing the strongest workings of the human mind, both in the sufferer and in the beholders—properly forming two pictures:—the first that of anxious credulity in all; and the latter, their disappointment and mortification! He lived twenty years afterwards; and the delusion made him so unpopular that he withdrew into the country. A good lesson to those who lean to divine impressions without the balance of right reason, and the written testimony of revelation.

Dusimiliere

Was a collector of the scraps and fragments of our history. He was a French gentleman, who wrote and spoke our language readily, and being without family, and his mind turned to the curiosities of literature and the facts of natural history, he spent much time in forming collections. He has left five volumes quarto in the City Library of his curious MSS. and rare fugitive printed papers. To be properly explored and usefully improved would require a mind as peculiar as his own. As he advanced in life he became more needy, and occupied himself, when he could, in drawing portraits and pictures in watercolours. He lived in Philadelphia before and about the time of the Revolution; and before that in New York and the West Indies. I have preserved an autograph letter of his in my MS. Annals in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, p. 306, of the year 1766.

There is not much in his books respecting Pennsylvania, being only about half of one of his volumes. He has about 50 pages concerning the revolt of the Pennsylvania Line, and most of the papers are original. Bound up in his book are autographs of distinguished personages—such as Hume, Smollet, Gray, &c. His first volume is about the West India islands, with drawings neatly executed: sometimes he gives caricatures. He gives letters respecting the change of the Post Office from British to colonial, and how Mr. Goddard travelled as agent to collect subscriptions.—[An account of the original Post Office may be gathered from Douglass.] There is also a strange account called “Life and Character of a strange he-monster lately arrived in London from America,”—intended probably to satirize one of our public functionaries. There are also minutes of the Congress convention—some intercepted letters—a brief account of Pennsylvania, by Lewis Evans—a deed from under the Duke of York to the Swensons for Philadelphia. His whole collections, on the whole, may be deemed the curious gleanings of a curious mind, and among some rubbish may be found, some day, some useful and unexpected elucidations of difficult points in our history.

Robert Proud.

I ought to feel and express respect for a fellow-annalist who has preceded me. I felt a natural desire to become acquainted with the personal history of a gentleman and scholar, who gave so much of his time to seeking out the early history of our State. Without his diligence and procurement, much that we now know must have been lost.

He was born in Yorkshire, England, the 10th of May, 1728. His father was a farmer, who rented an old mansion house and a

large farm, called Wood End, from the Talbot family. He received his education under a Mr. David Hall, a man well versed in the languages, and with whom he maintained for many years “a friendly and agreeable correspondence.”

“In his young days (he says,) he had a strong inclination for learning, virtue and true wisdom, before or in preference to all mere worldly considerations.” Thus expressing, as I understand him, a lively religious sense, at his early age, of what “the true riches” consisted. Wherefore, says he, “I afterwards rejected on that account those things, when I had it in my power to have appeared in a much superior character and station in the world, than I am since known to be in.”

About the year 1750 he went to London, and became an inmate and preceptor in the families of Sylvanus and Timothy Bevan—gentlemen, of the Society of Friends, of fortune, and the former distinguished for his skill in carving (as a skilful amateur,) the only likeness from which we have the busts of Penn the founder. While with this family, and from his intimacy with Doctor Fothergill, (his kinsman,) he turned his leisure time to the study of medicine, in which he made much proficiency; but to which, as he said, he took afterwards strong disgust, from its opening to him “a very glaring view of the chief causes of those diseases, (not to say vices,) which occasioned the greatest emolument to the profession of medicine.” There was something in his mind of moody melancholy against the world, for he did not like “the hurry of much employment, or crowds or large cities;” and as to money, so useful to all, he deemed the aim at riches “as the most despicable of worldly objects.” He was therefore soon ripe to put in practice his project of seeking fewer friends, and more retirement in the American wilds. He therefore came, in 1759, among us, and lived long enough and needy enough to see, that a better provision for his comforts would not have diminished any of his religious enjoyments. Samuel Preston, Esq. an aged gentleman now alive, says disappointed love was the moving cause of R. Proud’s demurs to the commonly received affections to life, that he had told him as much as that “the wind had always blown in his face, that he was mortified in love in England, and frustrated in some projects of business here,”—ills enough, with the lasting loss of a desired mate, to make “earth’s bright hopes” look dreary to him.

In 1761, he became teacher of the Greek and Latin languages in the Friend’s academy.—There he continued till the time of our Revolution, when he entered into an unfortunate concern with his brother, losing, as he said, “by the confusion and the iniquities of the times.” The non-success was imputable to his high tory feelings, not permitting him to deal in any way to avail himself of the chances of the times. At the time of the peace he again resumed his school. Besides the Latin and Greek which he taught, he had

considerable acquaintance with the French and the Hebrew. He relinquished his duties as a teacher in 1790 or '91, and living very retired in the family of Samuel Clarke, till the year 1813, when he died at the age of 86 years.

He had turned his mind to the collection of some facts of our history before our Revolution, but it was only on his resignation of his school, in 1790-1, that he fully devoted his mind, at the request of some Friends, to the accomplishment of his task, which he ushered into the world, in 1797-8, deeming it, as he said, "a laborious and important work." In a pecuniary point of view, this, like his other projects, was also a failure.—It realized no profits.

I quote from his biographer (C. W. Thomson) thus, to wit: Of his history—"as a succinct collection of historical facts, it undoubtedly deserves the most respectful attention; but its style is too dry, and its diction too inelegant ever to render it a classical work. It is exactly that stately old-fashioned article, that its author himself was." Feelingly I can appreciate his further remark, when he adds, "He who has never undertaken so arduous a task, knows little of the persevering patience it requires to thus go before and gather up the segregated materials, or to sort, select and arrange the scattered fragments of broken facts, the body and essence of such a composition."

"He was in person tall—his nose of the Roman order, and overhung with most impending brows—his head covered with a curled grey wig, and surmounted with the half cock'd patriarchal hat, and long ivory headed cane. He possessed gentleness and kindness of manner in society, and in his school he was mild, commanding and affectionate."

I am indebted to J. P. Norris, Esq. one of his Executors, and once one of his pupils, for access to several of his private papers, which will help to a better illustration of his character.

He says in his written memoranda—"Before and after this time (1790) I was frequently in a very infirm state of health, notwithstanding which I revised and published my History of Pennsylvania, though imperfect and deficient; the necessary and authentic materials being very defective, and my declining health not permitting me to finish it entirely to my mind, and I had reason to apprehend, if it was not then published, nothing of the kind so complete, even with all its defects, would be likely to be published at all; and which publication, though the best extant of the kind, as a true and faithful record, was not patronised as I expected, not even by the offspring and lineal successors of the first and early settlers, and for whose sake it was particularly undertaken by me—to my great loss and disappointment. A performance intended both for public and private information and benefit, and to prevent future publishing and further spreading false accounts or misrepresentations. My former friends and acquaintance, (except some of my quondam pupils,) being nearly gone, removed, or deceased, and their successors become more and more strangers, unacquainted with and alien to me, render my final

removal or departure from my present state of existence so much the more welcome and desirable—

Taught half by reason, half by mere decay,
To welcome death, and calmly pass away.

“For which I am now waiting, and thus according to the words of the aged person, I may say “Few and evil have been the years of my life,” yet in part according to my desire, I seem not to have so much anxiety and concern about the conclusion and consequence thereof, as I have had at times, for the propriety of my future conduct, and advancement in the way of truth and righteousness in said state, so as to insure the continued favour of a sensible enjoyment of the divine presence and preservation while here, in order for a happy futurity and eternal life.”

In publishing his *History of Pennsylvania*, he was aided by several of his former pupils, who, under the name of a loan, advanced a sum sufficient for the purpose. He left a number of MSS. principally poetry, of which he was fond; and being what was called a tory, allusions are often made in many of them, to the conduct of the colonists, which are pretty severe. I add one or two as a specimen, though his translation of Makin's Latin poems, may give a pretty good idea of what was his talent. Well versed in the Latin and Greek languages, and with the authors who wrote in them, reading and translating parts of them was his solace and comfort in the evening of life.

He suffered much in his circumstances by the paper money, especially by that issued by the provincial government prior to the Revolution, and as he had no doubt of the issue of the contest, he thought Great Britain would make it all good, and therefore retained it in his hands, till it became worse than nothing. In fact he was never calculated for the storms and turmoil of life, but rather for the retirement of the academic grove in converse with Plato, Seneca, Socrates, and other ancient worthies.

He died in 1813, in the 86th year of his age. He left nine of his former pupils his Executors, viz. O. Jones, Mier Fisher, Dr. Parke, J. P. Norris, B. R. Morgan, Dr. James, Joshua Ash, Joseph Sansom, and J. E. Cresson; all of whom renounced but B. R. Morgan, Esq. and J. P. Norris, who at the request of the others undertook the office.

I subjoin a list of some of his former scholars; the greater part of them, however, are gone with himself to another world.

Pupils of the first period—Owen Jones, S. K. Fisher, Mier Fisher,* P. Z. Lloyd,* James Smith, Mordecai Lewis,* Samuel Coates, Joseph Bullock,* Ennion Williams, William Lewis,* George Logan,* John Clifford,* Thomas Morris,* J. Wharton,* William Morris,* James C. Fisher, William Chancellor,* Nathan Jones, Daniel Humphreys, Thomas Parke, Henry Drinker,* James Moyer, Jacob Spicer,* Josiah Harmor,* Joseph Bacon, Benjamin Say,* John Foulke,* John Palmer, Jonathan Evans, Joseph Fox,* Ely Comley,* Benjamin Fishbourne,* Richard H. Morris, Isaac Norris,* Joseph P. Norris.

Pupils of the second period—G. H. Wells, William Wells, David Lewis, Joshua Gilpin, Franklin Wharton,* P. S. Physick, John Hallowell, Samuel Emlen, Thomas C. James, Charles Brown,* William

Those marked thus * were all dead in the year 1823.

Graham,* Joshua Ash, Joseph Sansom, Isaac Harvey, William Todd, Isaac Briggs, Walter Franklin, A. Garrigues, P. Hollingsworth, Samuel Cooper,* Charles Penrose, Joseph Lewis, John Winter, John Bacon, Joseph Johnson, William Waln, Joshua Lippencott.

None of Proud's name or family remain among us. He died a bachelor, and, as he called himself, "a decayed gentleman." He was full six feet high—rather slender. In winter he wore a drab cloak, which gave to his personal appearance the similitude of one in West's Indian treaty picture. His brother, who was once here, a single man, went back to England.

I here add two specimens of his poetry, which also show his tory feelings, vexed with the ardour of the times, to wit :

FORBIDDEN FRUIT,

The source of human misery.—A reflection. Philadelphia, 1775.

Forbidden fruit's in ev'ry state
 The source of human wo ;
 Forbidden fruit our fathers ate
 And sadly found it so.
 Forbidden fruit's rebellion's cause,
 In ev'ry sense and time ;
 Forbidden fruit's the fatal growth
 Of ev'ry age, and clime.
 Forbidden fruit's New England's choice ;
 She claims it as her due ;
 Forbidden fruit, with heart and voice,
 The colonies pursue,
 Forbidden fruit our parents chose
 Instead of life and peace ;
 Forbidden fruit to be the choice
 Of men, will never cease.

THE CONTRAST.

("Refused a place in the newspaper, Philadelphia, 1775—the printer not daring to insert it at that time of much boasted liberty.")

No greater bliss doth God on man bestow,
 Than sacred peace ; from which all blessings flow :
 In peace the city reaps the merchant's gains,
 In peace flows plenty from the rural plains ;
 In peace thro' foreign lands the stranger may
 Fearless and safely travel on his way.

No greater curse invades the world below,
 Than civil war, the source of ev'ry wo,
 In war the city wastes in dire distress ;
 In war the rural plains, a wilderness ;
 In war, the road, the city and the plain
 Are scenes of wo, of blood and dying men.

Nulla salus bello.—VIRG.

I also add a little of his poetry concerning his age and country, the autographs of which, to the curious, may be seen on page 346 of my MS. Annals in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, to wit:

Now seventy-seven years at last
Of my declining life are past ;
Painful and weak my body's grown,
My flesh is wasted to the bone.
As ev'ry other thing we see,
Which hath beginning, so must we
Dissolve into the state we were
Before our present being here ;
From which 'tis plain to ev'ry eye,
Men die to live, and live to die.

“ Ubi amicus, ibi patria.”—MARTIAL.
Where my friend is, there is my country.

You ask me when I shall again
My country see, my native plain ?
'Tis not alone the soil nor air,
Where I was born, I most prefer ;
Among my friends, where'er I come,
There is my country, there my home.

Charles Thomson.

This venerable, pious and meritorious public servant, whose name is associated with all the leading measures of the war of Independence, came from Ireland to this country in his boyhood, at only 10 years of age. His father was a respectable man, a widower, emigrating to this country, but was so preyed upon by sickness at sea, as to die when just within sight of our capes: there young Thomson and his brother had to endure the appalling sight of seeing their honoured parent cast into the deep—a prey to voracious fishes, and themselves, as orphans, exposed to the neglect or wiles of man. The Captain, in the opinion of the lads, was unfaithful, and took possession of their father's property to their exclusion. They were landed at New Castle among strangers: but for a time were placed by the Captain with the family of a blacksmith. There Charles Thomson greatly endeared himself to the family—so much so, that they thought of getting him bound to them and to be brought up to the trade.* He chanced to overhear them speaking on this design one night, and determining from the vigour of his mind, that he should devote himself to better business, he arose in the night and made his escape with his little all packed upon his back. As he trudged the road, not knowing whither he went, it was his chance or providence in the case, to be overtaken by a travelling

* He went to the forge and made a nail so well himself after once seeing it done, that they augured favourably of his future ingenuity.

lady of the neighbourhood, who, entering into conversation with him, asked him "what he would like to be in future life." He promptly answered, he should like to be a scholar, or to gain his support by his mind and pen; this so much pleased her she took him home and placed him at school. He was afterwards, as I have understood, aided in his education by his brother who was older than himself. Through him he was educated by that classical scholar the Rev. Dr. Allison, who taught at Thunder Hill. Grateful for the help of this brother, he in after life rewarded the favour by making him the gift of a farm not far from New Castle. The son of that brother, (a very gentlemanly man,) my friend and correspondent, John Thomson, Esq. now dwells at Newport, in Delaware, and has possession of all the MSS. of his uncle, Charles Thomson. With him dwells Charles Thomson's sister, an ancient maiden lady, who came out to this country some years ago. Charles Thomson himself, although many years married, never had any children to live.

Charles Thomson in early life became one of the early teachers of the languages in the academy, as much to serve the cause of literature, to which he was solicited by Dr. Franklin, as to his personal gain. Later in life he entered into business of the mercantile nature, and was at one time concerned in the Batsto furnace—still retaining his residence of Philadelphia.

He told me that he was first induced to study Greek from having bought a part of the Septuagint at an auction in the city. He bought it for a mere trifle, and without knowing what it was, save that the crier said it was outlandish letters. When he had mastered it enough to understand it, his anxiety became great to see the whole; but he could find no copy. Strange to tell—in the interval of two years, passing the same store, and chancing to look in, he then saw the remainder actually crying off for a few pence, and he bought it! I used to tell him that the translation which he afterwards made should have had these facts set to the front of that work as a preface; for, that great work, the first of the kind in the English language, strangely enough, was ushered into the world without any preface! For want of some introductory explanation to the common English reader, it was not known to be of great value in Biblical elucidations, and therefore but seldom sold or read. Yet Dr. A. Clarke, who is good authority in this matter, says it is a treasure in itself absolutely indispensable to Bible truth. He told me that such was his passion for Greek study, that he actually walked, when young, to Amboy, for the purpose of seeing and conversing there with a stranger, a British officer, the first-rate Greek scholar then in our country.

When Charles Thomson first saw Philadelphia, the whole of the ground between the house, afterwards his, at the corner of Spruce and Fourth streets, and the river, was all open and covered with

whortleberry bushes, and much of it of a miry soil towards the Little Dock creek and river shore.

His appointment as Secretary to Congress was singular. He had lately married Miss Harrison, who inherited the estate of Harriton, where he afterwards lived and died. Coming with her to Philadelphia, he had scarcely alighted from his carriage when a message came to him from the President of Congress—then first in session, in 1774—to say he wished to see him immediately. He went forthwith, not conceiving what could be purposed, and was told he was wished to take their minutes. He set to it as for a temporary affair; but in fact became their Secretary thereby for several years! As no compensation was received for that first service, the Congress presented him with a silver urn (still in the family) inscribed as their gift; and as a compliment to his lady, whom they had so divested of his attentions, she was asked by the committee to say what vessel it should be, and she chose an urn.

He was after the peace much urged to write a history of the Revolution, and after the year 1789, when he first settled at Harriton, actually gathered many curious and valuable papers, and wrote many pages of the work; but at length, as his nephew told me, he resolved to destroy the whole, giving as his chief reason, that he was unwilling to blast the reputation of families rising into repute, whose progenitors must have had a bad character in such a work. A letter from John Jay, which I saw, stimulated him to execute it “as the best qualified man in the country.”

Many facts concerning Mr. Thomson and his measures in the period of the Revolution will be found connected with my facts under that article, and therefore not to be usefully repeated here.

Mr. Thomson was made an adopted son into the Delaware tribe at the treaty at Easton, in 1756. He had been invited by sundry Friends, members of the Peace Association, to attend for them, and take minutes in short hand. It was the proper business of the Secretary of the Governor, the Rev. Mr. Peters; but his minutes were so often disputed in the reading of them, by the Indian Chief Teduscund, that Mr. Thomson's unofficial minutes were called for, and they, in the opinion of the Indians, were true. From their respect to this fact, they forthwith solemnly adopted him into their family, under the appropriate name of “the man who tells the truth,”—in Indian sounds thus, to wit: “Wegh-wu-law-mo-end.” It is not a little curious that this name in substance, became his usual appellation during the war of the Revolution; for, as Secretary of Congress, credence was given to his official reports, which always were looked for to settle doubtful news and flying reports, saying on such occasions, “Here comes the truth; here is Charles Thomson!”

He once related an incident of his life to Mrs. Logan, which strongly marked the integrity of his feelings. When young he became an inmate in the house of David I. Dove, the doggerel satirist,

whom he soon found, as well as his wife, addicted to the most un pitying scandal; this was altogether irksome to his honest nature: Wishing to leave them, and still dreading their reproach when he should be gone, he hit upon an expedient to exempt himself:—He gravely asked them one evening if his behaviour since he had been their boarder, had been satisfactory to them? They readily answered, "O yes." Would you then be willing to give me a certificate to that effect? "O certainly," was the reply. A certificate was given, and the next day he parted from them in peace.

In April, 1824, I visited Charles Thomson, then in his 95th year. I found him still the erect, tall man he had ever been; his countenance very little changed, but his mental faculties in ruins. He could not remember me although formerly an occasional visitor. He appeared cheerful, and with many smiles expressed thankfulness for the usual expressions of kindness extended to him. He was then under the surveillance of his nephew John Thomson, who, with his family, lived on the Harriton farm, and managed its concerns.

Charles Thomson passed the most of his time reposing and slumbering on a settee in the common parlour. A circumstance occurred at the dinner table, at the head of which he was usually placed, which sufficiently marked the aberration of his mind, even while it showed that "his very failings leaned to virtue's side." While the grace was saying by a clergyman present, he began in an elevated and audible voice to say the Lord's prayer, and he did not desist, nor regard the other, although his grace was also saying at the same time! It was remarkable that this prayer was all said in the words of his own translation, and with entire correctness. He made no remarks at the table, and ate without discrimination whatever was set before him. In his rooms I observed, besides the silver urn before mentioned, a portrait of himself and second wife, Miss Harrison—a colossal bust of J. P. Jones, the celebrated naval commander, a small man—a large print of William Tell, and an engraved likenesses of the Count de Vergennes and C. J. Fox.

He employed many years of his life in making his translation of the Septuagint; nor could he be drawn from it into public life, although solicited by the letters of Washington himself which I have seen. He looked to be useful; and he deemed, as he said, that he had a call of providence to that pursuit. He improved it with most sedulous anxiety and care for its perfection—writing it over and over again six or seven times. His original printed Septuagint has been given to the Theological Library at Pittsburg, since his death. Some others of his relics are in my possession; and the chief of them are with his nephew at Newport, Delaware.

He died the 16th of August, 1824, in the 95th year of his age, and lies interred in the ground attached to the Baptist Meeting near his Harriton mansion. A monument has been talked of for

his grave, but none is yet executed. To mark the spot, I had a drooping willow planted, to hold the place in the public eye until better feelings to a public benefactor shall mark it better by "storied urn and monumental bust." In the meantime, his excellent life has consigned him to better reward than we can bestow. His piety was for many years deep and sincere.

I give the following lines of poetry as marking justly the feelings which the visit to such a man and such a place inspired. "In his commendation I am fed."

You've seen, perchance, some sever'd column stand
At Athens or Palmyra,—'mid the gloom
Pure, prominent, majestic,—though its base
Was dark with mouldering ruins,—and the dome
Which once it propp'd, had yielded to the wrath
Of creeping ages Ye perchance, have stood
What time the pale moon bath'd its lonely brow
In living light,—and heard the fitful winds
Shriek their wild question, wherefore it remain'd
When all beside had fallen.

Thought ye not then
Of man, who lingering at the feast of life
Perceives his heart's companions risen and gone?
Is there not grief in that deep solitude
Of lost companionship?

Yet *one* I saw
Who in this wilderness had trod, till life
Retreated from the bloodless veins, and made
Faint stand at her last fortress. His wan brow
Was lightly furrow'd, and his lofty form*
Unbent by time, while dignified, erect,
And passionless, he made his narrow round
From couch to casement, and his eye beheld
This world of shadowy things unmov'd, as one
Who was about to cast his vesture off
In weariness to sleep. Sly memory slipt
Her treacherous cable from the reeling mind,†
Blotting the chart whereon it loved to gaze
Amid the sea of years. His course had been
On those high places, where the dazzling ray
Of honour shines—and when men's souls were tried
As in a furnace,—his came forth like gold.
—They brought the trophies forth, which he had won,
And spread them in his sight,—a nations thanks‡
Grav'd on the massy ore which misers love:
But vacantly he gaz'd, and caught no trace
Of lost delight. The wordling's eye would scan

* His "lofty form, unbent by time," was remarkable.

† His memory of all, save his religion, was gone.

‡ He had a present of an urn, &c. from Congress and others, for services, &c.

In the mild changes of that saintly brow
 Nought save the wreck of intellect, and shun
 Such humbling picture. But God's book was there,
 Fast by his side, and on its open page
 Glean'd the blest name of Him of Nazareth.
 Quick o'er his brow the light of gladness rush'd,
 And tears burst forth,—yes, tears of swelling joy!
 For this had been the banner of his soul
 Through all her pilgrimage.

To his dull ear
 I spake the message of a friend who walk'd
 With him in glory's path, and nobly shar'd
 That fellowship in danger and in toil
 Which knits pure souls together. But the name
 Restor'd no image of the cherish'd form
 So long belov'd. I should have said farewell,
 In brokenness of heart,—but up he rose
 And with a seerlike majesty, pour'd forth
 His holy adjuration to the God
 Who o'er life's broken wave had borne his bark
 Safe toward the haven. Deep that thrilling prayer
 Sank down into my bosom, like a spring
 Of comfort and of joy.

————All else was gone,—

Ambition, glory, friendship, earthly hope,—
 But still Devotion* like a centinel
 Waking and watching round the parting soul,
 Gave it the soldier's shield and pilgrim's staff
 For its returnless journey. When I saw
 This triumph of our Faith—this gem that glow'd
 Bright 'mid the dross of man's infirmity,
 Low on the earth I laid my lip, and said
 "Oh! let me with the righteous die,—and be
 My end like his."

Edward Duffield

Was a very respectable inhabitant of Philadelphia—very intelligent, as a reading man; and as watch and clock maker, at the head of his profession in the city. He was the particular friend, and, finally, executor of Dr. Franklin. He made the first medals ever executed in the province—such as the destruction of the Indians at Kittatanning, in 1756, by Colonel Armstrong, &c.

When he kept his shop at the north west corner of Second and Arch streets, he used to be so annoyed by frequent applications of passing persons to inquire the time of day—for in early days the gentry only carried watches—that he hit upon the expedient of making a clock with a double face, so as to show north and south at

* His prevailing thoughts were devotional, and he would pray audibly at table, &c.

once; and projecting this out from the Second story, it became the first standard of the town. That same olden clock is the same now in use at the Lower Dublin academy; near to which place his son Edward now lives. He is a curious preserver of the relics of his father's day.

Lindley Murray,

So celebrated for his English Grammar and other elementary works on English education, was a Pennsylvanian by birth—born in the year 1745, and died at York, in England, in 1826. He was the eldest son of Robert Murray, who established in New York the mercantile houses of Robert and John Murray, and of Murray and Sanson—houses of eminence in their day. Lindley Murray studied law in New York, in the same office with John Jay. He afterwards went into mercantile business there, but on account of his declining health, said to have been occasioned by a strain in springing across Burling's slip—a great distance—he went to England, and settled at York, at the place called Holdgate, where he died, full of years and in love with God and man. His mother, who was Mary Lindley, was also born in Philadelphia—was the same lady who so ingeniously and patriotically entertained General Howe and his staff at her mansion after their landing at Kip's bay, near New York—thus giving to General Putnam, who would otherwise have been caught in New York, the chance of getting off with his command of 3000 men and their stores. The fact is admitted by Stedman in his History of the War—himself a British officer and a native of Philadelphia.

Sir Benjamin West.

Our distinguished countryman from Chester county, when he was yet a lad without reputation, boarded, when in Philadelphia, at a house (now down) in Strawberry alley. To indulge his favourite passion for the pencil, he painted in that house, while there, two pictures upon the two large cedar panels—usual in old houses—over the mantelpieces. One of them was a sea piece. There they remained, smoked and neglected, until the year 1825, when Thomas Rogers, the proprietor, had them taken out and cleansed, and since they have been given to the hospital, to show, by way of contrast to his finished production of Christ healing the Sick. Samuel R. Wood told me that Sir Benjamin bid him to seek out and preserve those early efforts of his mind.

William Rush.

Few citizens of Philadelphia are more deserving of commendation for their excellence in their profession than this gentleman, as

a ship-carver. In his skill in his art he surpasses any other American, and probably any other ship-carver in the world! He gives more grace and character to his figures than are to be found in any other wooden designs. He ought to be encouraged to leave specimens of his best skill for posterity, by receiving an order to that effect from some of the learned societies. I have heard him say his genius would be most displayed in carving the three great divisions of the human face—the negro, the American Indian, and the white man. The contour or profile of these run diametrically opposite; because the features of a white man, which stand in relief, all proceed from a perfect perpendicular line, thus |. A negro's has a projecting forehead and lips, precisely the reverse of those of the Indian, thus (; but an Indian's, thus >.*

I have made it my business to become acquainted with Mr. Rush, because I have admired his remarkable talents. He is now aged 68—was born in Philadelphia: his father was a shipcarpenter. From his youth he was fond of ships, and used, when a boy, to pass his time, in the garret, in cutting out ships from blocks of wood, and, to exercise himself, in drawing figures in chalk and paints. When of a proper age, he followed his inclination, in engaging his term of apprenticeship with Edward Cutbush from London, the then best carver of his day. He was a man of spirited execution, but inharmonious proportions. Walking attitudes were then unknown; but all rested astride of the cutwater. When Rush first saw, on a foreign vessel, a walking figure, he instantly conceived the design of more tasteful and graceful figures than had been before executed. He instantly surpassed his master; and having once opened his mind to the contemplation and study of such attitudes and figures as he saw in nature, he was very soon enabled to surpass all his former performances. Then his figures began to excite admiration in foreign ports. The figure of the "Indian Trader" to the ship *William Penn* (the Trader was dressed in Indian habiliments,) excited great observation at London. The carvers there would come in boats and lay near the ship, and sketch designs from it. They even came to take casts, of plaster of Paris, from the head. This was directly after the Revolution, when she was commanded by Captain Josiah. When he carved a River God as the figure for the ship *Ganges*, the Hindoos came off in numerous boats to pay their admiration and perhaps reverence to the various emblems in the trail of the image. On one occasion, the house of Nicklin and Griffeth, actually had orders from England, to Rush (nearly 30 years ago,) to carve two figures for two ships building there. One was a female personification of commerce. The duties in that case cost more than the first cost of the images themselves! A fine Indian figure, in Rush's best style, might be preserved in some public edifice for many centuries to come; even as he carved

* To these might be added the features of a Jew, if an artist could express them.

the full stature of Washington for the Academy of Arts—making the figure hollow in the trunk and limbs, to add to its durability.

Hannah Till.

This is the name of a black woman whom I saw in March, 1824, in her 102d year of age—a pious woman, possessing a sound mind and memory, and fruitful of anecdote of the Revolutionary war, in which she had served her seven years of service to General Washington and La Fayette, as cook, &c. I saw her in her own small frame house, No. 182, south Fourth street, a little below Pine street. Her original name was *Long Point*—a name given her father for his successful conflict with a buck at that place near Smyrna. She was born in Kent county, Delaware. Her master, John Brinkly, Esq. sold her at the age of 15 years, when she was brought to Pennsylvania. At 25 years of age she was sold to Parson Henderson, and went with him to Northumberland. At 35 years of age she was sold to Parson Mason, of New York, with whom she dwelt there until the war of the Revolution; she then bought her freedom, and with her husband was hired into General Washington's military family as cooks—serving with him in all his campaigns for six and a half years, and for half a year she was lent into the service of General La Fayette. With one or the other of these she was present in all the celebrated battles in which they were engaged. She could speak, in a good strong voice, of all the things she saw in her long life, with better recollection and readier utterance than any other narrator with whom I have had occasion so to converse. I inquired respecting the domestic habits of Washington and others; she said he was very positive in requiring compliance with his orders; but was a moderate and indulgent master. He was sometimes familiar among his equals and guests, and would indulge a moderate laugh. He always had his lady with him in the winter campaigns, and on such occasions, was pleased when freed from mixed company and to be alone in his family. He was moderate in eating and drinking. I asked if she ever knew that he prayed. She answered that she expected he did, but she did not know that he practised it. I was the more particular in this, because I had heard very directly from Isaac Potts, the public Friend at Valley Forge, that he actually saw him, by chance, at prayer in the bushes at or near his place. I asked her if he ever swore; she answered, that ideas then about religion were not very strict, and that she thought he did not strictly guard against it in times of high excitements, and she well remembered that on one provocation with her, he called her c—d fool. General La Fayette she praised greatly—said he was very handsome, tall, slender and genteel, having a fair white and red face, with reddish hair—that he spoke English plain enough—was always very kind. Her words were very emphatic:—"Truly he was a gentleman to meet and to follow!"

As I was interested in the narratives of this old black woman, I thought she might afford some gratification to Gen. La Fayette himself again to see her; I made him therefore acquainted with the leading facts. As I never saw either of the parties afterwards, I only add from the communications of my sister who knew her and visited her occasionally, especially in her 104th year. She says she received from her questions, such answers as these—"I well remember the arrival of the specie to pay the French army, for the house was so crowded that my pastry room was used to lodge the specie in, even while she still used the room. She continued with Washington till after Andre the spy was hung. On that day she saw many tears shed by our officers." General La Fayette called on her with Messrs. Tilghman and Biddle. To his question, Where was you when General Washington left Morristown? she answered, I remained more than six months with you, Sir, in the same house. He left her, promising to send her money by his son. The sequel was, that her house was embarrassed for arrear groundrents, and she was soon after informed to make herself easy, for La Fayette had cleared it off! and "the pious old soul blesses you and him for the interference." More was said, but it might savour of gossip to say more in this article. She has since gone to her reward.

Isaac Hunt, Esq.

This gentleman was the author of many poetic squibs against Dove and his party: they were often affixed to caricatures. This Hunt, a Philadelphian, was educated a lawyer, and proving a strong loyalist at the Revolution, he was carted round the city to be tarred and feathered at the same time with Dr. Kearsley. He then fled to England, and became a clergyman of the established church. He was the father of the present celebrated Leigh Hunt, on the side of the Radicals in England.—So different do father and son sometimes walk! One of Hunt's satires thus spoke of Dove, to wit:

“ See Lilliput, in beehive wig,
A most abandon'd sinner!
Would vote for boar, or sow, or pig,
To gain thereby a dinner.”

James Pellar Malcom, F. S. A.

An artist of celebrity in England, who died there about the year 1815, was born of the Pellar family of Solesbury township, Bucks county. He was an only son, and his mother, to enable him to prosecute his studies in England, sold her patrimonial estate on the banks of the Delaware. The ancestor of the family, James Pellar, was a Friend, who came out with Penn. In 1689 he built his house here, which remained in the family till sold out and taken

down in 1793. Mr. Malcom appears to have visited this country in 1806, and to have been much gratified in finding numerous rich farmers of the name of Pellar, members of the Society of Friends—"descendants (he says) of original settlers—the *old Castilians* of the place." A pre-eminence we are ever willing to accord to all families of original settlers. Thus constituting such, by courtesy and respect, the proper *primores* of our country. Particulars concerning him may be seen in the *Gentlemen's Magazine*, vol. 85,—year 1815. Much concerning old James Pellar, of Solesbury, Bucks county, as given by my aged friend Samuel Preston, Esq. as his recollections of him, is given at some length in my MS. *Annals* in the *Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, p. 491. He is there described as of great natural genius—a wit—fond of poetry, and sub-surveyor.

THE GOVERNORS.



THE modern Universal History, in speaking of our colonies in the times of 1731, says, "A government in any of our colonies was scarcely looked upon in any other light than that of an hospital, where the favourites of the ministry might be till they recovered their broken fortunes; and oftentimes they served as asylums from their creditors."

The following present such notices of our Governors as I have occasionally met, to wit :

In 1707, I saw some reference to facts which went to show that Governor Evans, who was accused of some levities, was then reproached by his enemies with lewdness with young Susan H——. It might have been mere scandal. He afterwards married John Moore's beautiful and estimable daughter, with whom he lived awhile at housekeeping at the Fairman house at the treaty tree. He was but 21 years of age when first appointed Governor. He moved back to England, where he lived a long life.

Colonel Gookin, the Governor, disappointed Penn and his friends in consequence of his conduct during a considerable part of his administration. He was much under the influence of his brother-in-law, Birmingham. At one time, says the Council, he removed all the justices of New Castle county for doing their duty in an action against said Birmingham—thus leaving the county without a single magistrate for six weeks ! At another time, when the Judges of the Supreme Court at New Castle would not admit a certain commission of his to be published in court, he sent for one of the Judges and kicked him. In truth, his best apology seems to have been that he was certainly partially deranged. In fact, he afterwards (in 1717) made his apology to the Council for several of his acts, saying his physician knew that he had a weakness in his head; wherefore J. Logan remarked to Hannah Penn, "Be pleased then to consider how fit he was for the commission he so long wore !"

1734—Nov.—The Mayor exhibited an account amounting to 9*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* he had paid to John Newbury for the entertainment of Colonel Montgomery, late Governor of New York—ordered paid.

1736—On the death of Governor Gordon, James Logan became President of the Council and ex-officio Governor for the province until the arrival of Governor Thomas in 1738. Do any know where Governor Gordon was interred ?

When Sir William Keith, in 1738, published his history of the colony of Virginia, and proposed to continue the other colonies, he probably so purposed to live as an author; but as he proceeded no further, and died at London, in 1749, in poor circumstances, it is inferred he did not write our history from want of encouragement.

It may be very little known that he, who moved with so much excitement and cabal as our Governor to the year 1736, should at last fall into such neglect as to leave his widow among us unnoticed and almost forgotten! She lived and died in a small wooden house in Third street, between High street and Mulberry street—there, much pinched for subsistence, she eked out her existence with an old female; and declining all intercourse with society, or with her neighbours. The house itself was burnt down in 1786.

Sir William's chief error of administration is said to have been that he early took his measures to favour the elder branch of the Penn family (already sufficiently provided for in the Irish estate) to the prejudice of the younger branch, who rapidly acquired riches and influence to remove and to injure him.

1746—Governor Thomas orders a day of public thanksgiving, because of the news of the Pretender's defeat at the battle of Culloden. There was great rejoicings in Philadelphia—all refrained from labour and went generally to the churches. The Governor himself gave a dinner to 200 persons.

1752—Governor Hamilton celebrates the King's birth-day by giving a great entertainment at his country-seat at Bush Hill, and at each loyal toast it was announced by the Association Battery at Wiccacoa! In the evening there was a grand ball, surpassing all former ones in brilliancy, at the State-house, and his Honour gave a supper there in the long gallery.

In 1754, Governor R. H. Morris celebrates the King's birth-day, by giving an entertainment at noon at his house in the city, and in the evening there was a great ball at the State-house, where 100 ladies were present, and a much greater number of gentlemen. An elegant supper was given there in the long gallery.

In 1755, Governor R. H. Morris falls into perpetual strife with the Assembly. Their correspondence is singular. They say "his offer was a mere idle illusion, intended first to impose on the Assembly and then on the people, also to figure at home in the eyes of the ministry; and the Governor is offended that we have not kept his secret." The retort reads thus: "Your very tedious message is of such an inflammatory nature, that did not the duties of my station, and justice to the people, require me to take some notice, I should deem it beneath my notice as a gentleman." Their high altercations were chiefly about the means for raising a defence against the Indians. The frontier inhabitants, thinking these controversies might impede their supplies, came to Philadelphia and surrounded the Assembly room, requiring immediate support. This was all in the time of Braddock's defeat. It seems, on the whole.

that the Legislature acted with the sense of the people, for the members were re-elected, and Governor Morris was soon superseded by Governor Denny.

In 1756, Governor William Denny arrives, being escorted from Trenton, and when near the city by Colonel Benjamin Franklin's and Colonel Jacob Duchee's Regiments. The Mayor and Corporation give him a dinner at the lodge room, in Lodge alley—cost 100*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.*; and the Assembly gave him their dinner also at the State-house, at which were present the civil and military officers and clergy of the city. He took up his residence at the house called the Governor's house, in south Second street, below the present Custom House. All this looked well and as if something cordial might have ensued; but ere Governor Denny had fulfilled his year, he thus addresses his entertainers, saying "Though moderation is most agreeable to me, there might have been a Governor who would have told you the whole tenor of your message was indecent, frivolous and evasive." The Assemblies always offend by endeavouring to spare the purses of the people, and the Governors always get provoked because they cannot lavish supplies to the King's service.

Governor Denny's message of September, 1757, contains these rude remarks—"If detraction and personal abuse of your Governor," &c.—"but I have been so accustomed to this kind of treatment, &c. I have the less reason to regret such usage, since it is obvious, from your conduct to those before me, you are not so much displeased with the person governing as impatient of being governed at all!" The ground of offence arose from his continually asking supplies! supplies! It is really offensive to see what levies are perpetually put upon the province to help them out of squabbles generated by the courts in Europe, &c.—50,000*l.* for this, and 60,000*l.* for that, and 100,000*l.* for another. Supplies follow in such rapid succession as to have made the people feel the burthens very sensibly, and if there had not been very considerable of loyalty, it would not have been borne. In all these difficulties "Isaac Norris, Speaker," gives his name to bear all the brunt of the conflict!

1759—Nov.—Governor James Hamilton arrives from abroad, and supersedes Governor Denny. He had been before Governor, and was a native of Pennsylvania, and resident of Bush Hill. Every body is pleased with his appointment. A dinner is given to him at the lodge. Denny's, which had lasted but three years, had had no effect but to vex the people.

In 1763, John and Richard Penn having arrived, the former as Governor, in the succeeding year gets into squabble as usual with the Assembly. The Assembly among other things resolve "That as all hope of any degree of happiness under the proprietary government is now at an end, this house will adjourn to consult their constituents whether or no to petition his Majesty to buy out the

Penn's right and take them under his immediate government!" They soon, however, got better reconciled, and Penn made a very good Governor. It may be seen from a letter of Thomas Penn's, of 1767, that he calls this scheme for forcing him to sell out, a measure of B. Franklin's, to which he shall not accede.

In 1768, Colonel Morris, from New York, and his lady, the Dutchess of Gordon, [a very homely woman] made a visit to Philadelphia, with several military gentlemen, and among them General Gage; they leave Philadelphia after a few days. Colonel Morris was Governor of New York, and was very popular there—he soon after died, and was buried there.

In 1771, John Penn, the Governor, returns to England this year because of the death of his father, Richard. James Hamilton, as President of Council, takes his place until he is succeeded by Richard Penn, who arrives in the same year. The administration of John Penn, while he staid for eight years, was on the whole very acceptable.

In 1772, Richard Penn, the new arrived Governor, married Miss Polly Masters of Philadelphia, and in 1773 he goes back to England, to give place to his brother, John Penn, who, after visiting England for the purpose of settling the concerns of his father, lately deceased, came again to Philadelphia in the year 1773, and again assumes the government of the province.

The following is a List of Governors as they served in succession from the origin of the province, to wit:

- 1682. Oct. William Penn, proprietor, acted as Governor till
- 1684. Aug. Thomas Lloyd, Esq. President of Council till
- 1688. Dec. Capt. John Blackwell, Deputy Governor till
- 1690. Feb. President and Council.
- 1693. April 26th. Benjamin Fletcher, Governor.
- June 3d. William Markham, Esq. Deputy Governor.
- 1699. Dec. 3d. William Penn, acted again as Governor.
- 1701. Nov. 1st. Andrew Hamilton, Esq. Deputy Governor—[a Scotsman.]
- 1703. Feb. President of Council, Edward Shippen, till
- 1704. Feb. John Evans, Deputy Governor till
- 1709. Feb. Charles Gookin, Deputy Governor till
- 1717. March. Sir William Keith, Bart. Deputy Governor till
- 1726. June. Patrick Gordon, Deputy Governor till
- 1736. June. James Logan, President of Council till
- 1738. June. George Thomas, Deputy Governor till
- 1747. June. Anthony Palmer, President of Council till
- 1748. June. James Hamilton, Deputy Governor till June—[an American.]
- 1754. Oct. Robert Hunter Morris, Deputy Governor till
- 1756. Aug. 19th. William Denny, Deputy Governor till

1759. Nov. 17th. James Hamilton, till
 1763. Oct. 31st. John Penn, son of Richard, till
 1771. May 6th. James Hamilton, President of Council till
 1771. Oct. 16th. Richard Penn succeeded.
 1773. Aug. John Penn—a second time Governor till
 1776. Sept.
 1777. March. Thomas Wharton, jun. Esq. President of the
 Supreme Executive Council.
 1778. Oct. James Reed, do. do.
 1781. Nov. William Moore, do. do.
 1782. Nov. John Dickinson, do. do.
 1785. Oct. Benjamin Franklin, do. do.
 1786. Oct. Thomas Mifflin, do. do.

*Then succeeded the New State Constitution, and the
 first Governor—say*

1790. Oct.—was Thomas Mifflin, who served three terms of
 three years each, to October 1799; after which
 Thomas M'Kean was Governor for three succes-
 sive terms of three years each.

AGED PERSONS.

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“—————The hands of yore  
That danc'd our infancy upon their knee  
And told our marvelling boyhood, legends store,  
Of their strange ventures, hap'd by land and sea,—  
How they are blotted from the things that be !”

**THERE** is something grateful and perhaps sublime in contemplating instances of prolonged life,—to see persons escaped the numerous ills of life unscath'd. They stand like venerable oaks, steadfast among the minor trees, e'en wondered at because they fell no sooner. We instinctively regard them as a privileged order, especially when they bear their years with vigour, “like a lusty winter,” they being alone able to preserve unbroken the link which binds us to the remotest past. While they remain, they serve to strangely diminish our conceptions of time past, which never seems fully gone while any of its proper generation remains among us.

These thoughts will be illustrated and sustained by introducing to the consideration, names and persons who have been the familiars of the present generations, and yet saw and conversed with Penn the founder, and his primitive cotemporaries ! How such conceptions stride over time ! All the long, long years of our nation seem diminished to a narrower span !—For instance :

I lately saw Samuel R. Fisher, still a merchant attending to his business in the city, in his 84th year, who tells me he well remembers to have seen at Kendall Meeting, James Wilson, a public Friend, who said he perfectly remembered seeing both George Fox, the founder of Friends, and William Penn, the founder of our city !

Often too, I have seen and conversed with the late venerable Charles Thomson, the Secretary of the first Congress, who often spoke of his being curious to find out, and to converse with the primitive settlers, which still remained in his youth.

Every person who has been familiar with Dr. Franklin, who died in 1790, and saw Philadelphia from the year 1723, had the chance of hearing him tell of seeing and conversing with numerous first settlers. Still better was their chance who knew old Hutton, who died in 1793, at the prolonged age of 108 years, and had seen Penn in his second visit to Philadelphia in 1700,—and better still, was the means of those now alive, who knew old Drinker, who died as late as the year 1782, at the age of 102 years, and had seen Phila-

delphia, where he was born, in 1680, even at the time of the primitive landing and settlement in caves ! Nor were they alone in this rare opportunity, for there was also the still rarer instance of old black Alice, who died as late as the year 1802, and might have been readily seen by me,—she then being 116 years of age, with a sound memory to the last, distinctly remembered William Penn, whose pipe she often lighted, (to use her own words) and Thomas Story, James Logan, and several other personages of fame in our annals. The present Mrs. Logan has told me, that much of her known affections for the recitals of the olden time were generated in her youth, by her frequent conversations with old Deborah Claypole, who lived to the age of 95 years, and had seen all the primitive race of the city,—knew Penn—knew the place of his cottage in Lætitia Court when the whole area was tangled with a luxuriant growth of blackberries. Her regrets now are, that she did not avail herself more of the recollections of such a chronicle, than she then did. The common inconsideracy of youth was the cause.

It may amuse and interest to extend the list a little further, to wit : The late aged Sarah Shoemaker, who died in 1825 at the age of 95 years, told me she often had conversed with aged persons in her young days, who had seen and talked with Penn and his companions. In May, 1824, I conversed with Israel Reynolds, Esq. of Nottingham, Maryland, then in his 66th year, a hale and newly married man, who told me he often saw and conversed with his grandfather, Henry Reynolds, a public Friend, who lived to be 94 years of age, and had been familiar with Penn, both in Philadelphia and in England ; he had also cultivated corn in the city near the Dock creek, and caught fish there.

Mrs. Hannah Speakman, still alive, in her 75th year, has told me she has often talked with aged persons who saw or conversed with Penn, but that being then in giddy youth, she made no advantage of her means to have inquired. Her grandfather Townsend, whom she had seen, had come out with Penn the founder.

But now all those who still remain, who have seen or talked with black Alice, with Drinker, with Hutton, with John Key, the first-born, are fast receding from the things that be. What they can relate of their communications must be told quickly, or it is gone !

“ Gone ! glimmering through the dream of things that were.”

We shall now pursue the more direct object of this article, in giving the names and personal notices of those instances of grandivty, which have occasionally occurred among us,—of those whom,

“ Like a clock worn out with eating time  
The wheels of weary life at last stood still !”

1727—This year dies Grace Townsend, aged 98 years, well known

among the first settlers, and who lived many years on the property nigh the Chesnut street bridge over Dock creek, at the Broad Axe Inn.

1730—January 5, died at Philadelphia, Mary Broadway, aged 100 years, a noted midwife; her constitution wore well to the last, and she could read without spectacles.

1731—May 19, John Evet, aged 100, was interred in Christ church ground. He had seen King Charles the First's head held up by the executioner, being then about 16 years old.

1739—May 30, Richard Buffington, of the parish of Chester, a patriarch indeed, had assembled in his own house 115 persons of his own descendants, consisting of children, and grand and great grandchildren, he being then in his 85th year, in good health, and doubtless in fine spirits among so many of his own race. His eldest son, then present at 60 years of age, was said to have been the first Englishman born in *Pennsylvania* region, and appears to have been 3 or 4 years older than the first-born of *Philadelphia*, or of Emanuel Grubb, the first-born of the *province*.

Speaking of this great collection of children in one house, reminds one of a more extended race, in the same year, being the case of Mrs. Maria Hazard of South Kingston, New England, and mother of the Governor; she died in 1739 at the age of 100 years, and could count up 500 children, grandchildren, great grandchildren, and great great grandchildren; 205 of them were then alive. A granddaughter of hers had already been a grandmother 15 years! Probably this instance of Rhode Island fruitfulness may match against the world!

1761—Died, Nicholas Meers in his 111th year; he was buried in Friends ground at Wilmington. He was born in the year 1650, under the government of Cromwell, and about the time of the rise of the Society of which he became a member. He lived through eventful periods, had been the subject of ten successive Sovereigns, including the two Cromwells. He saw Pennsylvania and Delaware one great forest,— a range for the deer, buffalo, and panther; and there he lived to see a fruitful field. If those who were conversant with him in his last days had conversed with him on his recollections of the primitive days of our country, what a treasure of facts might have been set down from his lips! So we often find occasions to lament the loss of opportunities with very aged persons, of whom we hear but little until after their death.

“First in the race, they won, and pass'd away!”

1763—Miss Mary Eldrington, of Elizabethtown, New Jersey, died at the age of 109 years. “She still looked for a husband, and did not like to be thought old.”

1767—Mrs. Lydia Warder died this year, aged 87 years; she was born in 1680, came out with Penn's colony, had lived in a cave, and had a lively memory of all the incidents of the primitive settlement.

This same year, 1767, was fruitful in passing off the primitive remains from among us; thus showing, that in the deaths of those named in this year of the first settlers, there are inhabitants now alive, who must have had good opportunities of making olden time inquiries.

“Of no distemper, of no blast they died,  
But fell like autumn fruit that mellow'd long,  
E'en wonder'd at, because they fell no sooner.”



1767—July—Died at Chester county, John Key, aged 85 years, the first-born in Philadelphia, at a cave named Penny Pot, at Vine street; and in August 10, (same year) died at Brandywine Hundred, Emanuel Grubb, aged 86 years, also born in a cave, by the side of the Delaware river, and the first born child in the province, of English parents. Both those first-borns died near each other, and their deaths in the same year, was not unlike the coincident deaths of Jefferson and Adams lately, as the signers of Independence!

1767—Died at Philadelphia, Mrs. Elizabeth Morris, aged 94 years.

1768—September—Died at Philadelphia, Peter Hunt, aged 101 years.

1769—July—Hannah Milner died, aged 101 years; she was the mother of 14 children, grandmother of 82 children, and great great grandmother to 110 children—making 206 children!

1770—This year died Rebecca Coleman, aged 92 years. She came to Philadelphia with the first settlers. Some of her posterity at her death were of the fifth generation. She could recount much of ancient Philadelphia—for she remembered it when it consisted of but three houses, and the other dwellings were caves. Some now alive must remember her conversation, and might even yet communicate something.

1770—January—Died, Sarah Meredith, aged 90 years. She was born in a little log house, where now the city stands, where she continued until she changed her maiden name of Rush to become the wife of David Meredith, and to settle in the Great Valley, in Chester county, 28 miles from Philadelphia—then the frontier settlement, and six miles beyond any neighbours, save Indians, who were then numerous, kind and inoffensive. There she continued all her days; becoming the mother of 11 children, grandmother to 66, and great grandmother of 31.

1770—June 30th, died at Merion, Jonathan Jones, aged 91 years, having been 90 years in the country, he coming here from Wales when an infant.

1770—This year died John Ange of the extraordinary age of 140 years, as declared by himself, and as fully believed by all his neighbours from the opinions of their fathers before them. He was settled as a planter between Broad creek and the head of Wicomico river, in Pennsylvania. He had been blind some years from age. His food was always simple and sparing, and himself of lean habit. He left a son of about 80 years of age a great grandfather, hale, active and lively, and without grey hairs.

1774—14th of February, died in Bucks county, Mrs. Preston, at the advanced age of 100 years and upwards. She had seen Penn and his colonists at Philadelphia; had acted as his interpreter occasionally with the Indians. She possessed her memory and understanding till her last.

1782—17th of November, died Edward Drinker, aged 102 years, having been born the 24th of December, 1680, in a cabin near the corner of Second and Walnut streets—the triangular block. When Dr. Franklin was questioned in England to what age we lived in this country, he wittily said he could not tell until Drinker should die and settle it! Drinker's parents came from Beverly and settled on the site of Philadelphia before Penn came! He had all his 18 children by his first wife, having had four wives in all! He was never sick—always cheerful. See further particulars under the article Edward Drinker.

1792—December 20th, died John S. Hutton, aged 109 years, having been born in 1684; he was cheerful, good humoured, and temperate all his life. He deemed himself in his prime at 60 years of age. He was very fond of fishing and fowling, and could be seen when past 80 carrying his duck gun. Being a silversmith by profession, he was borne to his grave by his fellow craftsmen. Two such patriarchs as Hutton and Drinker, might have passed many pleasant hours in talking over the changes of their days, and their past recollections of the city, because their lives had been so long cotemporaries. See further particulars under the article John S. Hutton.

1802—This year died Alice, a black woman, aged 116 years. She had known the city from its origin. When she was 115, she travelled from Dunk's Ferry to the city, and there told Samuel Coates, and others, of numerous early recollections of the early days. See facts concerning her under her proper name.

1809—Died at Philadelphia, James Pemberton, aged 86 years, a distinguished member among Friends, and lineal descendant of Phineas Pemberton, primitive settler and Judge of Bucks county. His likeness in the costume of Friends, with half cocked hat and wig, is preserved on page 206 of my MS. Annals in the City Library.

1810—Died at Philadelphia, George Warner, aged 99 years. This patriarch was one of many emigrants that came out from England as farmers and mechanics, in 1726—a time when he saw our city in its green age, when all was young. He often described things as he then found them, and contrasted them with their subsequent changes.

1823—Died at Philadelphia, Mrs. Mary Elton, at the advanced age of 97 years.

1825—Died at Philadelphia, Mrs. Hannah Till, a black woman, who had been cook to General Washington and General La Fayette in all their campaigns during the war of Independence. The latter at my instance went to see her at No. 182, south Fourth street, when he was here in 1825, and made her a present to be remembered. See further respecting her, under the name "Hannah Till."

1825—Died at Philadelphia Almshouse, Margaret or Angela Millet, in the 112th year of her age. She was born and lived in Canada—said she was nearly forty when General Wolfe was slain—remembered him well.—remembers and tells much of the Indian barbarities. She was once married and had a child, long since dead—could walk about very readily—has cut two new teeth lately—was never sick and never bled—has never used spectacles, and could see but little—all her life had been exposed, and accustomed to labour—thought herself still a smart woman in her last year—speaks French and English—came to Philadelphia from Canada when 102 years of age.

1825—Billy Brown, a black man, of Frankford, was seen by me in his 93d year of age—he lived about two years afterwards. He was of the African race, taken a prisoner when a lad, leaving his parents and five brethren; and was two years before reaching the coast and being sold. I found him quite intelligent, his memory good, and himself a pious good man. He was then the husband of a young wife, by whom he had children, the youngest then 16 years old. What made him most interesting, he had been at Braddock's defeat, as servant to Colonel Brown of

the Irish Regiment. There he remembered and described to me the conduct of Washington in that action—how he implored Braddock for leave to fight the Indians in their own way, with 300 of his own men, and how he was repulsed with disdain.\* He was afterwards, at the death of General Wolfe, and near his person, still with Colonel Brown; thence went to the attack of Havana; thence at the peace to Ireland with his master, who there set him free by a vessel going to Philadelphia. There he was fraudulently conveyed to Virginia and sold—became the slave of one Wiley, who was extremely cruel to him—lost some of his fingers and toes by severe exposure—was bought by General Washington, and was his slave during all the Revolution at his estate at the Long Meadows. Finally, free at Frankford; since died, and made happy in a better world.

1825—This year died Isaac Parish, in his 92d year, a respectable inhabitant of Philadelphia, father of the present Dr. P. It was remarkable concerning him, that although there were 87 signers to his marriage certificate when they passed Meeting, yet both he and his wife survived every one of them. I could never see the aged couple abroad in the streets without thinking that they who had the best claims to be quite at home by their familiarity with every nook and corner of the city, were in fact, so perplexed and surprised with the daily changes and novelties, as to be among the strangers and wonderers of the city. "The generation to which they had belonged had run away from them!"—Or, as Young strikingly expresses it, to wit:

“—————My world is dead  
A new world rises and new manners reign:  
—————The strangers gaze,  
And I at them,—my neighbour is unknown!”

About this time I saw Miss Sarah Patterson, of Philadelphia, then well, in her 90th year. Robert Paul, an ancient Friend, still going to Pine street Meeting, I saw at the age of 95 years. Thomas Hopkins, another Friend, going to the same Meeting, I saw and talked with when he was passed 90 years.

There is at this time alive at St. Thomas, seven miles from Chambersburgh, Pennsylvania, a man named John Hill, who is probably the oldest man now alive in North America, deemed to be 135 or 6 years of age! He having been a soldier in the time of Queen Anne and served 28 years. His faculties of body and mind are still good, as good as most men of 60 to 70 years. He was born in England.

\* The detail of Billy's narrative of the defeat, &c. was given by me to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in my MS. book of "Historical Collections," in 1827.

## SEASONS AND CLIMATE.



“I sing the varying seasons and their change.”

IT is intended to include in the present chapter, only such notable changes of the temperature in the extremes of *heat and cold*, as was matter of surprise or remark at the time of the occurrence, and therefore most likely to arrest our attention in the present day—as a wonder of the past!

As early as the year 1683, William Penn, in his letter to Lord North, of 24th, 5th month, says—“The weather often changeth without notice, and is constant almost in its inconstancy!” Thus giving us, at a very slender acquaintance, the name of a *coquetish elime*!

An oldfashioned snow storm, such as we had lately on the 20th and 21st of February, 1829, is the best thing in our country to bring to recollection olden time, when our fathers browbeat larger snowdrifts than have encumbered our fields and roads since *honesty* and *leather aprons* were in vogue! It is cheering to see the towering bank in a sunny morning gemmed, like the crown of a monarch, with jewels that receive their splendour from the sun's rays, and reflect them back to ornament the cold white hillock which the clouds have bestowed upon us, to awaken recollections dear, and sensations as cutting as the winter. It tells you of log fires which echeered them in the wilderness, and warmed the pottage which gave them the very hue of health. In short, as said the Literary Cadet, “a snow storm in its severest form is a mirror, to reflect back olden time, in all its colouring, to the present!” Nor is it less grateful, as a winter scene, to behold the occasional magnificent effulgence of an ice-rain, embossing in crystal glory, as if by magic hands, the whole surface of the surrounding works of nature and art.

“For every shrub and every blade of grass,  
And every pointed thorn, seems wrought in glass;  
In pearls and rubies rich the hawthorn show,  
While through the ice the crimson berries glow.  
The spreading oak, the beech and towering pine,  
Glazed over, in the freezing ether shine—  
The frightened birds the rattling branches shun,  
That wave and glitter in the glowing sun.”

It is probable that the winter of 1682, being the first which Penn saw here, must have been peculiarly mild, for he says he scarcely saw any ice at all, and in the next year the winter of 1683, which he calls the severest before known, froze up for a few days our great river Delaware! He must certainly have been too favourably impressed by wrong information, for often the river has continued ice-bound for three months at a time. It was, however, grateful intelligence to the colonists then, and must have been a most welcome incident, ill-sheltered as they were, to have such favourable winters.

In his letter of August, 1683, to the Free Society of Traders, he thus speaks of the climate, to wit: "I have lived over the hottest and coldest seasons of the year that the oldest inhabitants remember. From the 24th of October to the beginning of December he found it like an English mild spring. From December to the beginning of March they had sharp frosts with a clear sky as in summer, and the air dry, cold and piercing. This cold is caused by the great lakes that are fed by the fountains of Canada. The air, already sweet and clear, rarely overcast, will refine as the woods are cleared off." Thus the reasons of our former colder winters was then well understood. He has another shrewd remark:—"It is rare to want a North Wester; and whatever mists, fogs or vapours foul the heavens by easterly or southerly winds, in two hours time are blown away,—the one is followed by the other—a remedy that seems to have a peculiar providence in it. The winter before this (last) was mild. From March to June they enjoyed a sweet spring, with gentle showers and a fine sky. From June to August, which endeth the summer, they had extraordinary heats."

Thomas Makin's Latin description of Pennsylvania thus describes our climate as he knew it down to the year 1729, to wit:

Nay, oft so quick the change,—so great its pow'r  
As summer's heat and winter *in an hour!*"

"*Sometimes* the ice so strong and firm, we know

That loaded wagons on the rivers go!

But yet so temp'rate are some winters here,

That in the streams no bars of ice appear!"

Professor Kalm, the Swedish traveller, who visited us in 1748-9, has left several facts descriptive of our climate, which he derived from the aged Swedes and by his own observation, to wit:

It snowed much more formerly in winter than in the time of 1748. The weather then was more constant and uniform, and when the cold set in it continued to the end of February or till March, old style; after which it commonly began to grow warm. But in 1748, and thereabouts, it would be warm even the very next day after a severe cold,—and sometimes the weather would change several times a day! Most of the old people told Mr. Kalm that spring came much later than formerly, and that it was much colder

in the latter end of February and the whole month of May than when they were young. Formerly the fields were as green and the air as warm about the end of February, as it was then in March or the beginning of April, old style. Their proverb then was "We have always grass at Easter."

The lessening of vapours by cultivation, &c. was supposed to have changed the seasons.

The winters he understood, came sooner formerly than since. The first Mr. Norris used to say that the Delaware was usually covered with ice about the middle of November, old style, so that merchants always hurried their vessels for sea before that time. But about the year 1748 the river seldom froze over before the middle of December, old style.

An old Swede of 91 years of age, told him he thought he had never witnessed any winter so cold as that of the year 1697-8—at which time he had passed the Delaware at Christianna several times with his wagons loaded with hay. He did not agree to the idea of others, that the waters had generally diminished.

Isaac Norris' letter of the 8th of October, 1702, says, We have had a snow, and now the North West blows very hard. The cold is great, so that at the falling of the wind the river (at Philadelphia) was filled with ice. On the 10th, he adds, there is a sign of a thaw, and he hopes vessels may yet get out.

The severity of the winter 1704-5, is thus expressed by Isaac Norris, sen. to wit: "We have had the deepest snow this winter that has been known by the longest English liver here.—No travelling; all avenues shut; the Post has not gone these six weeks; the river fast; and the people bring loads over it as they did seven years ago—[as in 1697-8 aforementioned.] Many creatures are like to perish." Kalm says many stags, birds, and other animals died, and that the snow was nearly a yard deep.

Early ice was thus noticed the 23d of November, 1732, saying, it has been so very cold this week past that our river is full of driving ice, and no vessel can go up or down—a thing rarely happening so early. Many persons have violent colds.

The winter of 1740-1, a great snow. This winter was very severe during the continuance of "the great snow." It was in general more than three feet deep. The back settlers (says the Gazette) subsisted chiefly on the carcasses of the deer found dead, or lying around them. Great part of "the gangs" of horses and cows in the woods also died. Ten and twelve deer are found in the compass of a few acres, near to springs. The chief severity was in February.\* Many deer came to the plantations and fed on hay with the other creatures. Squirrels and birds were found frozen to death. By the 19th of March the river becomes quite open. Old Mrs. Shoe-

\* It was in February of the year 1717, that the greatest recorded "snow storm" of Massachusetts occurred;—it being from ten to twenty feet deep—compelling many to go abroad on its frozen crust from their chamber windows.

maker, whom I knew, told me of her recollection of that severe winter, to the above effect. Her words were, that all the tops of the fences were so covered that sleighs and sleds passed over them in every direction. James Logan's letter of 1748, calls it "the hard winter of 1741,"—as a proverbial name, saying "it was one of remarkable severity—the most rigorous that has ever been known here." Kaln says it began the 10th of December, and continued to the 13th of March, old style, and that some of the stags which came then to the barns to eat with the cattle, became domesticated thereby.

The 1st of November, 1745, is recorded by John Smith, in his Journal, as the cold day—the river having frozen over at Burlington, and many boys skating on the Schuylkill.

The 17th of March, 1760, Franklin's Gazette records "the greatest fall of snow ever known in Philadelphia since the settlement!" This is certainly saying much of such a snow so late in March!—[as marking the contrast the day I write this—on the 12th of March, 1829, it is mild and thundered several times!] The wind in the snow-storm was from north-east, and fell incessantly for 18 hours. The minutes of Assembly show that the snow in some places gathered seven feet deep, and prevented the Speaker and many members to get to town—so the house was adjourned.

The same winter another singular circumstance occurred—told to me by old Isaac Parish, to wit: The day he was married the weather was so soft and open that the wedding guests had to walk on boards to the Meeting to keep them out of the soft mire; but that night the cold became so intense that the river Delaware froze up so firmly that his friend William Cooper, married at the same time with himself, walked over to Jersey on the ice bridge on the next morning. No ice was previously in the river.

Mrs. Shoemaker, who died at the age of 95, told me she had seen the deep snows of 1740 and '80; and from her recollections she said the winter of 1780 was probably as deep as that of 1740, and withal was remarkably cold, so much so as to be called the hard winter of 1780.

The winter of 1784 was also long remembered for its severity and long continuance.

#### *Mild Winters.*

The following are instances of mild winters, occurring in the years 1790, 1802, 1810, 1824, and 1828, and here severally stated in their detail for the purpose of comparison, to wit:

#### *Extract from A. H's. Diary, for 1789 and 1790.*

12th mo. 1789.—The weather moderate during the early part of this month. 25th, (Christmas,) a pleasant day—no ice in the Delaware—Three light snows this month. Rain from the 23th to the 31st, but the weather moderate.

1st mo. 1, 1790.—A charming day—no ice in the river, and no frost in the ground.

2. This day as pleasant as yesterday—boys swam in the Delaware, and ships sail as in summer—flies common in houses.

12th. Cold—skating on the pavement this morning.

15th. Cold—snow on the ground this morning—continued snowing until 9, A. M.—wind N. E.

2d mo. 7.—Navigation stopped for the first time this winter—morning cold, with a strong wind from South.

15th. Delaware river froze very hard—weather clear and cold—wind N. W. by West.

16th. Delaware river broke up—weather foggy, very damp and warm, with a thaw—wind south-west—heavy rain at night, with thunder and lightning.

3d mo. 11.—The deepest snow on the ground we have had this winter—some ice in the Delaware.

An ancient female Friend informed me she remembered a similar moderate winter 60 years ago, in which the Delaware was not frozen; and that the ensuing summer was healthy and very plentiful, as were the years 1790, 1802 and 1810.

*Extract from A. H's. Diary, for 1802.*

1st mo. 12th.—Morning very cold—wind high, with flying clouds—this day the most like winter of any this season.

15th.—Remarkably pleasant, wind south south-west—no skating for the boys this winter—not one cake of ice in the Delaware, and even the ponds are not froze hard enough to bear for two days together—prevalent winds south-west.

19th.—A very great white frost this morning.

2d mo. 5th.—And sixth of the week—by far the coldest morning this season—froze very hard last night—wind west and a very clear horizon.

6th.—Very cold—water froze in chambers first time this season—some ice about the pumps in the streets—Schuylkill froze over.

19th.—Weather moderate—a fine shad in our market this morning—this is remarkable; but what is more so, I find recorded, 1st mo. 19th, 1793, the extreme temperature of the weather exceeds all winters I have known—this day and others preceding, may be compared to part of April, as one day this week a shad was caught in the Delaware.

*Extract from A. H's. Diary, for January, 1810.*

1st mo. 18th.—And fifth of the week—sun rose clear—a heavy white frost—wind south—soon clouded—wind south-west—some rain before noon, and some sunshine—cleared towards evening—wind shifted to north-west, with a heavy gale all night. *Jack Frost* has opened his pipes to some purpose—many people seemed to think we should have no winter, but now it appears to have begun in earnest.

19th.—And sixth of the week—morning clear and very cold—wind north-west and a gale—streets froze very hard—34 degrees colder this morning than yestermorn, same time. The tide in the Delaware has not been so low for 14 years as this day.



20th.—And seventh of the week—morning cloudy, still and damp—ice in the Delaware for the first time this season, which has been one of the most open and moderate remembered for many years, there not having been any skating, even on ponds,—similar to a note in my Diary of 1802. N. B. Water froze in bed chambers for the first time this season.

The season until this cold spell has been so open and moderate that many people were ready to conclude we should not have any winter; but, as the Indians used to say, “The winter will come sooner or later, and will not rot in the sky.” I have known two winters in which the navigation was not interrupted by ice, not even by a single cake.

21st.—And first of the week—extreme cold this morning—Thermometer five and in the sun nine above 0—rose a little by noon—very cold all day—ice in the Delaware—stopped about noon—boys skating on it in the afternoon.

22d.—And second of the week—severe cold this morning—wind north-west—ice in the Delaware stopped and remarkably thick and strong.

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*The season of 1824, having been called very mild, I also add some notices of it, which may serve as a comparison with the others before given, to wit :*

1823. December. 6 inches snow— $7\frac{1}{4}$  inches rain.

1824. January 5. No ice in the river.

6. Mild, and plant trees.

7 to 9. Mild, and white frost.

10 to 14. Mild, and no frost in ground.

15. Froze stiff last night.

16. Clear and cold.

17 and 18. Moderate.

19. 1st winter, 26 deg. sunrise.

20. Cold, 16 deg. at sunrise.

21. do. 30 do. do.

22, 23. Cold, 28 deg. at sunrise.

24. Very mild.

25 and 26. North-east and sleet.

27 to 29. Mild.

31. Little snow and mild.

(From the 21st the ice was floating in the Delaware.)

Feb'ry. 1. The 2d winter is set in,—16 deg. at sunrise.

2. Thermometer 7 deg. sunrise, and keeps cold till 7, when very mild.

12 and 13. Frost out of ground.

14 to 19. Mild air.

20 to 22. do.

23. Cold—at night snows.

24. Cold—Thermometer 25 at sunrise.

26. Snow melts, and mild.

27 to 29. Mild.

1st. March begins cold.

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*The year 1828.* This winter of 1827–28, is remarkable for its mildness—no snow, or frost, and the plough enabled to cut the furrows!—

mild rains every where instead of snows. The Gazettes every where teem with notices of the unusual mild weather. Even boats in January, are descending the Susquehanna, from as far as the Bald Eagle! Even as late as the 7th of February it is stated from the Juniata that arks were still passing down that river, and that this is the first winter ever known that the river has continued clear of ice! On the 9th of February a shad, caught near Bombay Hook, was bought in the Philadelphia market for the Mansion House Hotel. This, so far, has been the rainy winter.

The mildness of the winter prevented the usual storing of ice for the fish markets, &c.—a thing unprecedented. One person laid in his ice in one day in November. On the 13th and 14th of April, 1828, came a snow storm!—much snow—not cold.

An elderly gentleman remarks on this season, that “the winter of 1827–28, is past, and such a one precisely has never occurred during sixty years of my observations. There were two events differing from any mild winters I ever remember, viz. so much absence of the sun—but one day in December clear all day—January 20th, and 21st, clear all day—February 9th, sun rose clear and continued so all day as mild as the month of May—12, 13th, 14th, 16, 17th, 19th, 22d, 23d,—all these days were clear, the sun shining all day—in one or two days the sun made its appearance nearly all day, and a number of days one, two or three hours—add these to the whole days and it would scarcely amount to seventeen days clear sun—this is one singular trait.”

“The next is the uninterrupted state of the navigation of the river Delaware. I have known several soft winters in the course of my life, but I do not recollect any but what was more or less interrupted and obstructed with ice. The winter of 1777–78, when the British army lay in Philadelphia, and the American at Valley Forge, was an open one—much rain and excessive bad travelling, but there was at one time much ice in the river. The following winter, ’78–79, was a mild, pleasant one; yet there was ice sufficient to obstruct the navigation. This winter was so mild that on the 22d of March the orchards of different kinds were all in blossom and the meadows as green as in the month of June, in the neighbourhood of Downingtown, Lancaster road, and the next morning a storm at north-east, with nearly two feet of snow on the ground, which destroyed all the fruit for that year.”

The coldest weather, to last any considerable time, for these many years, was on February 7th, 1817—it froze almost all the fire-plugs in the city, and the water in the main pipe in South street.

*The following are instances of Anomaly—to wit:*

The 8th of May, 1803, was a remarkable day. It snowed so heavily as to make a wonderful breaking of the limbs of trees then in full leaf. The streets in the city were filled with broken limbs thereby—most strangely showing—“winter lingering in the lap of spring.”

On the 13th and 14th of April, 1828, was a snow storm in which much snow fell. but not being cold, it soon after disappeared.

The winter of 1817 was remarkable for displaying some very vivid lightning in the month of January! No snow had fallen before this occurrence. The day preceding it fell a little, but melted

the same day. At night it grew warm and rained, accompanied by vivid lightning. During the same night it blew up quite cold, and snowed about half an inch. Very cold weather immediately set in. The papers at Albany and New Hampshire spoke of vivid lightnings also on the night of the 17th of January. Good sleighing occurred at Philadelphia on the 23d of January.

On the 25th of October, 1823, was the *dark day*. There was great darkness at 9 o'clock, A. M. so as to make candlelight desirable. At Norristown they were obliged to use candles. The darkness at New York came on at about 11 o'clock, and compelled the printers to print by candlelight. It was stormy there at an earlier hour. At Philadelphia there was thunder and some rain. At Albany, at 8 A. M. same day, it snowed fast all day, forming a fall of 12 inches, but melted very fast. It thundered there at 12 and at 2 o'clock while snowing! The heavy snow broke the limbs of trees still in leaf, very much. At Newark it lightened and thundered severely, and hailed, and was very dark. On the whole, it was a wide spread darkness for one and the same storm.

On the 11th of April, 1824, it thundered and lightened considerably for the first time this spring. Old people tell me they never used to see this occurrence until the warm weather. But of late years it has occurred several times in the cold season, and sometimes in March. The Christmas days of 1824 and 1829 were remarkable for their coincidence of singular warmth. The Thermometer in the shade at 7 o'clock, A. M. stood at 33°, and at 2 o'clock, P. M. at 63°—both days exactly alike, and on both periods having a gentle wind from the south-west.

There were in *olden time* two memorable "*hot summers*," so called, and referred to in many years afterwards—the years 1727 and 1734. I describe the latter from the Gazette of the time, to wit:

July, 1734.—The weather has been so hot for a week past, as has not been known in the memory of man in this country, excepting the "hot summer" about 7 years since. Many of the harvest people faint or fall into convulsions in the fields, and 'tis said in some places a multitude of birds were found dead. The names of five inhabitants dying of the heat are given. Subsequent papers confirm the extreme heat in the country, and the deaths thereby.

I ought to have mentioned too, that as early as the year 1699 Isaac Norris, sen. [Vide Logan MSS.] speaks then of the "hottest harvest season he had ever before experienced. Several persons died in the field with the violence of the heat."

An elderly gentleman tells me that on the 1st of October, 1770, memorable as the then Election day, was well remembered as a snowy day! From that time to this he has never witnessed it so early again. Since then, he thinks the earliest snows have not fallen earlier than the 1st of November. The middle of November has been regarded as an early snow. Often he has seen "Green Christmas,"—that is—no snow till after Christmas, at least not such as to lay on the earth.

The night of the 11th April, 1826, was remarkably cold. It froze so hard as to bear a wagon loaded with flour on a muddy road. Some snow on the ground at same time. On the 12th of April at sunrise the mercury stood at 24. Old people say they never saw it so cold at that season. One remembers a deeper snow on the 10th of April about 40 years ago, when he went abroad in a sled.

*Comparison of time past and time present, derived from a Thermometrical Table of the years 1748 and '49, compared with the years 1823 to '26.*

| MONTHS.              | YEARS. |       |       |        |         |       |
|----------------------|--------|-------|-------|--------|---------|-------|
|                      | 1748.  | 1749. | 1823. | 1824.  | 1825.   | 1826. |
| October, . . . . .   | 64°    | —     | 58°   | 59½°   | 64 2-3° | —     |
| November, . . . . .  | 54½    | —     | 44½   | 48½    | 48      | —     |
| December, . . . . .  | 49½    | —     | 39½   | 44½    | 41 1-3  | —     |
| January, . . . . .   | —      | 33½   | —     | 41     | 39      | 40½   |
| February, . . . . .  | —      | 40    | —     | 38½    | 39      | —     |
| March, . . . . .     | —      | 50    | —     | 44     | 50½     | —     |
| April, . . . . .     | —      | 62    | —     | 58     | 58½     | —     |
| May, . . . . .       | —      | 75    | —     | 66     | 67      | —     |
| June, . . . . .      | —      | 81    | 74½   | 74½    | 78½     | —     |
| July, . . . . .      | —      | 87½   | 78½   | 79     | 83½     | —     |
| August, . . . . .    | —      | 85    | 78½   | 75½    | 79 2-3  | —     |
| September, . . . . . | —      | 80½   | 69½   | 69 1-3 | 71 1-3  | —     |

The extreme variations in each of the above months, are:—

| MONTHS.              | YEARS.  |         |          |           |          |         |
|----------------------|---------|---------|----------|-----------|----------|---------|
|                      | 1748.   | 1749.   | 1823.    | 1824.     | 1825.    | 1826.   |
| October, . . . . .   | 39° 79° | —       | 50° 72½° | 47½° 67½° | 51° 81½° | —       |
| November, . . . . .  | 42 66   | —       | 38 50    | 42½ 55    | 37½ 59   | —       |
| December, . . . . .  | 30 66   | —       | 35 46    | 38 62     | 26 53    | —       |
| January, . . . . .   | —       | 12° 58° | —        | 32 51     | 33 46    | 29° 51° |
| February, . . . . .  | —       | 25 67   | —        | 28 59     | 28 45½   | —       |
| March, . . . . .     | —       | 30 68   | —        | 34 51     | 41 64    | —       |
| April, . . . . .     | —       | 33 86   | —        | 45 72     | 44 68    | —       |
| May, . . . . .       | —       | 57 92   | —        | 58 78     | 52½ 80   | —       |
| June, . . . . .      | —       | 70 98   | 64 87    | 64 85     | 65 89½   | —       |
| July, . . . . .      | —       | 66 97   | 71 87    | 75 84½    | 76 93½   | —       |
| August, . . . . .    | —       | 73½ 102 | 71 87    | 68 82     | 70 92    | —       |
| September, . . . . . | —       | 59 98½  | 56 86½   | 61½ 82    | 64 79    | —       |

The greatest degree of cold, mentioned in the register for 1748-9, was on the morning of the 21st of January, 1749, on which day at sunrise, the Thermometer was 7° below Zero, and the greatest degree of heat was on the 5th of August, 1749, when the Thermometer was at 102°. Neither the cold or heat were greater than have been experienced in later years. On the 2d of February, 1789, the Thermometer was at 17½° below Zero, and on the 25th of January, 1806, at 14½°. In July, 1793, it rose, when completely shaded, to 104½°.

*A Meteorological Table* for the months of January and February for 22 years, from 1807 to 1828, compiled by S. Hazard, Esq. may be seen in my MS. Annals in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, page 271.

*Rain fallen from 1810 to 1829.*

| Years.       | Years.       | Years.       | Years.      |
|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|
| 1810. 32.656 | 1815. 34.666 | 1820. 39.609 | 1825. 29.57 |
| 1811. 34.968 | 1816. 27.947 | 1821. 32.182 | 1826. 35.14 |
| 1812. 39.3   | 1817. 36.005 | 1822. 29.864 | 1827. 38.50 |
| 1813. 35.625 | 1818. 30.177 | 1823. 41.815 | 1828. 37.97 |
| 1814. 43.135 | 1819. 23.354 | 1824. 38.74  | 1829. 41.85 |

I am indebted to the investigation and diligence of my friend Samuel Hazard, Esq. for a long detail of notices of our winters for more than a century past. Besides the surprise which some of the facts will excite, they will also prove useful for future recurrence, in cases of extraordinary weather—to see whether the like had not occurred before.

*Winters at and near Philadelphia, from its origin to the present time.*

The following investigation was commenced with a view to ascertain the periods at which the navigation of the Delaware has usually been obstructed by ice, and when it became freed from such obstructions.—For this purpose we have consulted the newspapers for the different periods, confining our attention principally to December, January, February and March, although occasionally notice is taken of some other months. The early Gazettes have generally noticed the occurrence of ice. Some of the late papers have omitted it. During the Revolution we find but few remarks on the subject, and in some years none at all.

1681. December 11. The river froze over that night. The Bristol Factor, Roger Drew, arrived at Chester from England, with settlers for Pennsylvania, where they lay all winter.
1704. Snow fell one yard deep.
1714. February. Flowers seen in the woods.
1720. February 23. The river is now clear of ice.
- November 11. "My ink freezes, which obliges me to conclude."  
*Close of a merchant's letter, dated Philadelphia.*
- December 20. Our river is full of ice, and the ship Prince of Orange, which is going with a flag of truce and Spanish prisoners to St. Augustine, is in great danger.
- December 27. The river being now clear of ice, vessels are falling down.
1721. December 19. No vessels arrived since our last, the river being full of ice.
- December 26. do. do. do. do. locked up.
1722. January 2. River still locked up.
- 6. Vessels get up to New Castle.
- 9. 16. 22. River still locked up.
- February 6. Vessels cleared and entered.

1723. January 1. Weather is yet very moderate and our river open.  
 ——— 6. Weather is yet very moderate, and river free from ice.  
 December. Vessels enter and clear through the month.
1724. January 18. River very free from ice.  
 December 15. On Thursday last a violent storm of wind and rain; tide overflowed the wharves. Two outward bound vessels returned for fear of ice, of which our river is very full.  
 December 22. River full of ice.  
 ——— 29. Some driving ice, but not so as to prevent vessels going up or down.
1725. March 3. Snow fell near two feet deep last night and yesterday, which has not been known for some years.  
 December 21. River is very full of ice, though several vessels came up with it; no arrivals or clearances mentioned till 18th July.
1726. January 18. Entries and clearances.  
 February 1. No vessels in or out since our last, river being blocked up by ice.  
 ——— 15. River driving with ice.  
 December. Entries and clearances through the month.
1727. February 14. Very cold weather for four days; which has filled our river full of ice.  
 March 30. Weather and floods prevented the legislature from meeting at the time to which they stood adjourned.
1728. January 23. We have had very hard weather here for nearly two weeks; so that it has frozen our river up to such a degree that people go over daily, and they have set up two booths on the ice about the middle of the river.  
 ——— 30. River still fast.  
 February 7. Some say the ice is driving near Bombay Hook. River here still fast. No clearances mentioned till March 5.  
 December 31. 36 vessels, besides small craft, frozen up at docks, viz. large ships 14; snows 3; brigs 8; sloops 9; schooners 2.
1729. January 29. Our river still frozen up.  
 February 17. Entries and clearances.  
 December. Entries and clearances through the month.
1730. January 20. We had here such a deep snow, the like not known these several years. River full of ice; no vessels can pass.  
 ——— 27. A vessel cleared.  
 December 21. Vessels attempting to go were forced back by ice.  
 ——— 29. Entries and clearances.
1731. January 26. River still full of ice.  
 February 2. No vessels since our last; river locked up with ice.  
 ——— 9. Entries and clearances.  
 December 14. Our river is now full of ice.  
 ——— 21. River a little opened; vessels design going.
1732. January 4. Vessels at Hoarkill cannot come up for ice.  
 ——— 25. River still fast.  
 February 22. Entries and clearances.  
 December. do. do.
1733. January 18. Great snow at Lewes; ice driven ashore by a N. E. storm.

1733. February 1. River still fast.  
 ——— 15. Ice grows rotten; expected to drive in a few days.  
 March 8. River open; vessels come up from Lewes.  
 December. Entries and clearances.
1734. January 1. River continues open, and weather very moderate; winter hitherto as moderate as for many years past.  
 December 21. Our river is now free from ice; weather fine and open.
1735. January 16. Our river continues open and the weather very moderate.  
 December. Entries and clearances.
1736. January 6. River is fast, and full of ice.  
 February 5. Arrivals.  
 ——— 25. Two whales killed at Cape May.  
 December. Arrivals and clearances through the month.
1737. January 20. Weather very cold; persons frozen to death; a vessel below cannot come up on account of the ice.  
 December. Entries and clearances through the month.
1738. January and February. Entries and clearances through the month.  
 December. Entries and clearances till 18th.
1739. January 25. River now entirely clear of ice; vessels gone down; fast since 18th December.  
 December. Entries and clearances.
1740. January 10. No entries or clearances from this date till February 21. When arrivals are mentioned.  
 March 15. Ice broke up in the Delaware.  
 December 19. River unnavigable from this to 13th March.
1741. January 8. Our river has been fast some time, and we heard from Lewes that 'tis all ice towards the sea as far as the eye can reach. Tuesday and Wednesday are thought to have been the coldest days for many years.  
 March 5. The severity of the winter complained of throughout the country. Cattle dying for want of fodder; many deer found dead in the woods, and some came tamely to the plantations, and fed on hay with other creatures.  
 March 13. River navigable. The winter extremely long and severe.  
 ——— 19. River now quite open; vessels daily come up.  
 April 19. We hear from Lancaster county that during the great snow, which in general was more than three feet deep, the back inhabitants suffered much for want of bread; that many families of new settlers had little else to subsist upon but the carcasses of deer they found dead or dying in the swamps or runs about their houses. The Indians fear a scarcity of deer and turkies, &c.  
 December. Entries and clearances.
1742. January. do. do.  
 22. Comet visible for some time.  
 February and March. Entries and clearances—no mention of ice  
 December. Entries and clearances—no mention of ice.
1743. January. do. do. do.

1744. January 3. No entries this week—river full of ice.  
 — 19. Arrivals.  
 December. Entries and clearances.
1745. January, February, March. Entries and clearances; find no mention of ice.  
 December. Entries and clearances.
1746. January. No arrivals nor clearances this month; no ice is mentioned.  
 December 28. River frozen up for the week past.
1747. February 24. First arrivals since 23d December.  
 December 15. No entries this week, river being full of ice.
1748. January 12. Entries and clearances.  
 — 26. A vessel ashore on Reedy Island, cut through with the ice—no entries or clearances—severe weather—a man frozen to death on a flat in Mantua creek.  
 February 2. Entries and clearances.  
 — 9. River again full of ice; no entries or clearances till March 4. when there are some.  
 December. Entries and clearances through the month.
1749. January 31. A vessel reaches "Elsingburgh." The river, by hard S. E. gale almost freed from ice.  
 February 7. River again full of ice.  
 — 14. Arrivals.  
 December. No arrivals from 12 to 26; ice not mentioned.
1750. January 22. Our river is now broke up; and yesterday a vessel went down. This morning a violent N. E. storm, which has done considerable damage to the vessels and wharves.  
 February 6. River free from ice; vessels going up and down.
1751. January 1. River full of ice.  
 — 22. River so open that a shallop came up from Marcus Hook. This morning a violent S. E. storm which damaged wharves and vessels.  
 December 24. For a week past our navigation has been stopped, the river being very full of ice.
1752. February 18. Our river has been driving for some days past, and is now so clear of ice, that if the weather continues moderate in a few days vessels will fall down.  
 February 25. River entirely clear; 12 sea vessels arrived in one tide.
1753. January 2. Our navigation is stopped; river full of ice.  
 — 9. Vessels entered.  
 — 23. Navigation quite clear.  
 December 29. River full of ice. Navigation stopped. On Monday last a violent S. E. storm drove several vessels ashore.
1754. January 15. Our river is now and has been for several days quite clear of ice.  
 December. Entries and clearances through the month.
1755. January 14. There is so much ice at present in the river that our navigation is stopped.  
 January 21. Clearances from this date forward.  
 December. do. through the month.
1756. January and February. Clearances through the month.



1756. March 18. On Friday night we had a violent N. E. snow-storm, which did considerable damage to the vessels at the wharves, and probably on the coast. This is the first mention of snow. Arrivals and clearances continue through the month. There is no intimation that the navigation was interrupted this winter.  
December. Entries and clearances.
1757. January. Clearances and arrivals throughout the month, although the managers of the New Castle Lottery advertised that they have been prevented by the severity of the weather, from riding about to sell their tickets, and the country people from coming in to purchase; no mention of the navigation being interrupted, and entries and clearances published every week through the winter.  
December. Entries and clearances through the month.
1758. February 2. Navigation has been stopped some days, and is still, there being a good deal of ice in the river.  
— 16. River almost clear of ice; some vessels have fallen down.  
December 28. For a few days past our river has been full of ice, but is now likely to be soon clear again.
759. January 4. Our river is so full of ice that no vessel can stir.  
— 11. Arrivals and clearances.  
— 25. River has for some days been interrupted with ice.  
February 1. Clearances.  
December 28. Navigation stopped for a week past. River full of ice.
1760. January 3. Clearances.  
— 17. Thursday last our river was so free from ice that a vessel came up; but it is now fast again  
February 7. For three days past have had a fine thaw by which the ice is greatly dissolved, and we hope the navigation will be open in a few days.  
— 14. Arrivals and clearances.  
March 20. On Sunday last, we had a violent N. E. snow-storm, when considering the season of the year and the time it lasted, (18 hours) there was the greatest fall of snow that has been known, it is said, since the settlement of the province.  
December. Arrivals, &c. through the month.
1761. No arrivals or clearances from January 15 to 5th February.  
December 17. Our river is and has been interrupted by ice for some days past.  
— 24. Navigation quite stopped—measures for relief of the poor.
1762. January 14. On Saturday and Sunday last we had a violent N. E. storm here, which, with the sudden thaw for some days before, occasioned prodigious freshes and the tides to rise higher than has been known for some years past—our river is now so clear of ice that we expect vessels up.  
— 21. Arrivals.  
December. Entries and clearances during the month.
1763. January 13. Our navigation now is and has for some days been stopped—river full of ice.

1755. January 27. A vessel reaches Marcus Hook.  
 February 12. A moderate thaw for some days—ice in river greatly diminished—on Tuesday a brig came up.  
 December. Arrivals, &c. during the month.
1756. January. do. do.  
 December 27. Our navigation was at a stand for a few days, the river being full of ice; but on Tuesday night we had a violent N. E. storm for some hours, which ended in rain—and the wind blowing prodigiously hard at the same time, destroyed the ice, so that some vessels ventured down yesterday.  
 — 31. Delaware frozen over in one night—passable next morning.
1757. January 1. Our navigation has been quite at a stand for a week past.  
 February 7. On Tuesday last an ox was roasted whole on the river Delaware, which from the novelty of the thing, drew together a great number of people.  
 February 14. The weather is now so moderate and our bay so clear of ice that the vessels at the capes are come up to Reedy Island.  
 — 28. Our navigation is now quite clear and several vessels have come up.  
 A letter from Fort Pat. dated January 31, 1758, says "the weather has been so uncommonly severe at this post, that both rivers have been passable on the ice for six weeks."
- March 26. On Saturday night last came on here a very severe snow-storm which continued all night and next day, when it is believed the greatest quantity of snow that has been (considering the advanced state of the season) for many years past, it being said to be about 2 or 2½ feet on a level, and in some places deeper. A great number of trees are destroyed: some torn up by the roots, others broke off, and the roads so bad that there is scarcely any travelling.  
 December. Arrivals, &c. all the month.
1758. January 9. River quite fast since Friday last—weather very severe.  
 — 30th. No arrivals, &c. since 9th—ice mostly dissolved.  
 February 6. Arrivals.
- 15. A sloop drove up to New Castle in a cake of ice.  
 December. Arrivals and clearances throughout.
1759. January 1. Our river is so full of ice that navigation is at a stand. Thermometer 4°, on 5d. 5°.  
 December 24. The cold weather of Saturday night filled the river so full of ice that vessels could not depart; but on Tuesday there was a fine thaw accompanied with rain, and the weather is now moderate, and we hope the navigation will soon open again.
1760. February 11. Our river is now so clear of ice, that vessels get up and down.  
 March 24. On Saturday night last, we had a most violent snow-storm from N. E.  
 December. Arrivals and clearances through the month.
1761. January. Arrivals and clearances through the month.

- February 23. Since our last, have had a fine thaw, warm sun and some rain, by which our navigation is now clear.
- December 21. Our navigation was for several days at a stand, river being full of ice, but on Thursday last, about 50 vessels went down.
1770. January 11. At present there is so much ice in the river that the navigation is at a stand.
- February 15. Our navigation is now so clear that vessels come up.
- December. Entries and clearances this month.
1771. January. do. do. do.
- February 14. On Saturday morning we had a gale from south, and rain—higher tide than known for several years. River now so full of ice as to stop navigation.
- 23. Navigation again clear.
- March 14. On Saturday night violent gale from the E. N. E. and heavy rain—lasted all day—did much damage.
- December 25. The cold has been so intense for 3 days past that navigation is at a stand—river full of ice.
1772. January 2. River pretty clear of ice on Tuesday, but yesterday so much ice as to obstruct navigation.
- January 10. A great quantity of ice prevents a vessel getting up.
- 30. Hail and snow-storm from N. E. The cold this month has been excessive.
- February 22. The thermometer in the shade, stood at 55° higher than felt here for many years. The navigation which has been obstructed by ice is now entirely open.
- March 15. During the last week there fell large quantities of snow, in many places two feet deep—a good deal of ice in the river.
- December. Arrivals and clearances through the month.
1773. January 20. River full of ice—navigation stopped.
- 21. Thermometer in open air on east side of the city at 3 P. M. 6 above 0, at 4 P. M. 7°, at 5 P. M. 3°, at 10 P. M. 4°
- 6 A. M. 2°, at noon 11° above 0, at 5 P. M. 14° above 0, at 10 P. M. 11 above 0—west side of the city—at 6 A. M. 4 below 0; another situation on the 21st at 3 P. M. 5°; 22d at 9 A. M. 2. A glass of wine within 3 or 4 feet of a chimney where there had been a hickory fire the whole evening till midnight, congealed to the consistency of snow.
- March 5. Vessels that had been detained by ice came up.
- December. Entries and clearances.
1774. January 12. River so full of ice that the navigation is stopped.
- February 14. River fast bound with ice.
- December 22 and 23. Snow.
- 28 and 29. Snowing—deep snow on the ground
- 30. Ice in the Delaware.
1775. January 17. Delaware navigable.
- 18 and 19. Snow.
- February 12. Snow.
- November 19. Snow.
1776. }  
1777. } We can find no notices

1778. January 19. The river was closed at this date.  
 1779. February. Leaves of willow, blossoms of peach, and flowers of dandelion were seen.  
 1780. January. On Sunday morning last, at a fire at the French Consul's, the weather was so severe that many of the engines were rendered useless by the intense cold; during this month, the mercury, excepting one day, never rose so high in the city as to the freezing point.

March 4. The Delaware became navigable after having been frozen nearly three months. This is denominated *the hard winter*. Ice 16 to 19 inches thick—frost penetrated the ground from 4 to 5 feet. During this winter the ears of horned cattle, and the feet of hogs exposed to the air, were frost-bitten. Squirrels perished in their holes, and partridges were often found dead.

1781. January 27. "The winter thus far hath been remarkably mild—so that the earth has scarcely been frozen half an inch deep, or the smallest ponds covered with ice strong enough to bear a dog. Thus mild it had continued until Monday last, (23d,) when we had a very hard gale of wind, chiefly from the north-west, but alternately varying to almost every point, and accompanied with a smart fall of rain and snow. Several vessels were forced from their fastenings, and drove ashore on the Jerseys, and the island. Trees were torn up by the roots, and some houses unroofed." Garlic was tasted in butter this month.

1782. In a pocket almanac, on the blank leaves between January and February, is the following memorandum:

"29 and 30 of this month, was extremely cold.

31. More moderate; the river froze over the 30th of last month, at night, so as to admit people on it the 31st, in the morning, and continued fast until the 16th inst.—when it drives generally, and the 21st several vessels came up;" and in the Freeman's Journal is the following paragraph:

February 6. "About a week since the extremity of the cold was felt here. On Tuesday afternoon the thermometer fell very low. This day the mercury was within the bulb, and in some instances it fell 4° below 0, being the greatest excess of cold experienced here for many years. It is needless to say the Delaware opposite the city, and for several miles downward, is covered with a fixed and strong floor of ice.

10th. Ferry boats cross upon the ice.—The river probably closed on the 30th January, and opened on the 16th February.

1783. December 26. The navigation stopped, and in a few days the river was frozen over, opposite the city, and continued so till 18th of March. 29, snow.

1784. January 13. On Tuesday and Wednesday a most remarkable thaw, attended with a warm, disagreeable, unwholesome vapour, which in the evening was succeeded by a sharp N. W. wind and clear sky, so that within a few hours we have experienced a transition from heat to cold, of at least 53 degrees. The suddenness and severity of the frost has entirely bound up the navigation.

February 12. Bay full of ice.

1784. February 28th and 29th. Mercury below 0.  
March 12. Navigation opened, having been closed since 26th December.  
December 22. So much ice that the river is at a stand.
1785. January 3. Vessels attempt to go down; the moderate weather having so far cleared the ice; but on the evening of the 4th the harbour was entirely frozen across.  
20th. Frozen from side to side; broke up in 4 or five days, and was entirely free from ice; all vessels from below came up.  
February 2. The river was again frozen over.  
— 22. Vessels got up and down.
1786. January 21. Our weather has been remarkably mild for the greater part of the winter, until Friday (17th) last, when it grew cold, and froze the river in a few days from side to side at the lower part of the city.  
December. Navigation stopped.
1787. January 6. The mildness of the weather for some days past having liberated the navigation, several vessels came up.
1788. February 5. Thermometer fell to 6° below 0, or 38 below freezing point. The day before it had stood at 6° above freezing point, so that it fell 42° in about 17 hours.  
March 5. Boys sliding on the ice.  
December 23. Navigation interrupted by large quantities of floating ice.  
26. Skating on Schuylkill.
1789. January 3. Owing to moderate weather the navigation is again restored, and many vessels have departed. The three lower bridges on Schuylkill were carried away by the breaking up of the ice, and one of them nearly destroyed.  
19th. Sleighing.  
February 5. Vessels locked up in the river near Marcus Hook. River froze and thawed four times, and not navigable till 8th March.  
19th and 20th. Snow 8 or 10 inches deep. Mercury fell 5° below 0 in the city, and twenty miles from the city 12° below 0. Both at six A. M.  
23d, 24th, 25th, and 27th. Mercury fluctuated between 4 and 10 above 0. A very backward spring.  
December. Entries and clearances through the month.
1790. January 2. Such an open winter as the present has not been known in this city since it was founded—boys bathing in the river as if it were summer—wharves crowded with wood—oak 15 shillings—hickory 25 shillings.  
February 7. Only time this winter that the Delaware was interrupted by ice—frozen over.  
8th. Skating on the river.  
10th and 11th. Deep snow.  
17th. Ice drove.  
March 10th. The only considerable snow this winter—only remained on the ground three days. Yesterday morning thermometer at 4°.
1790. September 24. First frost.

1790. November 26th and 27th. First snows.  
 December 8. River closed by ice.  
 12th and 13th. River navigable—vessels sailed.  
 16th. Snow and cold until  
 18th, when the river frozen over and stands—boys skating—continued closed till 18th January.  
 21st. Snow all the morning—continues cold till the end of the month. 31st, very cold.
1791. January 1. Ohio river has been closed for some time by ice.  
 17th. Snow.  
 18th. Snow—river opened so that vessels arrived.  
 December 23. River closed—having been obstructed by floating ice for several days, continued closed till end of the month.
1792. January 2. Mercury on Saturday at 12 o'clock 48°—an April day—navigation expected to open in a day or two.  
 5th. Arrivals.  
 7th, 13th, 18th, 22d. Snow.  
 February 7th, 11th, 12th, 13th and 14th. Snow.  
 March 6. Ice started.  
 December. Arrivals and clearances this month.
1793. January 14. Hail.  
 18th. The extreme temperateness of this season exceeds every winter remembered by the oldest inhabitants of Philadelphia, for now we have April weather. A fine shad was caught and brought to Mr. Irwin's tavern, the white horse, Market street, where it was elegantly served last Thursday evening (17th) to several gentlemen who supped on the *January shad* with great satisfaction, and toasted the fishermen.  
 21st. Light showers like April—no ice in the river to this time of any consequence; the navigation being free and open.  
 24th. A little snow this morning.  
 27th. Snow and rain.  
 30th. Snow about six inches deep—windy night and some hail.  
 February 1. Froze hard last night—first time any sleighing has been this season.  
 2d. Rain. 6th. Rain.  
 9th. Rather warm for the season.  
 12th. Snow last night and this morning about 1½ feet deep—coldest weather this winter.  
 23d. Snow this morning—great fresh in Schuylkill.  
 October. Very dry weather and warm mostly through this month—very little rain for eight weeks past—the yellow fever raging in the city.
1794. January. Vessels could not leave the piers on account of the quantity of ice still in the river.  
 13th. River clear from ice—vessels sailed yesterday.  
 18th. Vessels got up safely to Fort Mifflin piers.  
 Dec. 25. "As warm as the most timorous invalid could wish."  
 Arrivals and clearances through the month.
1795. Jan. 21. The sky has continued almost invariably without a single cloud for a long time past. Flies were seen a few days ago.

Indeed there was an expectation with many people, that there would be no ice during the present season—about the middle of last week, however, a frost came. On Monday morning, January 19th, at 7 o'clock, the thermometer in the open air was so low as  $42^{\circ}$ —a great part of the river was frozen over. This morning (20th) thermometer same hour and situation has risen to  $49^{\circ}$ . The positive cold has diminished, but the Delaware is now entirely frozen over.

16th. A vessel coming up meets drifting ice near Marcus Hook.  
February 26. Thermometer at half past 7 A. M.  $9^{\circ}$ .

27. do. do.  $10^{\circ}$ .

We do not remember, through the winter, the mercury being so low at the same hour.

December. Arrivals and clearances throughout the month.

1796. January 10. Snow. 11th. Moderate to the 16th—no ice in the river of any consequence.

17th. Snow, rain and hail. 20th. Snow.

27th. Snow. 29th and 30th, coldest this season. Navigation open to this time.

February 2. Vessel arrives at New York, understanding Delaware is closed by ice.

9th. Navigation interrupted by driving ice for about a week past; yesterday a vessel came up. The winter to this time the most moderate I ever remember for 45 years—very little interruption by floating ice. Schuylkill is frozen so as to bear people on it; but not very safe for many in a place.

15th. One of the coldest days this winter.

19th. Snow last night. 22d, do.

March 8. Snow last night.

October 1. Do. Cold for a week past.

— 7th. Do. Very dry, rest of the month, grain suffering for rain.

November 30. Some snow.

December 6. Within ten days we have had very cold weather—the Susquehanna has closed; men and horses cross daily. It is not within man's memory to have seen the river so low of water or to have closed so early. Snow in Philadelphia, 2 inches deep.

23d. River closed—there were entrances up to the 21st. On the night between 23d and 24th, Dr. Priestley's thermometer in the town of Northumberland, was depressed to 13 below  $^{\circ}$  while in this city it stood at  $2^{\circ}$  below  $^{\circ}$ .

24th. Severe cold as remembered for 40 years; snow 2 feet deep at the westward.

1797. January 10. River still closed—loaded wagons come over on the ice—weather as cold as remembered these fifty years.

16th. Last Monday night (9th) about a mile N. W. of the city, a gill of best French brandy was placed in a field in a common saucer, and about 10 minutes after the sun rose next morning, the circumference had a ring of ice about half an inch broad. The ice had no regular form; but clotted like grease. The remaining brandy had the appearance of oil, and when tasted was mild as milk. A small vial of the same brandy with a glass stopper was exposed in the

field, no crust was formed on it, the action of the air being prevented by the stopper. Water placed in a room where no fire had been for some days, was in a liquid state until the dawn of day, but was formed into a lump of ice in 10 minutes after the sun rose. 28th, river still fast; though it thaws, and the weather is fine for the season.

February 7. A vessel arrives at Markus Hook—river driving.

9th. A vessel arrives.

March 3. Snow last night. Frost to the 10th. 11th, snow.

December 4. Schuylkill fast and Delaware full of ice.

15th. Weather moderated something—two or three vessels came up, but in a few days the weather became cold, and continued so, that on the 22d the river was quite fast; being one day sooner than last year.

1798. January 1. Ice and slippery pavements.

5th. Snow in the night about 4 inches.

February 5. River opened about this time.

October 31. Snow last night.

November 19. Snow. 20th, snow.

December 12. Snow—ice in the Delaware.

15th. Several outward bound vessels sailed yesterday, our river being perfectly free of ice.

17th and 18th. Ice in the Delaware stopped. 23d, snow.

25th. Fine sleighing.

1799. January 1. Snow—more snow in the last 6 or 8 weeks than remembered for several winters in the same time and season, and very cold weather most of the time.

3d. Snow. 4th, Delaware full of ice. 5th, snow.

6th. Ice in the Delaware stopped, and boys skating on it—snow on the ground about 3 inches deep. 9th, snow.

10th. Delaware nearly cleared of ice, vessels preparing to sail.

24th. Snow. 29th, Delaware full of skim ice.

30th. Do. clear of ice—a fog last night.

February 3. Stormy; snow and hail; a tolerable deep snow on the ground.

4th. Considerable ice in the Delaware.

9th. Delaware clear of ice.

17th. Tolerable deep snow.

19th. Snow—streets and pavements very slippery.

23d. Last night and this morning thought to be as cold as any this season. Navigation obstructed by ice, as much being made last night as on any night this winter.

25th. Extremely cold. Skating on the Schuylkill, and the ice in the Delaware stopped.

26th. Skating on the Delaware—began to drive in the afternoon, and the people hastened off—snow.

27th. A deep snow on the ground.

March 3. Small snow.

5th. Last night as cold as any this season—Delaware full of ice.

6th. River full of ice.

11th. Delaware clear of ice. Several vessels came up.



12th. Deep snow on the ground. "A very long and severe winter this has been."

14th. A deep snow on the ground.

1800. January 1. The winter thus far has been remarkably open; there having been very little ice in the Delaware and that very thin.

6th, 7th and 8th. Mornings and nights very cold—much ice in the Delaware.

18th. Delaware clear of ice.

24th. A smart snow on the ground—this day warm, the snow soon melted.

25th. A little snow.

29th. Last night coldest this season—the Delaware being frozen from side to side, though very little in it last evening.

31st. Tremendous storm of snow and wind, N. E. by E.

February 9. Deep snow on the ground. 28th, snow.

March 8th. Snow without intermission for 25 hours, near two feet upon a level.

December 23. The weather, except some cold nights, has been remarkably open. No ice in the Delaware—this day being remarkably warm for the season—such a season not being remembered since the British army were here in 1777 and '78.

1801. January 3. As cold as remembered for many years.

7th. Earthquake and meteor at Pittsburg.

March 2. This and for 8 days past remarkably warm and fine for the season. Buds on the gooseberry bushes; frost generally out of the ground; but little ice in the Delaware, and some weeks none. Unusual quantities of rain fell.

May 4. A smart snow on the ground.

November 12. At midnight the shock of an earthquake.

December 31. Very little cold weather thus far this season—began to snow in the afternoon.

1802. January 15. No ice to impede navigation, and even the ponds have not been frozen to bear. 30th, weather moderate—many shrubs put forth leaves and blossoms—one fall of snow during the month.

February 4th, 5th and 6th. Coldest weather this winter—freezes hard. 17th. A shad in market. 22d. No obstruction this winter except floating ice this day for a few hours—snow storm. 23d. Heavy storm of wind, N. E. coldest weather.

March 26. Snow.

December 19. River fast. 21st, completely frozen. 22d, 23d and 24th, a general thaw—navigation open.

1803. January 3. Snow. 22d, river full of ice; navigation stopped.

February 9. Very heavy fog for several days. 16th, snow.

March 2. Snow. 7th, snow. 27th, snow.

April 16. Snow.

November 9. Frost. Dryest time for many years. Pumps in Abingdon dry.

December 22. Coldest day this winter.

1804. January 1. The most open, moderate weather for the season, remembered for many years; not the least sign of ice in the Dela-

ware; little or none in the Schuylkill. Vessels come and go as in summer.

10th and 11th. Some ice in the docks, and on Jersey shore. Boys skating on ponds for the first time this winter.

13th. Some ice in the Delaware. Some snow.

14th. A little ice in the Delaware.

16th. Considerable ice made in Delaware last night.

19th. Snow—sleighing.

21st. The Delaware full of ice. 22d, snow.

23d. The deepest snow remembered for several winters. River full of ice.

25th. Ice in the Delaware stopped; good skating on it. Water froze in bed-chambers last night for the first time this season.

27th. Skating on the Delaware.

February 5. Ice in the Delaware afloat.

24th. Deep snow on ground. 28th, light snow.

March 2. Snow; heavy snow on the ground.

5. Delaware full of ice; ice at Burlington strong enough to cross upon.

6th. Ice in the Delaware stopped.

7th. Delaware tolerably clear of ice, high wind having driven it ashore. Wood very scarce and dear; from 10 to 12 dollars a cord.

But few signs of vegetation before the 15th April.

During the winter the thermometer stood for many days at 4 and 6 deg. above 0. Medium depth of snow 2 feet.

December 18. Delaware obstructed by ice.

1805. February 28. Delaware navigable.

March 2. No ice to be seen.

Winter variable and peculiar; intense cold, deep snow, hail, sleet, high wind, and heavy rain.

October 7. Frost.

December 28th and 29th. Thus far the season has been remarkably favourable. Very little ice either in the gutters or elsewhere.

30th. The country people were ploughing yesterday in different parts of the country; very little skating even on the ponds, for boys.

1806. January 6. First snow of consequence this season.

9th. Quantities of ice in the river.

13th. Vessels come up to the Hook.

15th. Coldest day this season.

18th. River not yet fast; great quantities of ice; Schuylkill fast.

19th. Snow. 21st, sleighing for a week past.

27th. Vessels pass up and down.

February 1. River free of ice.

March 7. Snow. 19th, snow. 23d and 24th, snow. 26th, snow.

October 17. Frost.

December 4. Snow. 5th, sleighing in the valley. 11th, snow. 12th, sleighing in the city for the first time this season. 18th, river so full of ice as to stop navigation. 20th, river navigable. 22d,

vessels came up. 31st, coldest night; froze in a stove room window.

1807. January 12. Some ice in the river.

— 14. Navigation stopped by great quantities of ice.

18th, snow last night; sleighing. 20th, river still being full of ice, no passing up or down; very cold for three days past. 21st, river fast, and so continued till

February 3. When it drove—full of ice. 5th, snow. 7th, very cold—river fast again. 9th. It is remarked, that the weather for 4 or 5 days has been the coldest known for several years past. 14th, ice broke up at Trenton; fears entertained for the bridge. 15th, ice drives—vessels sail. 29th, Schuylkill broke up; great quantities of ice driven down.

March 5. Snow. 14th, snow and rain. 29th, snow and rain. 31st, snow.

November 17. Snow. 25th, snow.

December 18. River has not been impeded by ice up to this date.

1808. January 11. Navigation still open. 14th, snow, sleighing. 15th, great quantities of ice in the river. 16th, river not quite fast. 20th, much ice in the river. 28th, snow.

February 1. Heavy rain. 5th, snow. 14th, snow. 20th, snow.

October 19. Frost. 29th, white frost and ice.

November 28. Snow.

December 7. Snow. 8th, skim ice in the docks. 26th, ground covered with snow.

1809. January 3. New Castle packet returned on account of spray freezing on rigging; navigation stopped at Whitehall. 5th, interrupted here. 9th, snow; great quantities of ice driving out of the Delaware; much ice drifting at Cape May. 10th, ground covered with snow. 11th, heavy fog. 13th, an arrival—the last till 25th—much ice made last night. 14th, a brig drifting in the ice at Bombay Hook. 15th, some snow; fine skating on the pavements. 22d, deep snow on the ground. 25th, Last night the coldest this season. Delaware nearly frozen over. 26th, snow 8 inches deep.

February 5. Snow. 7th, snow. 9th, much ice in the river. 10th, a fog, skating on the Delaware; sleighing. 14th, hail. 18th, fog. 20th, good skating on the river below Pine street; from thence to Callowhill, before the city, is and has been open for some time. Wood brought from the island in boats, being taken there from Jersey in sleds upon the ice, having been frozen on that side for many weeks. Snow—on the 18th, the ice in Brandywine broke up with a great swell, and carried away part of the bridge.

27th. Men employed by merchants to cut the ice from Pine street to Gloucester point—above being clear to Callowhill street—above that, and between the island and Jersey, fast.

28th. Heavy white frost.

March 4. Snow on ground. 6th, snow. 13th, snowed all day. Flocks of birds which passed to the northward early last week returned to the southward. 14th, snow, the deepest this winter, being 18 inches. 18th, windows and doors open; first shad in market. 24th, ice on south side of street; thus far the spring very backward. 26th, froze in the shade all day. 28th and 29th, freezing. 31st, blue birds whistling in every direction.

November 24. Strange to tell to future generations, snow about one foot deep, and tolerable good sleighing; a circumstance not

known for many years, if ever, in this land. It snowed also 9 inches on the 19th inst. 25th, sleighs and sleds in market; this morning at sunrise, the river Schuylkill, above and below the permanent bridge, was frozen over; a similar circumstance has not occurred for many years at so early a period. 30th, heavy white frost, and skim ice.

December. A snow-storm at the capes.

1810. January 20th. Ice in the Delaware for first time this season, being the most open recollected for many years, there not having even been skating on the ponds; similar to 1802; water froze in bed-chamber for first time; I have known 2 winters in which navigation has not been interrupted by ice; not even a single cake: Schuylkill frozen over: 21st, Delaware stopped about noon, and boys skating in afternoon; also on the 22d, ice remarkably thick and strong; a vessel drifting in the ice, deserted by her crew, near Wilmington. 26th, snow. 27th, snow 5 or 6 inches deep; tolerable sleighing. 31st, river still fast.

February 3. Snowed all day, and sleighing. 11th, ice disappeared below; vessels preparing for departure. 14th, snow. 16th, ice began to float in Delaware. 17th, wasting fast. 18th, fog, and a N. E. wind drove ice on shore; ice not come down from the Falls. 19th, vessels get up. 20th, ice from the Falls came down; river very full of broken ice. 21st, Delaware entirely clear of ice and several arrivals. 26th, large lumps and cakes of ice from above the Falls.

March 11. Rain and snow. 12th, houses covered with snow. 14th, herrings in market. 17th, ice 1-3 of an inch thick; a shad in market. 24th, snow  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches. 28th, spits of snow. 29th, snow. 31st, ice thickness of a dollar.

November 1. First snow this season. 2d and 3d, snow. 4th, froze hard. 17th. This day has been cool and clear, after two of rainy weather, during which time there was a heavy gale of wind from the eastward, which raised the river higher than for some years back. 19th. Rain again began last night, and continued to-day very fast; the meadows overflowed, and some of the wharves and stores injured. 23d, snow most of the day.

December 3. Snow last night and this morning. 9th, skating on the ponds for the first time. 15th, skim ice in the Delaware; first this season; some of it an inch thick, and very sharp; several vessels sailed. 18th, Delaware froze from side to side, and the navigation completely stopped. 19th, ice in Delaware broke up this afternoon. 20th, several vessels sailed; ice much broken, and drove on shore. 21st, Delaware very full of broken ice. 22d, rain and heavy fog; ice much gone. 24th, Many vessels sailed yesterday and to-day; Delaware entirely clear of ice. 31st, snow.

1811. January 4. Snow. 7th, to this date river free of ice. 8th, heavy fog. 9th, rain. 11th, light snow. 12th and 13th, snow and rain. 16th, hail and rain; slippery pavements; boys skating on them. 29th, ice in the river. 30th, snow.

February 3d and 4th. Rain and snow. 5th and 6th, ditto; ground well covered. 7th, snow last night and this morning, deepest this

winter. 12th, snow. 17th and 18th, snow. 19th, coldest day this season by 3°. Thermometer 19°. 20th, Delaware covered with ice. 22d, snow most of the day; distressing time for wood; none to be purchased. 25th, thaws. 26th, much ice in Delaware.

March 6. Snow. 12th, foggy. 13th, warm for the season—like spring. 14th, shad in market. 18th, high wind. 24th, rain, with thunder and lightning.

October 10. Heavy fog W. S. W. Thermometer 72. The comet has appeared every evening for two weeks past, about two o'clock, A. M. or 6 or 7 P. M.

November 26. Hard frost for the season.

December 2. Frost. Second growth of apples at Washington, Pa. 3d, moderate for the season. 7th. The weather has been remarkably moderate for the season to this date, though a great deal of rain has fallen within a month past, but no snow. 13th, snow. 14th, ditto. 4 inches. 19th, coldest day this season. 20, coldest night this season. 21st, snow; ice in Delaware quite thick. 24th, snow last night—very hard gale of wind—freezes hard. 25th, full of ice.

1812. January 12. River fast. 16th, much drifting ice—snow last night four inches deep. 18th, river fast again. 19th and 20th, snow and sleighing. 22d, much ice from Bombay Hook. 23d, earthquake at Lewistown. 27th, thaws, but river fast; heavy fogs; 31st, very foggy; river fast.

February 4. Heavy gale of wind last night; the ice driving this morning; a remarkable rumbling noise like thunder about twelve o'clock. 7th, several shocks of an earthquake this morning at quarter before 4 o'clock. 8th, river free; vessels came up; two schooners in the ice yesterday below Reedy Island. 11th, snow. 16th, snow and hail. 2 st, snow. 23d, snow and rain. 25th, snow.

March 8. Hail and snow.

November 19. Snow, a little. 24th, a very hard gale; blew down several chimnies and fences; Maffet's Letter of Marque brig upset in it, and sixteen drowned.

December 9. Snow, the first of any consequence. 21st, Schuylkill fast, and Delaware full of ice. 25th, river navigable—vessels sailed to-day.

1813. January 9. Some snow. 11th, vessels at Reedy Island ice bound; river full of ice. 13th, river fast. 15th, snow in the night and this morning one foot deep, sleighing plenty—good bottom. 19th, thaws. 20th, rain and snow. 26th, snow. 28th, snow. 30th, river fast.

February 4th and 6th, thaws fast. 10th, rain and snow. 12th, snow. 20th, snow. 22d, snow. 26th, vessels sailed; river navigable.

March 7. Snow most of the day.

October 10. Frost and ice. 14th, white frost. 21st, heavy frost.

December 11. The weather to this day has been very moderate—little or no snow, and no ice in the river. 19th, snow most of the day and night. 21st, snow about four inches deep.

1814. January 9. Navigation stopped by ice. 13th, river fast. 21st, do—skating on it.

February 2. River drives—full of ice. 13th, vessels came up.  
November 8. Heavy white frost.

December 6. Fresh pound butter sold at fifty cents. 10th, snow.  
15th, much floating ice in the Delaware. 16th, thaw. 21st, skin ice  
in Delaware. 22d, increase of ice. 24th, ice gone and vessels sail-  
ing. 26th, some ice in Delaware. 27th, river full of ice.

1815. January 6. Considerable ice in the Delaware. 7th, river full of  
ice, floating. 10th, ice is much broke and wasted. 14th, much ice  
in Delaware. 22d, snow. 30th, ice in the Delaware stopped and  
strong. 31st, Delaware hard frozen, and boys skating on it.

February 2 Sleighs and sleds bring wood to South street wharf.  
8th, fine sleighing. 11th, ground well covered with snow. 13th,  
fine sleighing—a good and complete road across the Delaware from  
Southwark to James Kaighn's wharf—large quantities of wood  
brought over in sleds, carts and wagons, and now selling at ten dol-  
lars. 16th, ground covered with a light snow; the weather on Tues-  
day last was more severely cold throughout the day than any other  
day within the recollection of the oldest inhabitants; the thermom-  
eter at 8 A. M. was 9 below °, at noon 6, at 9 P. M. 12; on the  
11th of January, 1813, it was for a little time at 11, but in a few  
hours rose to 3 below °. 18th, fine snow. 21st, strength of the ice  
weakening fast in the Delaware; several ferry boats broke in, in  
crossing. 22d, snow. 24th, snow. 27th, wood scarce, at twelve to  
fourteen dollars for oak; pine nine to ten dollars; ice in Delaware  
continues firm, and large quantities of wood brought over in sleds  
from Kaighn's ferry to Southwark.

March 1. Ice in Delaware weakening; sleds break in; poor suf-  
fer much. 2d, a fog on the river. 5th, ice in the Delaware began  
to move about 5 A. M. to the great joy of the inhabitants. 6th, Del-  
aware nearly clear of ice; five boat loads of river fish, rock and  
perch, came up; about 500 suckers were taken in a shad net at  
one haul on Saturday about eight or nine miles up Schuylkill, a  
mode of fishing not commonly used at this season; a very great  
fresh on the river yesterday, to-day has completely cleared the ice.  
13th, two shad in market, sold at one dollar and fifty cents each.  
14th, river fish plenty and reasonable; no shad to-day.

1816. January 18. Schuylkill Falls bridge fell, having, it is calculated,  
about thirty tons of snow upon it

February 28. First shad in market—sold at one dollar.

1817. January 14. First snow. 16th, the first snow this season to  
cover the ground, fell in Marlsboro' township, Chester county, three  
quarters of an inch deep. 17th, rain and lightning; the Susque-  
hanna frozen the second time this season at Wilkesbarre. 19th,  
river closed.

March 9. River opened.

1818. January 31. River closed.

February 28. The ice in the Delaware gave way a few minutes  
past 2 o'clock.

December. River obstructed by ice.

1819. January 1. River in a fair way to be cleared of the ice which  
has for some time obstructed the navigation. 2d, river in a great

measure freed from ice—weather unusually mild, clear and pleasant—wind west. 4th, river partially open—occasional arrivals and departures. 5th, river free from ice. 6th, do. much obstructed by floating ice from above—weather very mild. 7th, permits vessels to depart. 8th, much obstructed by ice. 9th, filled with ice. 11th, river partially open—some ice until 26th, then free. 25th, no frost for a week past, and what was in the ground dissolved—fire disagreeable at Indiana, Pa.—a snake basking in the sun.

February 12. N. E. snow-storm, continued till dusk, about twelve inches deep. 18th, snow.

October 25. Snow at Lancaster, which whitened the roofs of houses.

December. Entries and clearances through the month.

1820. January 1. Much ice at Reedy Island. 6th, outward vessels got to sea from the Island. 16th, river broke up by a storm. 17th, high tide—wharves overflowed and covered with drifting ice. 20th, first arrival since the 4th. 27th, vessel at Cohanzey could not get up for the ice.

February 4. Bay full of ice. 16th, arrivals.

December. Arrivals and clearances.

1821. January 4. Two vessels in the ice off Bombay Hook—a great deal of ice in the bay. 6th and 7th, snow-storm from the N. E. It began at Philadelphia, 6 o'clock, of from 18 to 24 inches deep; New York, 8 o'clock; Baltimore about noon; Washington, 8 o'clock. 11th, 4 vessels reached Marcus Hook on Sunday. 20th, thermometer at 3° above zero; at the same hour on the 19th, it was 3° below °. 24th, 12° above °, morning, 10 do. 2 P. M. 6 do. sunset, 4° below °, midnight. 25th, maximum in the night 7 below °. At 8 A. M. 6 do. 3 cows frozen to death yesterday near the city—weather very severe. 27th. This was considered the coldest night at Reading ever experienced. Sleighing for the last two weeks.

February 14. The Delaware is completely navigable. Several vessels came up, being the first arrivals since 12th January.

September 15. Steamboats ceased running on account of the ice.

December 19. River quite clear of ice.

1822. January 3. Outward bound fleet left Chester, Marcus Hook, &c. yesterday. Much ice in Ladd's cove. 8th, skating on Schuylkill—vessel driving in the ice.

February 23. Freshet in Schuylkill—Fall's bridge carried over the dam.

December 3. First snow this season at Mauch Chunk. 26th, arrivals.

1823. January 22. The navigation of the Delaware is no longer obstructed by ice—a fresh in the Schuylkill. On yesterday morning the water was 3 feet perpendicular at the over-fall, and by sunset only 21 inches—the ice above the dam remains fast.

October 31. On Saturday last, snow at Wilkesbarre, mountains incased by it—in some places 2 inches deep.

December. -Arrivals.

1824. January. A slight fall of snow covered the pavements. One or two sleighs seen in the streets.

- December. Arrivals through the month.
1825. February 14. A May day. The Delaware as free from ice as in July.
- October 19. Mountains at Gettysburg covered with snow. 25th, Tuesday morning last, the mountains at Chambersburg covered with snow, first time this season. Ten days before the thermometer ranged for several days at 80.
- December 28. Several vessels in the ice, below, notwithstanding, arrivals and clearances.
1826. January. River free from ice—a dense fog. 27th, Pittsburg rivers closed with ice. 30th, the most considerable snow in this city the present winter. Average depth, three or four inches. 31st, river closed.
- February 3. Skating on the Delaware and Schuylkill. 8th, Delaware opened.
- December. Arrivals and clearances.
1827. March 17. Shad in Reading at 75 cents.
- December. Navigation opened all the month.
1828. During the winter the navigation has been uninterrupted. The ice houses were unfilled, and several cargoes of ice arrived, and were sold here from the Eastward during the spring.
- November 14. Slight snow—as also for a few moments a day or two preceding.
- December 24. There has as yet been no ice in the canals to impede navigation, and boats are continually passing to and fro at Reading. 27th, thus far the navigation has remained open—no ice either in Delaware or Schuylkill—skating in small ponds in the cool mornings.

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*The Climate of Philadelphia and adjacent country,*

Has been much investigated by Dr. Benjamin Rush in 1789, and revised in 1805. The facts of which may be consulted at large in Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania, vol. 1, p. 151.

Among his facts are these, to wit: The climate has undergone a material change since the days of the founders—thunder and lightning are less frequent; cold of winters and heat of summers less uniform than they were 40 or 50 years before. The springs are much colder and the autumns more temperate. He thinks the mean temperature may not have changed, but that the climate is altered by heat and cold being less confined than formerly to their natural seasons. He thinks no facts warrant a belief that the winters were colder before the year 1740, than since that time. He observes, that there are seldom more than 20 or 30 days in summer or winter in which the mercury rises above 80° in the former, or falls below 30° in the latter season. The higher the mercury rises in hot days, the lower it usually falls in the night. Thus, when at 80° by day, it falls to 66° at night; or when at only 60° by day, it only falls to 56° at night. The greatest disproportion is most apparent in August. The warmest weather is generally



in July; but intense warm days are often felt in May, June, August, and September. The variability of weather in our State, he observes, lies south of the 41°, and beyond that, the winters are steady, and in character with the eastern and northern States. Our intense cold seldom sets in till about the 20th or 25th of December,—“as the day lengthens the cold strengthens.”—so that the coldest weather is commonly in January. The greatest cold he has known at Philadelphia, was 5° below zero, and the greatest heat 95°. The standard temperature of the city is 52½°. The month of June is the only month which resembles a spring month in the south countries of Europe. The autumn he deems our most agreeable season. The rains in October are the harbingers of the winter, so that, as the Indians also say, the degrees of cold in winter can be foreknown by the measure of rain preceding it in the autumn. The moisture of air is greater now than formerly, owing probably to its now falling in rain, where it before fell in snow. Finally, he says, “We have no two successive years alike. Even the same successive seasons and months differ from each other every year. There is but one steady trait, and that is, it is uniformly variable.”

*Spring and Summer Occurrences,*

Being such notices of facts as were deemed rare for the season at the times affixed in the following memoranda, to wit:

1736. April 22. Hail-storm near the city—hail as large as pigeons' eggs.
1750. May. This is the coldest May ever known. Several frosts, and some snow.
1772. April 2. Fell in several places six inches snow.
1783. May. A heavy hail-storm, believed the heaviest ever known here—did not extend far in width—stones fell of half an ounce—many windows were broken.
1786. May. Remarkable for the absence of the sun for two weeks and a constantly damp or rainy weather.
1788. August 18th and 19th. There fell 7 inches of rain.
1789. This spring remarkably backward—peaches failed—no cherries or strawberries—quite uncomfortable to sit without fires until June.

In July. Very hot weather—by 10 o'clock A. M. the meats in the market putrify, and the city Mayor orders them cast into the river—merchants shut up their stores—thermometer at 96° for several days—in August fires became agreeable.

1793. April 1. Blossoms on fruit trees are universal in the city—birds appeared two weeks earlier than usual.

May 22. To end of the month a continuance of wet and cloudy weather—wind mostly at north-east, and so cool that fire was necessary most of the time—the summer of this year was the “Yellow Fever” calamity.

1796. July 26. The most plentiful harvest remembered.
1797. April 7. The peaches and apricots in blossom.
1799. April 3. Frost last night. 11th. Some ice in the gutters.  
20th. Some ice in the morning.  
June 6. Black and white frost in the Neck.
1801. May 28. Hay harvest near the city.
1802. April. Several frosts this month and in May—fires agreeable.
1803. May 7. Ice—on the 8th, a snow which broke down the poplars and other trees in leaf—on the 15th, a fire was necessary.
1805. Summer—no rain after the middle of June, all through July—heat 90 to 96 degrees—pastures burnt up and summer vegetables failed.
1807. April 3. Snow.  
June 13. Fire necessary.  
August and September. The influenza prevailed.
1809. April 13. The houses covered with snow like winter.  
— 26. Ice as thick as a dollar.  
May 6. Ice. 13th. Grass frozen. 30th. Frost—the coolest May remembered for many years.
1810. April 1. Snow on the ground. 3d. Spits of snow.  
May 13. White frost for several mornings. This year was remarkable for its abundance and excellence of fruits.
1811. July 3. Warm dry weather for some time—Indian corn suffers—a finer dry hay harvest not remembered—between 3d and 9th, hot weather continued from 94 to 97°.
1812. April 13. Snow and rain.  
May 4. Rain and snow. 8th. Frost. 22d. The spring very backward—fires necessary.
1816. June 5. Frost. 10th. So severe as to kill beans. 11th. Severe frosts at Downingstown—destroyed whole fields of corn.
1818. July 22. Monday last rain fell 4 inches.
1824. July 20. Storm of rain and hail at Chester.  
— 28. Unprecedented fall of rain near Philadelphia—doing much damage to bridges, &c.
1825. June 11. Severe heat at 2 o'clock—thermometer at 96° in the shade.
1827. July 20. Peaches, pears and plums in market.

*Indian Summer.*

This was a short season of very fine mild weather, which was formerly much more manifest than of later years. It was expected to occur in the last days of November. It was a bland and genial time, in which the birds, the insects, and the plants, felt a new creation, and sported a short-lived summer, ere they shrunk finally

from the rigour of the winter's blast. The sky in the mean time, was always thinly veiled in a murky haze—intercepting the direct rays of the sun, yet passing enough of light and heat to prevent sensations of gloom or chill.

The aged have given it as their tradition, that the Indians, long aware of such an annual return of pleasant days, were accustomed to say “they always had a second summer of nine days just before the winter set in.” From this cause, it was said, the white inhabitants, in early times, called it the “Indian summer.” It was the favourite time, it was said, of the Indian harvest, when they looked to gather in their corn.

The known amenity of such a season was fixed upon, in olden time, as the fittest time for the great fair at Philadelphia, which opened on the last Wednesday in November, and continued three days; thus insuring, as they conceived, as many good days before and after the term, for good travelling to and from the same. The fair in the last week of May, was also chosen for its known settled weather.

#### *Weather Prognostics.*

A curious old almanac of our country, of the year 1700, gives the following rules for prognosticating the weather, to wit:

The resounding of the sea upon the shore, and the murmur of winds in the woods without apparent wind, shew wind is to follow. A murmur out of caves portendeth the same.

The obscuring of the smaller stars is a sign of tempest. Also, if the stars seem to shoot, winds will come from that quarter the star came from.

The often changing of the wind sheweth tempests.

If two rainbows appear, it will rain. A rainbow presently after rain, denotes fair weather.

If the sky be red in the morning, it is a sure token of winds or rain, or both, because those vapours which cause the redness will presently be resolved.

If the sun or moon look pale, then look for rain. If fair and bright, expect fair weather. If red, winds will come. If a dark cloud be at sun rising, in which the sun is soon after hidden, it will dissolve it, and rain will follow. If there appear a cloud and after vapours are seen to ascend upon it, that portendeth rain. If the sun seem greater in the East than common, it is a sign of rain. If in the West, about sun setting, there appear a black cloud, it will rain that night or the day following, because that cloud will want heat to disperse it.

If mists come down from the hills, or descend from the heavens and settle in the vallies, it promiseth fair hot weather. Mists in the evening show a hot day on the morrow; the like when white mists arise from the waters in the evening.

The circles that appear about the sun, if they be red and broken, it portendeth wind. If thick and dark, it shows winds, snow or rain—which are also presaged by the circles about the moon.

White and ragged clouds appearing like horses manes and tails, foretelleth great winds—even as the sailors long have said, viz.

Shagged clouds—like an old mare's tail,  
Make lofty ships—to carry low sail.

Thunder in the morning, if it be to the south-westward, and the wind be there, denotes, many times, a tempestuous day; also, a rainbow or water gall in the West, denotes a stormy wet day. The "sun dogs" appearing in the morning or evening, is a sign of cold, wet, windy weather—especially in winter time.

To the foregoing we might add, as a weather proverb of long standing and observation in our country, that the 17th and 18th of March have always been periods of memorable time. On the 17th, being St. Patrick's day, "he turns up the warm side of the stone"—indicating warm weather must soon follow; and on the 18th, "Shelah comes draggel tail'd," i. e. brings a wet day. In 1760, however, they concerted to bring together a most tremendous snow-storm. We add the following modern rule as a

#### *Weather Denoter.*

A wet summer is always followed by a frosty winter, but it happens occasionally that the cold extends no farther. Two remarkable instances of this occurred in 1807-8 and 1813-14. With these exceptions every frosty winter has been followed by a cold summer. The true cause of cold, or rather the direct cause, is to be found in the winter excess of west wind, every winter with excess of west wind being followed by a cold summer; and if there is no cold before, or during a first excess, then a second excess of west wind in winter occasions a still colder summer than the first. It also appears, by repeated experience, that cold does not extend to more than two years at a time. Again, if the winter excess of the east wind be great, in the first instance, the winters will be mild, and followed by mild summers; while the summer excess of east wind is itself, in the first instance, always mild; but uniformly followed by cold winters and cold summers, which continue, more or less, for one or two years, according to circumstances.

## MEDICAL SUBJECTS.

To note—the thousand ills  
Which flesh and blood assail.

UNDER this head it is intended to comprise such facts as have come to our knowledge respecting early diseases; to name some of the plants in use as remedies in primitive days; and to cite some facts concerning some of the earliest named physicians.

### *Of Febrile Diseases.*

1687—Phineas Pemberton, in his MSS. states, that a great mortality occurred at the Falls of Delaware, (in 1687) occasioned by “the great land flood and rupture.”

1699—Isaac Norris, sen. left among his papers a record, saying, “About the time of the harvest proved the hottest summer he had ever before experienced. Several persons died in the field with the violence of the heat. In the autumn of the same year the town was visited by a very destructive fever;—he says of it: This is quite the Barbadoes distemper—[i. e. the yellow fever of modern times.] they void and vomit blood. There is not a day nor night has passed for several weeks but we have the account of the death or sickness of some friend or neighbour. It hath been sometimes very sickly; but I never before knew it so mortal as now—nine persons lay dead in one day at the same time—very few recover. All business and trade down. The fall itself was extremely moderate and open.”\* Five of his own family died.

Thomas Story, a public Friend and the Recorder of the city, has also spoken of this calamity in his Journal, as being a scourge which carried off from six to eight of the inhabitants daily, and visiting the most of the families. “Great was the fear (says he) that fell upon all flesh! I saw no lofty or airy countenances, nor heard any vain jesting; but every face gathered paleness, and many hearts were humbled.”

The whole number which died was about 220, of whom about 30 to 90 were of the Society of Friends.

1717—The summer of this year is mentioned in the letter of

\* In a letter of subsequent date he says, that “three years after” the same disease became a scourge at New York, “such as they had never seen before! Some hundreds died and many left the town for many weeks, so that the town was almost left desolate.”

Jonathan Dickinson, as a time in which was "great prevalence of fever and ague in the country parts adjacent to Philadelphia."

1741—The summer of this year is called a time of great sickness in Philadelphia—Vide Secretary Peters' MS. letter to the proprietor, to wit: It was called the "Palatine distemper," because prevailing among the German emigrants, probably from their confinement on shipboard. The inhabitants were much alarmed and fled to country towns and places, and the country people, in equal fear, avoided to visit the city. From June to October, 250 persons died—others of course recovered. Noah Webster, speaking of this sickness, says, after the severe winter the city was severely visited with "the American plague." The same disease Doctor Bond has said was yellow fever, supposed to have been introduced by a load of sick people from Dublin.

1743—Some of it also again prevailed in Philadelphia, says Secretary Peters, while at the same time, just such another disease visited New York, and was there considered as certainly "not imported." Joel Neaves' case, who died of it at Philadelphia, was thus described, "He had a true genuine yellow fever with black vomit and spots, and suppression of urine—all this from overheating himself in a very hot day, by rowing a boat. He also gave it to others about him, and they to others—yet but few of them died."

1747—Noah Webster, in his work on Pestilence, says, "This year the city was again visited by bilious plague", preceded by influenza.

February, 1748, is said by said Peters' letters, was a time of great mortality in all the provinces; it was called "the Epidemic Pleurisy." It thinned the country so much that it was said that servants, to fill the places of others in town and country, were bought in great numbers as fast as they arrived. The Indians were afraid to come to a treaty by reason of the sickness. It stopt suddenly before the summer came.

1754—I perceive by the Gazettes that there were many deaths by reason of the "Dutch distemper."

1755—It had often happened that the servants coming from Germany and Holland, after being purchased, communicated a very malignant fever to whole families and neighbourhoods, where they went. It was of such frequent occurrence as to be called in the Gazettes the "Dutch distemper." This year I find it stated, that it is now settled "to be precisely the disease known as the "gaol fever."

#### *Of Smallpox.*

This loathsome and appalling disease was of much more peril to our forefathers, than to us in our better management now; to the poor Indians it was terrific and destructive.

The happy art of inoculation was first practised in Philadelphia

in the year 1731; and the first person of note, who then devoted himself as a forlorn hope for the purpose of example, was J. Growden, Esq. The circumstance, with his character in life as a public officer in high standing, made his house a place of after-notoriety, and is the same venerable and respectable looking building (when you can see it!) now in the rear of some two or three small houses, since put up in south Fourth street *vis a vis* to the first alley below High street. It was then a dignified two story large house with a rural court yard in front.

The terror of inoculation was not such in Philadelphia at any time, as seized upon our brethren of New England, and of Boston in particular, in 1721, when their doctor, Z. Boylston, had his life menaced, his person assaulted in the streets, and loaded with execrations for having dared with scientific hardihood to inoculate his only son and two of his negroes.\* Even sober, pious people were not wanting there to regard it as an act of constructive murder, in case the patient died.

We also had had our public attempts, growing out of the above facts, to forestall the public mind, and to create a religious prejudice against the attempt at inoculation. Our Weekly Mercury of 1st January, 1722, contains the sermon of the Rev. Mr. Masley, who preached and published against the inoculation of the smallpox, which he calls an unjustifiable art, an infliction of an evil, and a distrust of God's overruling care to procure us a possible future good!

Under such circumstances it became a cause of some triumph in Philadelphia to publicly announce the success of the experiment on J. Growden, Esq. made in the Gazette of March, 1731, to wit: "The practice of inoculation for the smallpox begins to grow among us. J. Growden, Esq. the first patient of note that led the way, is now upon the recovery!"

1701—Is the first mentioned occurrence of smallpox in the city of Philadelphia. In that year one of the letters in the Logan MSS. says "the smallpox was very mortal and general." As early as 1682 the vessel that brought out William Penn had the smallpox on board, which proved fatal to many while at sea.

1726—A ship from Bristol, England, with passengers, had many down with the smallpox, but they, with George Warner the informant, being landed at the Swedes' church below the town, and conducted through the woods to the "blue house tavern," out South street, all got well without communicating to the inhabitants of the city.

1730—Was called the "great mortality from the smallpox." That year there died of it, George Claypole and his five children. He was a lineal descendant from the Lord General Claypole, who

\* This was the same year it was first attempted in England, after the Turkish manner, upon the daughter of the celebrated Lady Montague.

married Cromwell's daughter. His wife Deborah lived to be upwards of 90 years of age. Vide Logan MSS.

1736-7—There are some evidences of the progress of inoculation—for the Gazettes thus state the fact, to wit: From the fall of 1736 to the spring of 1737, there have been 129 persons inoculated, viz.

|                                    |             |
|------------------------------------|-------------|
| Of whites—men and women            | 33 persons, |
| — under 12 years of age            | 64          |
| Of mulattoes . . . . .             | 4           |
| Of negroes, young and old, . . . . | 28          |

Only one child died among all of the foregoing 129! The above account was framed from the then physicians of that day, to wit: Doctors Kearsley, Zachary, Hooper, Cadwallader, Shippen, Bond, and Sommers—they being the only physicians who inoculated. Doctor Græme had then no share in it, being himself confined with illness the whole time the disease was in town.

1746—Even at this late period religious scruples against the smallpox had not subsided; for I see in a MS. journal of John Smith, Esq. (son-in-law of James Logan,) that he thus intimates his disapprobation of the measure, to wit: “Two or three persons (in one month) have the smallpox, having got it at New York. Inoculation he dislikes, because it seems clear to him that we who are only tenants, have no right to pull down the house that belongs only to the landlord who built it!”

It was probably about this period of time that Thomas Jefferson—say about 1760—came to Philadelphia on purpose to get inoculated for the smallpox, and was placed in a cottage house back from the city, near to the Schuylkill. It was then that Charles Thomson first became acquainted with him; and from him I derive this fact.

Samuel Preston, Esq. an aged gentleman, has given me some ideas of the fatality of the smallpox among the Indians in Bucks county. It got among the Indians settled at Ingham spring, and as they used sweating for it, it proved fatal. Several of the Indians, as they had never heard of the disease, thought it was sent by the whites for their ruin. Such as survived abandoned the place. Tedeuscung, the Delaware Chief, was among the latter.

#### *Of Plants used for Medicine.*

In the olden time the practice of medicine and the dependence of the people upon physicians in cases of ordinary sickness, were essentially different from the present. Physicians then were at greater expense for their education, with less compensation for services, than now. Then, all accredited physicians were accustomed to go to England or Scotland to prepare themselves. The people were much accustomed to the use of plants and herbs in cases of sickness; and their chief resort to physicians was in calls of surgery or difficult cases of childbirth. As the druggist shops have



since increased in drugs and mineral preparations, the use of herbs and roots have more and more declined. We have indeed since then brought the study of the names of plants into great repute under the imposing character of botanical lectures, but the virtue and properties are too often abandoned for a mere classification of un-instructive names. In that day, every physician's house was his own drug shop, at which all his patients obtained their medicine.

I have formerly seen aged persons, not possessing more than the ordinary knowledge of plants for family medicines, who could tell me, in a walk through the woods or fields, the medicinal uses of almost every shrub or weed we passed. It was indeed grateful to me to perceive that nothing around us seemed made in vain!

“ Let no presuming impious railer tax  
Creative wisdom, as if aught was form'd  
In vain, or not for admirable ends.”

Thus, in the commons, the Jamestown weed was used, by smoking it in a pipe, for the asthma; the pokeberries, when ripe, and the juice dried in the sun, as a plaster of great virtue for the cancer; sour dock root, made an ointment for itch and tetter; burdock leaves, made drafts for the feet, to reduce and allay fevers,—tea from it was made into a wholesome tonic—the roots were also used; the plant everlasting, much approved for poultices in drawing swellings to a head; mullein was made a steam vapour to set over in cases of bowel diseases; motherwort, was used in childbirth cases; catmint tea, was used for colic; a vine which grows among field strawberries, called cinque-foil, was used as a *tesan* for fevers; blackberry roots and berries were used for dysenteries.

In the woods they also found medicines; much of which knowledge was derived from the Indians, as G. Thomas, 1689, says “there are also many curious and excellent herbs, roots and drags of great virtue, which makes the Indians, by a right application of them, as able doctors and surgeons as any in Europe.” The inner bark of the oak and of the wild cherry tree were their tonics. Sassafras roots and flowers were used as purifiers and thinners of the blood. They used the leaves of the beech tree for steeping the feet in hot water. Grapevine sap they used to make the hair grow. Of the dogwood tree (its flowers or bark) they made a great cure for dysentery. The magnolia leaf they used as a tea to produce sweat; the berries put into brandy cured consumptions, and was a good bitter; the bark of it was used for dysenteries; it could cure old sores, by burning the wood to charcoal and mixing the powder of it with hog's lard. They used the root of the bayberry bush to cure the toothach. The cedar tree berries were used as a tonic—to strengthen a weak spine—to destroy worms, &c. Golden-rod was deemed excellent for dysentery. Boneset, used for consumption and for agues; sweet fern for bowel complaints; pennyroyal, excellent to produce sweats for colds; dittany, for cure of a fever; alder buds;

made a tea for purging the blood; elder berries was used for purges, and the inner bark to make ointment for burns and sores. It is needless to hint at even a few of the numerous plants cultivated in gardens and laid up in store against family illness.\* Many are still known. It may suffice to say in conclusion, that they regarded the whole kingdom of vegetation as appointed for "the healing of the nations." It would be a most commendable adjunct of botany, if to present exterior and superficial classification of plants, they would investigate and affix their uses and virtues.

### *Of Physicians.*

Those who came first among us in primitive days were generally from Great Britain. The names and characters of those we can occasionally see in the passing events of their day, may be generally summed up in the following brief recital, to wit:

Thomas Wynn, an eminent Welsh physician, who had practised medicine several years with high reputation in London, and his brother, came to this country in 1682 with the original settlers, located themselves in Philadelphia, and were the earliest physicians of the city. Dr. Griffith Owen arrived in the prime of life, and is said to have done the principal medical business in the city, where he was highly distinguished for his talents, integrity and zeal. He died in 1717, about the age of 70 years, and left a son who practised some time after his father's death.† Dr. Græme came from Great Britain with the Governor, Sir William Keith, in the year 1717. He was about 30 years of age when he arrived, had an excellent education and agreeable manners, was therefore much employed as a practitioner, and greatly confided in by his fellow citizens. Dr. Loyd Zachary probably commenced the practice of medicine between 1720 and 1730, and died in the year 1756, in the meridian of life, greatly and most deservedly lamented. He was one of the founders of, and a very liberal contributor to, both the college and the hospital. Dr. Kearsley, Sen. was for many years a very industrious practitioner both in medicine and surgery. He was not deficient in public spirit. The public are more indebted to him than to any other man for that respectable edifice Christ Church; and by will he founded and endowed a hospital for poor widows. He educated Dr. John Redman, and Dr. John Bard, of New York. This eminent physician Dr. John Kearsley, had been so very popular in the Assembly, that on several occasions he has been borne home from the hall on the shoulders of the people; he died in 1772, at the age of 88 years, having been in the city since the year 1711—happily dying just three years before he could witness the outrage offered to his respectable nephew Dr. John Kearsley, who was ob-

\* It was an annual concern of the ladies of the family at Norris' garden in Philadelphia, to dry and lay up various herbs for medical purposes, to be given away to the many who called for them.

† Dr. Wynn also left a son-in-law, Dr. Jones, who enjoyed considerable repute as a physician. Doctors Wynn and Owen were of the Society of Friends; the former was Speaker of the Assembly. To their names might have been added Dr. John Goodson, chirurgion, who was in the city at and before the year 1700. He was also of the Society of Friends—also Dr. Hodgson.

noxious as a tory in 1775. Dr. Cadwallader Evans was one of the first pupils of Dr. Thomas Bond, and completed his medical education in England. He was descended from a much venerated early settler, and had a great share of public spirit as well as of professional worth. In 1769 some observations appeared in the *Gentlemen's Magazine*, of London, from Dr. Kearsley, Jun. of Philadelphia, relative to *angina maligna*, which prevailed in 1746 and 1760. "It extended," says the author, "through the neighbouring provinces with mortal rage, in opposition to the united endeavours of the faculty. It swept off all before it, baffling every attempt to stop its progress, and seemed by its dire effects to be more like the drawn sword of vengeance to stop the growth of the colonies, than the natural progress of disease. Villages were almost depopulated, and numerous parents were left to bewail the loss of their tender offspring." An essay on the iliac passion, by Dr. Thomas Cadwallader, a respectable physician in Philadelphia, appeared in the year 1740, in which the author opposes with considerable talent and learning the then common mode of treating that disease. This was one of the earliest publications on a medical subject in America. Dr. Thomas Bond, about 1754, was author of some useful medical memoirs, which were published in a periodical work in London. Phineas Bond, M. D. a younger brother of Thomas Bond, after studying medicine some time in Maryland, visited Europe, and passed a considerable time at the medical schools of Leyden, Paris, London, and Edinburg. On his return he settled in Philadelphia, where he enjoyed a high reputation for many years. He was one of the founders of the college, now the University of Pennsylvania. About the middle of the 18th century Dr. Thomson published a discourse on the preparation of the body for the reception of the smallpox, and the manner of receiving the infection, as it was delivered in the public hall of the Academy before the trustees and others in November, 1750. This production was highly applauded both in America and Europe, as at that period the practice of inoculation was on the decline. The author states that inoculation was so unsuccessful at Philadelphia that many were disposed to abandon the practice; wherefore, upon the suggestion of the 1392d aphorism of Boerhave, he was led to prepare his patients by a composition of antimony and mercury, which he had constantly employed for twelve years with uninterrupted success.

"It was reserved for the accomplished Dr. William Shippen, and Dr. John Morgan,\* to construct a permanent foundation for the medical institutions of our country. Both these gentlemen were natives of Philadelphia, and after receiving the usual preparatory course of instruction,

\*Dr. Morgan was educated by the Rev. Mr. Finley at his school at Nottingham, and finished his studies in the Philadelphia Academy, having studied with Dr. Redman he went into the provincial army a short time in the French war. In 1760 he visited Europe generally, where he mixed much with the scientific men in London, Edinburg, Paris and Italy. On his return home he was regarded as something extra among the people, and as having perhaps some of the "excentricities of genius." The aged citizens still remember him as the first man who ventured to carry a silk umbrella—a scouted effeminacy then!—and also as an innovator in first introducing the practice of sending to the apothecary for all the medicine wanted for the sick! With Dr. Morgan was joined Dr. Chancellor and Parson Duche, making then a rare trio, in forcing the use of sun umbrellas upon the town! Dr. Rush has said, "the historian who shall hereafter relate the progress of medical science in America, will be deficient in candour and justice, if he does not connect the name of Dr. Morgan with that auspicious era in which medicine was first taught and studied as a science in this country."

repaired to Europe to complete a scientific education. Here they enjoyed ample means of qualifying themselves for the great duties of professors and teachers. Accordingly in 1762 Dr. Shippen commenced a course of lectures on Anatomy and Midwifery, accompanied by dissections, to a class of ten students; and this was the first systematic course of lectures on medical subjects ever delivered in America, if we except those delivered at New Port in 1756, by Dr. Hunter. In 1765 Dr. Morgan returned from Europe, and was appointed professor of the Institutes of Medicine, and Dr. Shippen the professor of Anatomy; they were the only professors of this new institution until 1768, when Dr. Kuhn was elected professor of Botany; in the following year Dr. Benjamin Rush was chosen professor of Chymistry. These learned characters, assisted by the venerable Thomas Bond, as lecturer on Clinical Medicine, zealously devoted their talents to the duties of the several departments of medical instruction. This first medical school in the American colonies was soon after confirmed and established by the authority of the Trustees of the College of Philadelphia, while Dr. Franklin officiated as their president. The Philadelphia Dispensary for the medical relief of the poor, the first institution of its kind in the United States, was founded in 1786. The College of Physicians of Philadelphia was established in 1787, and the labours of the professors commenced under circumstances eminently auspicious to the improvement of medical science; an unfortunate competition and discord, however, between the medical college and an opposition school, for a time marred their prospects and impeded that useful progress which the friends of the institution and the public had confidently expected. But in 1790 some important changes took place, and a harmonious union of the contending parties was effected. Dr. Rush was appointed professor of the Institutes and Practice of Physic, and of Clinical Medicine. From this period, the progress and improvement of the institution have been no less honourable to the venerable founders, than beneficial to the community. The commanding talents, and profound erudition of Professors Rush, Wistar, Barton, Physic, Dorsey, Chapman, and others, have given the medical school of Philadelphia a celebrity which will probably long remain unrivalled in the United States, and will enable it to vie with the most elevated seminaries of the European world. It has become the resort of students from every section of our united confederacy. Five hundred, in some seasons, have attended the various courses of lectures, and the inaugural dissertations of those who from time to time received its honours, have extended the fame of the school from which they have emanated. At the commencement in June, 1771, the degree of A. B. was conferred on 7, and the degree of M. D. on 4 candidates. Such has been the prosperity of this medical institution, the first founded in our country, that from the most accurate calculation that can be made, it is computed that between 7 and 8000 young men have received instruction within its walls since its establishment; and from this source the remotest parts of our union have been furnished with learned physicians, who are ornaments to their profession. During the four months attendance on the lectures, the class expends not less than \$200,000 in the city of Philadelphia.

As Dr. Wm. Shippen was the first public lecturer in Philadelphia, having commenced his anatomical lectures there in the year

1762, and thus leading the van in an enterprise which has become so eminently successful to others in subsequent years, it may be curious now to learn the means by which he became qualified to be such a leader—told in all the frank simplicity and naïveté of a father (himself a physician,) sending forth his son an adventurer for knowledge abroad, and as a candidate for future usefulness and fame at home. The letters and MS. papers of the father having been under my inspection, I have gleaned as follows, to wit :

In September, 1758, Dr. William Shippen, Sen. writes to several persons in England to speak of his son William, whom he then sends to London and France to perfect him in the medical art. "My son (says he,) has had his education in the best college in this part of the country, and has been studying physic with me, besides which he has had the opportunity of seeing the practice of every gentleman of note in our city. But for want of that variety of operations and those frequent dissections which are common in older countries, I must send him to Europe. His scheme is to gain all the knowledge he can in anatomy, physic, and surgery. He will stay in London for the winter, and shall attend Mr. Hunter's anatomical lectures and private dissections, injections, &c. and at the same time go through a course of midwifery with Dr. Smelly; also enter a pupil in Gay's Hospital. As soon as the season is over he may go over to France and live with Dr. Leese in Ruan, and there study physic until he can pass an examination and take a degree. Then he may return to London, revisit the hospitals, and come home." At the same time his good father does not forget "that better part," and earnestly commends his son to the spiritual guidance and oversight of his beloved friend the Rev. George Whitefield.

Under such auspices, Dr. Wm. Shippen, Jun. was enabled to return to his country a doctor indeed, and ably qualified by his teaching to raise a school of eminent pupils in the healing art. He directed his chief attention to the department of anatomy. His first public advertisement reads thus, viz. "Dr. Wm. Shippen's anatomical lectures will begin to-morrow evening at his father's house in Fourth street. Tickets for the course at five pistoles each. Gentlemen who incline to see the subject prepared for the lectures, and to learn the art of dissecting, injecting, &c. are to pay five pistoles additional."

Thus the lectures were begun in a private house in the year 1762 with only ten students. But he lived to enlarge his theatre—to address a class of 250 persons, and to see medical lectures diffused into five branches—and Edinburgh itself rivalled here at home! He died at Germantown in 1808, and was succeeded by Dr. Wistar.

Who now knows the locality of this first lecture room! Or does any body care to transfer their respect for the man, to the place where he began his career! It was on the premises now Yohe's Hotel, in north Fourth street, a little above High street—then sufficiently

out of town, with a long back yard leading to the alley opening out upon High street along the side of Warner's bookstore—by this they favoured the ingress and egress of students in the shades of night. It was at first a terrific and appalling school to the good citizens. It was expected to fill the peaceful town with disquieted ghosts—mobbing was talked of, and not a little dreaded. It was therefore pretended that they contented themselves with the few criminal subjects they could procure; which was further countenanced by a published permission to him, by authority, to take the bodies of suicides. As the dead tell no tales the excitement of the day subsided, and the affair was dropt in general parlance,—save among the boys, with whom it lingered long—

“And awful stories chain'd the wondering ear!  
Or fancy-led, at midnight's fearful hour  
With startling step we saw the dreaded corse!”

The tales had not subsided when I was a boy, when for want of facts we surmised them. The lonely desolate house is yet standing by the stone bridge over the Cohocksinc, on north Third street, which all the boys of Philadelphia deemed the receptacle of dead bodies, where their flesh was boiled, and their bones burnt down for the use of the faculty! The proofs were apparent enough:—It was always shut up—showed no out-door labourers—was by a constant stream of running water to wash off remains—had “No Admittance,” for ever grimly forbidding, at the door: and from the great chimney about once a fortnight issued great volumes of black smoke, filling the atmosphere all the country round with a most noisome odour—offensive and deadly as yawning graves themselves! Does nobody remember this! Have none since smiled in their manhood to find it was a place for boiling oil and making hartshorn—took thus far out of town to save the delicate sensations of the citizens, by the considerate owner Christopher Marshall! The whole mysteries of the place, and the supposed doings of the doctors, was cause enough for ghost's complaints like these:

“The body-snatchers they have come  
And made a snatch at me;  
It's very hard them kind of men  
Won't let a body be!  
Don't go to weep upon my grave  
And think that there I be;  
They hav'nt left an atom there  
Of my anatomie!”

But more certain discoveries were afterwards made at Dr. Shippen's anatomical theatre in his yard. Time, which demolishes all things, brought at last all his buildings under the fitful change of fashion “to pull down and build greater,”—when in digging up the yard for cellar foundations, they were surprised to find a graveyard and its materials, not in any record of the city!—a thing in

itself as perplexing to the moderns who beheld the bones, as it had been before the trouble of the ancients!

In 1765, it is publicly announced that "Dr. John Morgan, Professor of Medicine in the College of Philadelphia, is to join Dr. William Shippen, jun. in delivering lectures. Dr. Shippen to lecture on Anatomy and Dr. Morgan on the *Materia Medica*." Thus forming the first combination of lectures in Philadelphia, and indeed in the then colonies,—a precedence to which Philadelphia still owes her renown in medical science.

In 1768, the name of Dr. Bond is also publicly announced as to lecture on Clinical practice, and Dr. Kuhn on the *Materia Medica*—being so much added by the college to the two former lectures.

In 1769, Dr. Benjamin Rush is made Professor of Chymistry to the college, and at the same time Thomas Penn, Esq. makes a present of a complete chymical apparatus.

In looking back through the "long vista of years that have fled," the memory and the fancy can re-create the imagery of some of the men and things that were. My friend Laug Syne, whose imagination is lively, and his pen picturesque, has portrayed the remembered physicians of his youthful day, in a manner which may gratify those who are not wholly absorbed in their own contemplations, to wit:

One of the earliest, and one of the most vivid recollections in this city, by the reminiscent, is of the person of old Dr. Chevat, living at the time, directly opposite the (now) white swan, in Race, above Third street. He it was, who by his genius, professional skill and perseverance, finally perfected those wonderful (at the time) anatomical preparations in wax, which, since his death, have been in possession of the Pennsylvania Hospital. These anatomical preparations, the very sight of which is calculated to fill the mind with solemn awe, while beholding not only the streets, but the lanes, alleys and inner chambers of the *microcosm* or little world of man, was beheld by the writer only some few years since, forcing back upon the memory the once aged appearance of the doctor, contrasted with the exertions made by him, and apparent to every one who beheld him, to appear active and sprightly in business, cleaving, as it were, to his "last sand." This aged gentleman and physician was almost daily to be seen pushing his way in spite of his feebleness, in a kind of hasty walk or rather shuffle; his aged head, and straight white hair, bowed and hanging forward beyond the cape of his black old-fashioned coat, mounted by a small cocked hat, closely turned upon the crown upwards behind, but projectingly, and out of all proportion, cocked before and seemingly the impelling cause of his anxious forward movements; his aged lips closely compressed (*sans teeth*) together, were in continual motion, as though he were munching somewhat all the while; his golden headed Indian cane, not used for his support, but dangling by a knotted black silken string from his wrist; the ferrule of his cane and the heels of his capacious shoes, well lined in winter time with thick woollen cloth might be heard jingling and scraping the pavement at every step; he seemed on the street always as one hastening as fast as his aged limbs

would permit him, to some patient, dangerously ill, without looking at any one, passing him to the right or left; he was always spoken of as possessing much sarcastic wit; and also, for using expletives in his common conversation, in the opinion of those who spoke on the subject, to be neither useful nor ornamental.

An anecdote, strikingly illustrative of the latter, might here be given of the doctor, and a member of the Society of Friends, who had lent him his great coat to shelter him on his way home, from the then falling rain. The coat was loaned by the Friend to the doctor, with a moral condition annexed; which upon the return of the coat, he declared he had religiously performed.—adding, in facetious vein, a supplemental remark to the Friend, descriptive of an unusual propensity he found himself to be labouring under, during the whole time he had been enveloped in a plain coat—having so said and done, they separated on the most friendly terms, with a hearty laugh on both sides.—Does none remember?

Dr. Thomas Say, lived in Moravian, (now Bread street) on the west side, near Arch street.—Having to pass that way frequently to school, his person became very familiar. In fair weather, he was to be seen, almost daily, standing, dressed in a light drab suit, with his arms gently folded, and leaning with one shoulder against the cheek of the door, for the support evidently of his rather tall and slender frame—now weakened by age. He was the same Dr. Thomas Say, who, many years before, had been in a trance, of three days' continuance; during which time, (whether in the body or out of the body, he could not tell) he beheld many wonderful matters, as is fully detailed in the "Life of Thomas Say," now extant, and written by his son Benjamin, deceased. He was of fair complexion; and his thinly spread hair, of the silvery white, slightly curled over, and behind the ears—in appearance very venerable, in his speech and manner, mild and amiable—as is well remembered concerning him, while he stood one day affectionately admonishing some boys, who had gazed perhaps too rudely at the aged man, of whom they had heard, probably, that he had seen a vision. He mildly advised them to pass on their way—pressing at the same time, and with lasting effect, upon the mind of one of them, never to stare (said he) at strangers, and aged men.

The next aged physician of the Old School, was Dr. Redman, who lived next door to Dr. Ustick's Baptist meeting-house, in Second near Arch street. The doctor had retired from practice altogether, and was known to the public eye as an antiquated looking old gentleman, usually habited in a broad skirted dark coat, with long pocket flaps, buttoned across his under dress; wearing in strict conformity with the cut of the coat, a pair of Baron Steuben's military shaped boots, coming above the knees, for riding; his hat flapped before, and cocked up smartly behind, covering a full bottomed powdered wig—in the front of which might be seen, an eagle pointed nose, separating a pair of piercing black eyes—his lips, exhibiting (but only now and then) a quick motion, as though at the moment, he was endeavouring to extract the essence of a small quid. As thus described, in habit and in person, he was to be seen almost daily, in fair weather, mounted on a short, flat, black, switch-tailed horse, and riding for his amusement and exercise, in a brisk rackling canter, about the streets and suburbs of the city.



He was so well known, that in his rambles about the town, on foot, he would step in, without ceremony, at the first public office which presented itself to his view, and upon his seeing any vacant desk or writing table, set himself down, with a pleasant nod to some one present, and begin writing his letter or memorandum. One day, while thus occupied in his writing, he was suddenly addressed by a very forward presuming person, who wanted of him some medical advice gratis. Finding himself thus interrupted, he lifted the corner of his wig, as usual, and desired the person to repeat his question, which he did, loudly, as follows:— Doctor! what would you advise, as the best thing, for a pain in the breast? The wig having dropped to its proper place, the doctor, after a seemingly profound study for a moment on the subject, replied—Oh! ay—I will tell you my good friend—the very best thing I could advise you to do for a pain in the breast is to—consult your physician!

These three veterans of the city, in the science and practice of medicine in the time of the colonies—like three remaining apples, separate and lonely upon the uppermost bough of a leafless tree, were finally shaken to the ground, by the unrelenting wind of death, and gathered to the “narrow house,”—as very readily surmised by the reader no doubt.

My friend Mr. P. another Philadelphian, long residing in New York, has also communicated his reminiscences of some of the Philadelphia faculty, as they stood impressed upon his boyish judgment and feelings, which I shall add, to wit:

I wish to mention the names of a few physicians in my day:—Dr. William Shippen, sen. resided, when he left off practice, in Germantown; at the age of 90, he would ride in and out of the city, on horseback, full gallop, without an over-coat, in the coldest weather. Dr. Thomas Bond died in 1784, always rode in a small phaeton; resided in Second, near Norris' alley. Dr. Redman resided near the Baptist Meeting, in Second street; a small black filly had the honour to carry the doctor on his visits and would await his return at the door of the patient; the doctor would sometimes kindly lend his creature, but she was sure to throw the rider. Dr. Chevat, a most eccentric man, full of anecdote, and noted for his propensity for what is now termed quizzing, resided in Race, above Third street. The doctor was what was termed a tory; was licensed to say and do what he pleased, at which no one took umbrage. He one day entered the old Coffee-house, corner of Market and Front streets, with an open letter in his hand; it was 12 o'clock; change hour; the merchants all assembled. On seeing the doctor, they surrounded him, inquiring what news he had in that letter, which he stated he had just received by a king's ship arrived at New York. In reply to the inquiry, he said that the letter contained information of the death of an old cobbler in London, who had his stall in one of the by-streets, and asked the gentlemen what they supposed the cobbler had died worth? One said 5000£. another 10,000£. and another 20,000£. sterling. No, gentlemen, no, you are all mistaken. Not one farthing, gentlemen; running out, laughing at the joke at the expense of the collected mercantile wisdom of the city. Another time, having been sent for by the Spanish minister, Don Juan, (I forget his name) who resided in old Mr. Chew's house, in Third, between Walnut and Spruce streets, the weather being

rather unpleasant, the ambassador ordered his carriage to the door to convey the doctor home—the doctor, full of fun and joke, directed the coachman to drive by the Coffee-house; which, as he approached, was perceived by the merchants, who immediately drew up in order, hats off, to pay their respects to Don, as minister from a friendly power—the doctor kept himself close back in the carriage until directly opposite the Coffee-house; the gentlemen all bowing and scraping, when he pops out his head—good morning, gentlemen, good morning; I hope you are all well; thank you, in the name of his majesty, king George, and drove off, laughing heartily at having again joked with the Philadelphia whigs.

The few physicians mentioned in the preceding notices as having their pacing nags, or a little wheeled vehicle, are intended as rarities among the profession. It was only an indulgence awarded to the aged and infirm to submit to motive assistance. Any young man resorting to it, would have endangered his reputation and practice. Dr. Rush has told his friends how often he visited Kensington on foot to serve poor sick persons, from whom he expected nothing directly, but by the fame of which, in his successful practice in their behalf, he indirectly was rewarded with his future choice of practice there.\* It was not only to walk far for smaller reward, but the time was before the fashion of umbrellas and boots, that they had to wade through unpaved lanes and alleys without defence against storms of rain, hail, or snow! As if it were inferred that men who professed to heal all maladies, should themselves be invulnerable to the assaults of disease.

In extreme olden time, occasional indulgence was enjoyed by the faculty, under an oiled linen hat-cover, and a large shoulder-cape of like material called a roquelaure—it was intended as a kind of storm-shed, to shield the upper works only.† Wet feet or drenched lower limbs with the then hardy sons of Esculapius, were nothing!—or if regarded, it was only as the Indians feel for feeble children—by concluding that those who could not encounter the necessary exposures of the hunter's life, were not worth the keeping.

In tracing some of the leading features of our domestic history of medicine, there is one modern and modish change of practice, which has almost subverted all former scruples of sex, and given a large accession of business to the faculty. We mean the transfer of midwifery from the hands of the grandames to professional men. This very thing shows the powerful ascendancy of custom. The same ladies are still living who once, in all cases short of the extremities of death, would have resisted the approach of the

\* The very residence of such a man as Dr. Rush, shows by its locality how little they regarded horses or stabling them—it being a bank-house on the east side of Front street, above Walnut. It was long a fashionable location for a physician or gentleman, although it had not one foot of yard.

† Old Mrs. Shoemaker, who saw them in use, said ministers also used them. It hooked round the neck and descended to the loins—loose as a cloak all round.

man-midwife—yet came at length to submit themselves to that assistance. Its introduction as a practice (prevalent as it now is) came into use only since the year 1790. This new measure was deemed in necessary accordance with our new notions of foreign luxuries—in furniture, equipage and dress, and from the same causes, to wit: the greatly increased ability to pay for whatever was deemed modish and novel. The innovation being once adopted in high life, soon “infected downward all the graduated scale,” till, finally, the whole service is engrossed by obstetric professors.

Before this era, the crisis of all our mothers, and the hopes of all our forefathers, was committed to “female women,” who, if they had not the science of their successors, had a potent and ready assistant in dame nature, (for reason as we will—facts are stubborn things) and it must be conceded, that the issue, in such hands, was equally satisfactory to all concerned.

Now the gentlemen of the profession, always men of influence and character, are known in every street and public hall; but then there was a kind of mysterious concealment of the good grandame, that made her, when rarely seen or spoken of among the younger members of a family, a being of some nondescript relation—something *sui-generis*, and as mysterious in her visits or goings abroad as her occupation itself. Some of their names and persons pass in review while we write, but we are aware that they are things not to be expatiated upon with the present generation. But as the office and the service was worthy, they had their esteem in days of “Lang Syne”—even to published elegiac praise. On the 6th of January, 1729–30, was published in the Gazette, the decease of such a useful matron, to wit: “Yesterday died Mary Broadway, aged 100 years—a noted midwife—her constitution wore well to the last, and she could read without spectacles.” On this worthy woman was afterwards published an elegy, which in a short time went through two editions. Who now can show it! Perchance from the muse of Aquila Rose, or from the poet Keimer! With that loss, we have also to deplore the extinction of the first published medical tract in our annals—an essay of the year 1740, by Dr. Thomas Cadwallader, on the iliac passion! But a more modern grandame drawn to my hand may close this notice, to wit: “At Second and Dock streets I would remember the house once occupied by Mrs. Lydia Darrach, a whig of the Revolution,\* who assisted in increasing the census of the city more than any other lady of her profession.” Finally, if they thus differed in the services afforded to our mothers, our mothers also in turn as much differed in their former mode of assisting the little strangers, by means called killing, by the moderns, maugre all which, we stouted it out and lived! “The babe then must be straitly rolled round the waist with a linen swathe and loaded with clothes until it could

\* Her generous whiggism may be found told under the chapter on the war of Independence.

scarcely breathe, and when unwell or fretful was dosed with spirit and water stewed with spicery. The mother in the meantime was refreshed with rum either buttered or made into hot tiff!\*\*\* In all this the initiated sufficiently know the marked dissimilar views and practice now!

With the increase of luxuries have come in the indolent habits of repose and table indulgencies—creating a new disease quite unknown to our robust ancestors. They had never heard of the present modish name “Dyspepsia.” Indigestion, if it troubled them after occasional excess in lanqueting, was quickly cast off by the stout efforts of dame nature. Men and maidens then walked much more than they rode, and pursued active employments quite as much as they read. They had not then learned to cloy themselves with the varieties of the restorateur’s art:—French stimulants were unknown. Even the sedentary habits of study were then unafflicted, and the idea of a “disease of genius,” now so called, had never been placed to the maladies of professional men.

#### *Of the Calamities of the Profession.*

A few words may be added, because exemption from error or injustice is not the lot of humanity. An annalist, without ill-nature, may tell all.

The name of Dr. E. J. chymist, has not been previously introduced to the notice of the reader as among the preceding roll, his being an exempt case, and himself *un enfant perdu*. He had the misfortune greatly to overplay his part in a case of intended merriment, which set the whole town in commotion and indignation. The circumstances are strange:—In the year 1737 an apprentice lad living with the said Dr. J. had expressed a desire to be initiated into the mysteries of masonry. The Dr. and some of his friends affected to become operators, with a design to make their sport of his simplicity and credulity. He was blindfolded, and was to say certain profane words to the devil. They then administered to him a cup, which some said was in imitation of a sacrament, in which was a strong dose of physic. Being led to kiss a book to swear upon, he was made to kiss a substitute, intended to much increase the rude sport of the company. Then spirits was set on fire, having a deposit of salt, intended to cause the appearance called Snap Dragon, which gives to every face near it the pale hue of death.† The lad was here uncovered so as to see them, but not being terrified, as they expected or wished, although one of the company was clothed in a cow’s hide and horns, Dr. J. as if infatuated with his mischievous fancies, actually cast the pan of remaining burning spirits upon the poor lad’s bosom! This fatal

\* Memoirs Historical Society—vol. 1, p. 290.

† Hanks in his late expose of masonry, says he saw this thing practised in his lodge in Virginia.

revel terminated in the death of the young man—for after languishing three days in delirium he died. The facts thus lengthened by the proofs in the case, have been told as they appeared in substance at the trial—for the act being a felony in its nature, caused the arrest of the doctor, and his distress in his turn. As he and his companions were withal Free Masons, it brought reproach upon the fraternity. They had therefore to repel it by holding a special meeting, and publicly expressing their abhorrence of the act. On this occasion an article appeared in the *Mercury* of 1737–8, against Benjamin Franklin, who was privy to some of the affair, and his vindication is given in his paper, No. 479, entirely exculpating himself.

At the era of the Revolution Dr. John Kearsley, although otherwise a citizen of good character and standing, became exposed to the scoffs and insults of the people, by his ardent loyalism: being naturally impetuous in his temper, he gave much unbrage to the whigs of the day by his rash expressions. It was intended therefore to sober his feelings by the argument of “tar and feathers.” He was seized at mid-day at his own door in Front a little below High street, by a party of the militia, and in his attempt to resist them he received a bayonet wound in his hand. Mr. Graydon, a bystander, has told the sequel. He was forced into a cart, and amidst a multitude of boys and idlers, paraded through the streets to the tune of the *Rogue’s March*. The concourse brought him before the Coffee-house, where they halted,—the doctor foaming with rage and indignation—without a hat—his wig dishevelled, and himself bloody from his wounded hand—stood up in the cart and called for a bowl of punch; when so vehement was his thirst that he swallowed it all ere he took it from his lips. “I was shocked, says Graydon, at the spectacle—thus to see a lately respected citizen so vilified.” It is grateful to add, however, that they proceeded to no further violence. Thus proving that a Philadelphia mob has some sense of restraint. But although the doctor was allowed to escape the threatened tar and feathers, the actual indignity so inflamed and maddened his spirit, that his friends had to confine him for a time as an insane. He died during the war—a resident at Carlisle.

In contradistinguishing him from his once popular uncle of the same name and profession, he was usually called “tory-doctor.”

### *Of Quacks.*

The forced display and quackery of medicine, as we now see it in staring capitals, saluting us with impudent front at every turn, is an affair of modern growth and patronage—all full of promise for renovating age!—

“—————Roses for the cheeks,  
And lilies for the brows of faded age,  
Teeth for the toothless, ringlets for the bald!”

On topics like these, our simple forefathers were almost silent. Yet we have on record some "fond dreams of hope" of good Mrs. Sybilla Masters (wife of Thomas) who went out to England in 1711-12, to make her fortune abroad by the patent and sale of her "Tuscorora rice," so called. It was her preparation from our Indian corn, made into something like our hominy, and which she then strongly recommended as a food peculiarly adapted for the relief and recovery of consumptive and sickly persons. After she had procured the patent her husband set up a water mill and suitable works near Philadelphia, to make it in quantities for sale. There was much lack of consumptive people in those robust days. Possibly some one may now take the hint and revive it for the benefit of the sufferers and themselves!

About the year 1739, I saw much said in the *Gazettes* of the newly discovered virtues of the Seneca rattlesnake root, and while the excitement was high, Dr. John Tennant got 100£. from the Virginia colony for proving its use in curing the pleurisy.

In October, 1745, Francis Torres, a Frenchman, (probably the first, and for a long time lonely and neglected quack in our annals) advertises the sale of the Chinese stone with some powders, both to be applied outwardly, and to effect strange cures indeed—all ably proved by his certificates. The stone was a chymical preparation; when applied to the bite of a rattlesnake or any such poison it cured immediately. It could draw off humours, cancers, swellings, pains, rheumatisms, toothach; greatly mitigated labour pains, and pangs of the gout, &c. Might it not be a good investment to again introduce some from China! Such a stone would prove the philosopher's stone—like Midas' finger, converting what it touched to gold!—the usual desideratum in those who sell.

#### *Location of first Hospitals, &c.*

When city physicians made their calls on foot, it was obvious it was a convenience to have their hospital and poorhouse much nearer than they now are. The hospital therefore, a two-story house of double front still standing, was the hired house of Judge Kinsey, on the east side of High street, fourth house west of Fifth street, having then much open ground and fruit trees in the rear. The poorhouse at the same time, was near the centre of an open meadow extending from Spruce to Pine, and from Third to Fourth streets.

In the time of the war, as has been told under its appropriate head, they made use of several empty private houses for the reception of the sick soldiery by the camp fever. The house of the present Schuylkill Bank, at the south east corner of Sixth and High streets, then deserted by the tory owner, lawyer Galloway, was filled with those feeble men of war. At the same time, the large building in Chesnut street (late Judge Tilghman's) was also so used.

*Yellow Fever of 1793.*

No history of Philadelphia would be complete, which should overlook the eventful period of 1793, when the fatal yellow fever made its ravages there. It is an event which should never be forgotten, because, whether we regard it as a natural or a spiritual scourge, (effected by the divine power) it is a circumstance which may revisit us, and which therefore, should be duly considered, or we suffer it to lose its proper moral influence.

The medical histories and official accounts of that disastrous period are in print before the public, and in general terms give the statement of the rise, progress, and termination of the disease, and the lists of the weekly, monthly, and total deaths: but the ideas of the reader are too generalised to be properly affected with the measure of individual sufferings; therefore, the facts which I have preserved on that memorable occasion are calculated to supply that defect, and to bring the whole home to people's interests and bosoms.

Let the reader think of a desolation which shut up nearly all the usual churches; their pastors generally fled, and their congregations scattered; the few that still assembled in small circles for religious exercises, not without just fears that their assembling might communicate the disease from one to the other. No light and careless hearers then appeared: and no flippant preaching to indulge itching ears—all, all was solemn and impressive. They then felt and thought they should not all meet again on a like occasion; death, judgment and eternity then possessed the minds of all who so assembled.

Look then, in which way you would, through the streets, and you saw the exposed coffins on chair-wheels, either in quick motion, or you saw the wheels drawn before houses to receive their pestilential charge. Then family friends or mourners scarcely ever accompanied them; and no coffins were adorned to please the eye; but coarse stained wood of hasty fabric received them all. Then graves were not dug singly, but pits, which might receive many before entire filling up, were opened. In the streets you met no cheerful, heedless faces, but pensive, downcast eyes, and hurried steps, hastening to the necessary calls of the sick.

Then the haunts of vice were shut up—drunkenness and reveling found no companions—tavern doors grew rusty on their hinges—the lewd or merry song was hushed—lewdness perished, or was banished, and men generally called upon God. Men saluted each other as if doubting to be met again, and their conversation for the moment was about their several losses and sufferings.

The facts of "moving incidents" in individual cases prepared for the present article have been necessarily excluded from lack of room, but may hereafter be consulted on pages 210 to 218 in my MS. Annals in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

## CULTURE OF SILK.



FROM the commencement of our annals, at different periods of time, the advantages of silk culture has been recommended or attempted.

As early as the year 1725, James Logan, in writing to the Penn family, recommends "the culture of silk in this country as extremely beneficial and promissing." He says "iron-works also promise well." In the next year he speaks of silk sent to England, saying "he is glad it proves so good, and he doubts not, in time, the country may raise large quantities."

In 1734, Governor Gordon addresses the Lords Commissioners of Trade on various objects of produce, &c. and speaks in strong terms of his expectations from the culture of silk "as a fit return to Great Britain" for their usual importations; he says the tree is so natural to our soil, and the worm thrives so well. Some among us have shewn its practicability by making some small quantities, &c.

In the year 1770, the subject was taken up in Philadelphia and adjacent country with great spirit. It was greatly promoted by the exertions of the American Philosophical Society, stimulated by the communications from Dr. Evans and Dr. Franklin in Europe. Application was made to the Assembly for the establishment of a public filature at Philadelphia, for winding cocoons, and the managers to have power to grant premiums, &c. equal to about 500*l.* per annum, for five years. The necessary incipient funds, equal to 900*l.* were furnished by generous individuals on subscription, being generally 2*l.* each, some 15*l.* and Governor John Penn 20*l.* With such means the filature was opened in June, 1770, at a house in Seventh street, between Arch and High streets, and a rate of premiums were announced.

It appears that in the year 1771, about 2500*lbs.* were brought there to reel, and that of it 1754*lbs.* were purchased by the managers in about two months, in July and August; nearly two thirds of this had been raised in New Jersey. At the same time much discussion of the subject appeared in the gazettes, and many mulberry trees were planted in New Jersey and the counties around Philadelphia. The ladies in particular gave much attention to the subject, and especially after the war had begun, when the foreign fabrics of silk were cut off from their use. As early as the year 1770, Susanna Wright, of Lancaster county, at Columbia,



made a piece of mantua of 60 yards length, from her own cocoons, of which I have preserved some specimens\* in my MS. Annals in the City Library, page 165 and 170. She also made much sewing silk. Mrs. Hopkinson, mother of the late Francis Hopkinson, raised much cocoons. A woman in Chester county raised thirty thousand worms. To give eclat to these colonial designs, the Queen gave her patronage by deigning to appear in a court dress from this American silk. The best dresses worn with us were woven in England. Grace Fisher, a minister among Friends, made considerable silk stuff; a piece of hers was presented by Governor Dickinson to the celebrated Catharine Macauley. The daughters of Reuben Hains in Germantown raised considerable, and his daughter Catharine who married Richard Hartshorne, wore her wedding dress of the same material—preserved on page 230 of the MS. Annals. The present Mrs. Logan was among those who in the time of the war raised their own silk in conjunction with several other ladies, to provide for their personal or family wants.

In 1772, Robert Proud, our historian, makes a MS. memorandum of his visit to James Wright's place at Columbia, where he saw 1500 worms at their labour, under the charge of "the celebrated Susanna Wright." They said they could raise a million in one season, and would have undertaken it with suitable encouragement.

About the present time, the culture of silk begins again to awaken the public attention. A few families in the country are engaged in it. A Holland family on the Frankford road is making it their exclusive business on a large scale; and in Connecticut whole communities are pursuing it, and supplying the public with sewing silk.

\* It received the premium of the Society.

## SHIPS AND SHIP-BUILDING.



PHILADELPHIA has long been justly renowned for her superior excellence and elegance of ship-building. None of the colonies equalled her; and perhaps no place in the world surpassed her in her skill and science in this matter. At the present day other cities of the Union are approaching her excellence. When Samuel Humphrys, sen. was lately in England he was offered, it is said, a great sum to remain and execute models for the British Navy. In early times they used to construct at Philadelphia great raft ships, of much larger dimensions than the late renowned ones from Canada, called the Columbus and Baron Renfrew, and which in the present day, have been regarded as nonpareils. A little before the war of Independence, the last raft ship was built and launched at Kensington.\* Our great raft ships were generally constructed for sale and use in England, when our timber was more plentiful and cheaper. They would carry off "800 logs of timber, competent to make six ships of 250 tons each." An eye-witness, who saw one of those mammoth fabrics descend into her destined element, said she bent and twisted much in launching, but when on the water looked to the eye of the beholder much like another ship in form, &c.

The ship-yards used to occupy the river banks, beginning about Girard's wharf above High street, up to Vine street, and as population increased, extended northward. As early as the days of the Founder, the ship-yard of William West was begun at Vine street. The activity of ship-building there, by which he enriched his posterity, was wonderful. He had generally more orders than he could supply, (so says his present grandson) and mostly required for English and Irish houses abroad. William Penn's letter of 1683, says, even then, "Some vessels have been built here and many boats."

In July, 1718, Jonathan Dickinson writes to his correspondent, saying, "Here is great employ for ship-work for England. It increases and will increase, and our expectations from the iron-works 40 miles up Schuylkill are very great." The same writer calls a ship sometimes a galley, and a small vessel a hoy,—of such he

\* One was launched in 1774-5 at Slater's wharf, a little south of Poole's bridge, and was navigated by Captain Newman.

speaks as being used in navigating the Delaware, and going to Cape May for cedar rails, &c.

In 1721, he incidentally mentions that the sails and rigging coming to him from London for his new ship had escaped the pirates : Thus showing that sails and rigging were at least preferred from abroad, in that day.

In 1722, I notice as among the vessels at Philadelphia, those they call—a pink—a galley—and, a great fly-boat of 400 tons—all of which traverse the Atlantic ocean.

In connection with ship-building we may justly congratulate ourselves on having the ablest ship-carver, in the present respectable and aged William Rush, that the world has ever seen. His figures on the heads of ships have excited admiration in numerous instances in foreign countries, and have been sent for from England, to adorn vessels there ; we should have heard more of such facts of preference, but that the duties there were managed to cost more than the first cost of the images themselves. More concerning his talents as an artist will be found under the article “William Rush.”

## PAPER MONEY.

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“Gold, imp’d by thee, can compass greatest things—
Can purchase States and fetch and carry Kings.”

IN the first introduction of paper money, there was much difference of opinion concerning its eventual benefit to trade and to the community. It appears to have been first emitted under the auspices of Governor Keith, about the year 1723. Many remonstrances and counter views were urged by some.

In 1723, when Benjamin Franklin first visited us from Boston, where he had seen abundance of paper money, he noticed with surprise the free circulation of metallic money among the people. The whole of his own money then consisted of a Dutch dollar and a shilling’s worth of coppers—both coins unknown among us now.

The very next year (1724) James Logan, in writing to the proprietaries, shows the quick effect of the paper emission, by saying “No gold or silver then passes among them because of their paper money,—when they buy the former they give 3 shillings per £. or 15 per cent. advance in exchange for their paper.”

The common fate of “paper credit” soon follows—for counterfeiters, though threatened with “death” in staring capitals, use the means which “lends corruption lighter wings to fly,” by pushing their supply also into the market. Behold! they come even from Ireland!

The Gazette of 1726 announces a great quantity of counterfeit colonial bills, executed in Ireland, as arrived, and the two agents being apprehended, are soon after punished. Some of this doubtless found its use in the purchase of land for the new-comers, for the papers along to the year 1729, often make mention of its being occasionally detected in use.

About this time Governor Gordon, who succeeded Sir William Keith, emitted 45,000£. on land pledged at half its value, and subject to redemption. This was increased from time to time till the whole amounted to 85,000£.

In 1729 James Logan, writing to the proprietaries, thus speaks, saying, “I dare not speak one word against it. The popular phrensy will never stop till their credit will be as bad as they are in New England, where an ounce of silver is worth 20 shillings of their paper. They already talk of making more, and no man dares appear to stem the fury of the popular rage. The notion is, that

while any man will borrow on good security of land more money should be made for them without thinking of what value it will be when made. They affirm that whilst the security is good, the money cannot fall. The King's own hand should forbid this measure. Yet the last act should not be abrogated (ill as the measure is) because the money now out (if annulled) would occasion the utmost destruction." It may be remarked that although the measure pleased the people, as they thought it increased riches as by magic, they knew not how, yet the Crown officers were always averse to the erection of a paper medium. It may be mentioned also as a curious indication of the early times, and the actual need once felt of some kind of supply for the necessary interchanges required in the dealings among men in Society—that there is now in the museum of the City Library an original petition of the people, of the year 1717, to the Assembly of Pennsylvania, praying them to make produce a currency!

Considering the present great use of paper currency in our Bank notes and the question of their utility being sometimes agitated, it may be curious to state here the view of such money as given by the Assembly as early as the year 1739, being their preamble to the act of that year, to wit: "Whereas it has been found by experience that bills of credit emitted upon land security as a medium of commerce have been of great service for carrying on the trade and other improvements in this province, and money and gold being now become a commodity and generally remitted [exactly as now!] to Great Britain, in return for the manufactures of that kingdom imported hither."

Among the emissions of later times were the bills for raising funds in 1775, for erecting "the new jail in Walnut street" and the "light house on Cape Henlopen;" both of them were decorated with pictures of the buildings, and the history of the money in both cases was, that the bills by reason of the war, &c. were never "called in" and the whole sunk in the hands of the holders!

To these succeeded the far-famed and much scouted *Continental Money*—an emission so immense in aggregate, so overwhelming to the payers and so hopeless to the payees, as to make it in the end wholly non-effective to all concerned. The whole emission as presented in a detailed official account exhibited in 1828, stated the enormous total of 241½ millions of dollars!—all issued in five years from 1775 to 1780. We may well exclaim "Lo, what it is that makes white rags so deare!"

Many specimens of those continental and colonial bills, now rarely seen, may be inspected in my books of MS. Annals both in the City Library and with the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

In the course of the rapid depreciation which ensued, it was a common incident to hear a 100 dollars of it asked for a single yard of silk—to see children give a dollar bill for a few cakes, and finally to see 300 dollars of continental given for one dollar of silver. At

one time 75 dollars of it was exchanged for one dollar of State paper. Sometimes the possession of so much nominal money of so little worth, gave rise to many occasional freaks for its destruction—such as using it to light a pipe or a candle at a tavern; and even the soldiers sometimes, to show their recklessness of such money, or to vaunt of their abundance in it, have been known to deck off their recruiting drummers and fifers in an over-jacket formed entirely of sheets of continental money!

One of the worst uses of this money was to present it as “a legal tender,” to pay with almost no value what had been before purchased for a *bona fide* valuable consideration. Many base men so acquired their property,—especially when to “cheat a tory” was deemed fair prize with several. Houses still stand in Philadelphia, which, could their walls speak out, would tell of strangely inconsiderable values received for them by the sellers. The large double house for instance, at the north west corner of Pine and Second streets, was once purchased, it was said, with the money received for one hogshhead of rum!

THE POST.



“ He comes ! the herald of a noisy world ;
News from all nations, lumb’ring at his back ! ”

THERE is nothing in which the days of “ Auld Lang Syne ” more differs from the present, than in the astonishing facilities now afforded for rapid conveyances from place to place, and, of course, in the quick delivery of communications by the mail. Before the year 1755, five to six weeks were consumed in writing to, and receiving an answer from Boston. All the letters were conveyed on horseback, at a snail-pace gait—slow, but sure. The first stage between Boston and New York commenced on the 24th of June, 1772, to run once a fortnight, as “ a useful, new, and expensive undertaking ; ” “ to start on the 13th, and to arrive either to or from either of those places on the 25th, ”—thus making 13 days of travel ! * Now, it travels the same distance in 36 hours ! The first stage between New York and Philadelphia, began in 1756, occupied three days, and now it accomplishes it in ten hours !

Nor are those former prolonged movements peculiar to us. It was even so with our British ancestors, not very long before us ! We have a specimen of their sluggish doings in this matter, as late as the year 1712. “ The New Castle Courant ” of that year contains a stage advertisement, saying that “ all who desire to pass from Edinboro’ to London, or from London to Edinboro’, let them repair to Mr. John Baillies, &c. every other Saturday and Monday, at both of which places they may be received in a stage coach, which performs the whole journey in thirteen days, without stoppage, (if God permit) having 80 able horses to perform the whole stage. ” Now, the same distance is performed in 46 hours ! On the whole, it is manifest the whole civilized world have learned to move every where with accelerated motion ! The facts, as they were in the olden time, are to the following effect, to wit:—

In 1683, mo. July, Wm. Penn issued an order for the establishment of a post-office, and granted to Henry Waldy, of Tekonay, authority to hold one, and “ to supply passengers with horses from Philadelphia to New Castle, or to the Falls. ” The rates of postage

* “ Madam Knight’s Journal, ” of the year 1704, shows that she was two weeks in riding with the postman, as her guide, from Boston to New York. In most of the towns, she saw Indians. She often saw wampum passing as money among the people ; but 6d. a meal, 1s. inns, &c. Tobacco was used and sold under the name of black junk.

were, to wit:—"Letters from the Falls to Philadelphia, 3d.—to Chester, 5d.—to New Castle, 7d.—to Maryland, 9d.—and from Philadelphia to Chester, 2d.—to New Castle, 4d.—and to Maryland, 6d." This post went once a week, and it was to be carefully published "on the meeting-house door, and other public places." These facts I found in the MSS. of the Pemberton family. A regular Act for a post-office at Philadelphia, was first enacted in the year 1700.

Col. John Hamilton, of New Jersey, and son of Governor Andrew Hamilton, first devised the post-office scheme for British America, for which he obtained a patent, and the profits accruing. Afterwards, he sold it to the Crown, and a member of parliament was appointed for the whole, with a right to have his substitute reside in New York.

In 1717, mo. Dec.—Jonathan Dickinson writes to his correspondent, saying, "We have a settled post from Virginia and Maryland unto us, and goes through all our northern colonies, whereby advices from Boston unto Williamsburgh, in Virginia, is completed in four weeks, from March to December, and in double that time in the other months of the year."

In 1722, the Gazette says,—“We have been these three days expecting the New York Post, as usual, but he is not yet arrived,” although three days over his time!

In 1727, the mail to Annapolis is opened this year to go once a fortnight in summer, and once a month in winter, via New Castle, &c. to the Western Shore, and back by the Eastern Shore: managed by Wm. Bradford in Philadelphia, and by Wm. Parks in Annapolis.

In 1729, Dec. the Gazette announces, that while the New York post continues his fortnight stage, we shall publish but once a week, as in former times." In summer, it went once a week.

In 1738, Henry Pratt is made riding Postmaster for all the stages between Philadelphia and Newport, in Virginia: to set out in the beginning of each month, and to return in 24 days. To him, all merchants, &c. may confide their letters and other business, he having given security to the Postmaster General. In this day we can have little conception of his lonely rides through imperfect roads: of his laying out at times all night, and giving his horse a range of rope to browse, while he should make his letter-pack his pillow, on the ground!

In 1744, it is announced in the Gazette, that the "northern post begins his fortnight stages on Tuesday next, for the winter season."

In 1745, John Dalley, surveyor, states that he has just made survey of the road from Trenton to Amboy, and hath set up marks at every two miles, to guide the traveller. It was done by private subscriptions, and he proposes to do the whole road from Philadelphia to New York, in the same way, if a sum can be made up!

In 1748, when professor Kalm arrived at Philadelphia from

London, many of the inhabitants came on board his vessel for letters. Such as were not so called for, were taken to the Coffee-house, where every body could make inquiry for them, thus showing, that then, the post-office did not seem to claim a right to distribute them as now.

In 1753, the delivery of letters by the penny-post was first began. At the same time, began the practice of advertising remaining letters in the office. The letters for all the neighbouring counties went to Philadelphia, and lay there till called for—thus, letters for Newtown, Bristol, Chester, New Castle, &c. are to be called for in Philadelphia.

Even at that late period, the northern mail goes and returns but once a week in summer, and once a fortnight in winter, just as it did 25 years before.

But in 1754, mo. of October, a new impulse is given, so as to start for New York thereafter, on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday; and in the winter, once a week. This, therefore, marks the period of a new era in the mail establishment of our country. It owed this impulse, extending also to Boston, to the management of our Franklin, made Postmaster General.

In 1755, the Postmaster General, Benjamin Franklin, publishes, that to aid trade, &c. he gives notice, that thereafter, the winter northern mail from Philadelphia to New England, which used to set out but once a fortnight, shall start once a week all the year round.—“whereby answers may be obtained to letters between Philadelphia and Boston, in three weeks, which used to require six weeks!”

In 1758, newspapers which aforesaid were carried post free per mail, will, by the reason of their great increase, be changed thereafter to the small price of 9d. a year, for 50 miles, and 1s. 6d. for 100 miles. This was, most probably, the private emolument of the rider; the papers themselves not having been mailed at all, it is probable.

Finally, in 1774, which brings colonial things nearly to its final close, by the war of Independence, soon after, we read that “John Perkins engages to ride post to carry the mail once a week to Baltimore, and will take along or bring back led horses or any parcels.”

GAZETTES.



“These mark the every-day affairs of life.”

THE early newspapers are by no means such miscellaneous and amusing things as our modern use of them might lead us to conceive. They are very tame, and the news, which is generally foreign, is told in very dull prose; very little like jest or mirth appear in any of them. Fruitful as Franklin was in amusing writings, it is really surprising how very devoid of *Spectator-like* articles his paper is; but very little has been furnished by his pen. He must have deemed it out of place for his paper, and therefore confined his essays to his “*Poor Richard’s Almanac*,” which was so favourably received as to call for three editions in the same year. Reflections on men and manners of that day, to which he was so very competent, would have been very interesting and judicious; but I have found nothing. Probably “the even tenor of their way,” in the days of his chief residence among us, excited no cause of remarks, and that it was chiefly since the Revolution that we began to deserve remarks on the changing character of the times and the people.

But after every omission and neglect in such editors, old newspapers are still unavoidably a kind of mirror of their age, for they bring up the very age with all its bustle and every day occurrence, and mark its genius and its spirit, more than the most laboured description of the historian. Sometimes a single advertisement incidentally “prolongs the dubious tale.” An old paper must make us thoughtful, for we also shall make our exit; there every name we read of in print is already cut upon tombstones. The names of doctors have followed their patients; the merchants have gone after their perished ships, and the celebrated actor furnishes his own scull for his successor in *Hamlet*.

“The American Weekly Mercury” was begun by Andrew Bradford, son of William, in Philadelphia, 1719, in company with John Copson. This was the first gazette ever published in our city. It was begun the 22d of December, 1719, at 10 shillings per annum. The general object of the paper is said to be “to encourage trade.” It does not seem to be the spirit of the paper to give the local news, or rather, they did not seem to deem it worth their mention. It might have been but “a tale twice told” for which they were unwilling to pay, while they thought every man

could know his domestic news without an advertiser. Foreign news and Custom-house entries inwards and outwards, including equally the ports of New York and Boston, constituted the general contents of every Mercury.

In November, 1742, the publisher, Andrew Bradford, died, and the paper was set in mourning columns, &c. for six weeks. After this it continued by the widow until 1746, when it was discontinued, probably from the cause of William Bradford, the former partner of Andrew, having soon after his death set up a new paper called the *Pennsylvania Journal*.

In 1727, Benjamin Franklin projected the scheme of publishing a second, or rival paper: but his project being exposed to Keimer, he supplanted Franklin by hastily publishing his prospectus—a strange vapouring composition—and fell to getting subscribers. By this means he was enabled to start, and even to continue for nine short months, “the *Pennsylvania Gazette*.” He had got only ninety subscribers, when Franklin and Joseph Breintnal, under the title of the “*Busy Body*,” contributed to write him down in Bradford’s Mercury. Thus won by conquest, Franklin soon managed to buy it for a trifle, as his own.

The *Pennsylvania Gazette* began in 1728. The braggart style of Keimer’s prospectus is a little curious. His eccentric mind led him to throw it into an alphabetical order, and to embrace in encyclopaedia form, the whole circle of the arts and sciences! This arrangement was abandoned as soon as Franklin became editor. Some specimens of his braggart manner is thus displayed, to wit: “Whereas many have encouraged me to publish a paper of intelligence; and whereas the late Mercury has been so wretchedly performed as to be a scandal to the name of printing, as to be truly styled nonsense in folio, this is therefore to notify that I shall begin, in November next, a most useful paper, to be entitled the *Pennsylvania Gazette* or *Universal Instructor*. The proposer, he says, having dwelt at the fountain of intelligence in Europe, will be able to give a paper to please all and to offend none, at the reasonable expense of 10 shillings per annum, proclamation money. So far, it possessed Dr. Johnson’s character of a good advertisement: it having “that promise which is the soul of a good advertisement!”

But he transcends even the superlative degree! It will, says he, exceed all others that ever were in America, and will possess in fine the most complete body of history and philosophy ever yet published since the creation! Possibly he meant this extravagant praise for his intended extracts from Chambers’ great Dictionary, for he adds, that a work of the selfsame design has been going on in England, by no less than seven Dukes, two Viscounts, eighteen Earls, twenty-two Lords, and some hundreds of Knights, Esquires, &c. and withal approved and honoured by the wisest King—even the very darling of heaven—King George the first! Such adver-

tisements could not secure patronage now, and as he eked out his great work for less than one year, it is presumed his gins did not ensnare the wary of that day. Alas! his visions of hope ended in a prison before the year had filled its term.

In October, 1729, the Gazette was assumed by B. Franklin and H. Meredith, and they promptly state in their prospectus their intention to discontinue the alphabetical extracts from Chambers' Dictionary and from the Religious Courtship—subjects surely incompatible enough for newspaper readers. Soon after commencing they advertise that because of their increase of patronage they will print twice a week,—delivering half a sheet at a time on the old subscription price of 10 shillings.

The Gazette under their management gained reputation, but until Franklin obtained the appointment of Postmaster. Bradford's Mercury had the largest circulation. After this event, the Gazette had a full proportion of subscribers and advertising custom, and became profitable.

Meredith and Franklin separated in May, 1732. Franklin continued the Gazette, but published it only once a week. In 1733, he printed it on a crown half sheet quarto.—Price 10 shillings a year. In 1741, he enlarged the size to a demy quarto half sheet. In 1745, he reverted to foolscap folio. In 1747–8, the Gazette was published "by B. Franklin, Postmaster, and D. Hall," and was enlarged to a whole sheet crown folio, and afterward by a great increase of advertisements to a sheet, and often to a sheet and a half demy. On the 9th of May, 1754, the device of a snake, divided into eight parts, (the number of the then colonies united against the French and Indians) was affixed, with the motto "Join or die."

In May, 1766, it was published by Hall and Sellers, who continued it until 1777, but suspended at the visit of the British army. Afterwards it was published once a week until the death of Sellers, in 1804. Afterwards by others.

The Pennsylvania Journal and the Weekly Advertiser.

This paper was first published on Tuesday, December 2d, 1742. It was printed on a foolscap sheet. The day of publication was changed to Wednesday. Printed by William Bradford.

About the year 1766, the imprint was changed to William and Thomas Bradford. This paper was devoted to the cause of the country, but it was suspended during the possession of the city by the British.

William Bradford died in 1791. Then the Journal was continued by his surviving partner subsequent to 1800. It was finally superseded by "the True American."

The Pennsylvania Chronicle and Universal Advertiser.—Containing the freshest advices, &c.

The Chronicle was published weekly on Monday. The first number appeared January 6, 1767, by William Goddard, at 10 shillings per

annum. This was the fourth newspaper in the English language established at Philadelphia, and the first with four columns to a page, in the colonies. The second and third years it was printed in quarto, and the fourth year again in folio. It was ably edited—having the celebrated Joseph Galloway, Esq. and Thomas Wharton, Esq. as secret partners. It gained great circulation. It became at last too tory in its bias to stand the times. It continued till February, 1773.

The Pennsylvania Packet, or the General Advertiser.

This was issued from the press, in November, 1771, by John Dunlap, once a week. In 1783, he sold out to D. C. Claypole, who printed it 3 times a week, for about a year, and afterwards, *daily*, making it the *first* daily paper in all the United States.

Mr. Claypole having been enriched by its publication, sold out his right to the present Zachariah Poulson, by whom it is now continued in very great patronage, under the name of the "American Daily Advertiser."

Of this paper, we have a few words of special notice. It is more properly *municipal* and *domestic* than any other which we know. It seems composed to suit the family hearth and fire-side comforts of good and sober citizens, never flaunting in the gaudy glare of party allurements; never stained with the ribaldry and virulence of party recrimination. It is patriarchal,—looking alike to the wants and benefits of *all* our citizens, as common children of the same city family. It is, in short, a paper like the good old times from which it has descended, and like the people of the former days, its present most numerous readers, it carries with it something grave, discriminative, useful, and considerate.

The Pennsylvania Ledger, and Weekly Advertiser.

This Ledger was first published January 28, 1775, by James Humphreys, jun. at 10 shillings a year. He started to act impartially, but after the British got possession of the city, it was turned to their interest. The last number was published May 23, 1778.

The Pennsylvania Evening Post.

Was first published Jan. 24, 1775, by Benjamin Towne, in 4to, three times a week; price 3 shillings per quarter. This was the third evening paper in the colonies. It continued to be published till the year 1782.

Story and Humphrey's Pennsylvania Mercury, and Universal Advertiser.

The Mercury came before the public in April, 1775, and was published weekly, on Fridays, on a demy sheet, folio, with *home-made* types. It was short-lived, for the whole establishment was destroyed by fire in December, 1775.

The German Newspapers printed previously to the year 1775, were these :—

As early as May, 1743, a German newspaper was started in Philadelphia, by Joseph Crellius, entitled the "High Dutch Pennsylvania Journal."

By an advertisement in the Pennsylvania Gazette, of September, 1751, I find there was at that time "A Dutch and English Gazette, in both languages, adapted to those who incline to learn either.—Price 5 shillings per annum."

Another German paper was established about the year 1759, by Miller and Weiss, conveyancers,—the former ones being discontinued. It was printed for them about two years by Gotthan Armbruster.

Anthony Armbruster, in 1762, began a new German paper, which he published weekly for several years.

H. Miller's German newspaper was began in 1762; and for some time there were two German and two English newspapers publishing in the city.

Der Wochentliche Philadelphische Staatsbothe.

This newspaper was first published in the German language in 1762, by Henry Miller, weekly—afterwards twice a week, on demy size.

In 1768, the title was changed to "Pennsylvanische Staatsbothe," i. e. the Pennsylvania Post Boy. It thus continued until May, 1779, when the paper ended.

A public Journal was printed at Germantown, in the German language, as early as the summer of 1739, by Christopher Sower. Its name, Englished, read—The Pennsylvania German Recorder of Events. In 1744, it was continued by C. Sower, jun. under the name of the Germantauer Zeitung; this continued till the year of the war of 1777.

It results from the foregoing notices of our newspapers, (the facts being chiefly derived from Thomas' History of Printing,) that fifty years ago there were only three newspapers published in the city, viz.—two in English and one in German. In contrast with the present numerous *Sentinels*, watching the public weal, and their own, how diminutive the two weekly affairs of that day appear! At the present day the greatest innovation in these "folios and maps of busy life," which meet the eye, as a change for the worse, are the numerous wood-cut signs hung out from the columnar lines, like signs from their street-posts, and like them interrupting and disfiguring the whole perspective view. It is an inconsiderate as well as annoying display; for in the very nature of things it ceases to arrest attention whenever it becomes so common as to be like a wooden block set at every man's door.

OLDEN TIME

AFFECTIONS & RESEARCHES.



“ I'll note 'em in my book of memory.”

IN writing these memorials of the times by-gone, I have often felt the suggestion pressed upon my mind, whether I am indeed pursuing inquiries and preserving facts which will have the sympathies and countenance of others, or am I so peculiar, as to be only amusing myself. I have thought the contemplation of *time past*, has something inherently attractive; not indeed in the notice of our personal waste of years, when sufficiently old to see our sun declining, but in the recollections of the exhilarating sunshine beams of our youth. Not that, when the past was the present, we were all satisfied with our situations and ourselves, but that vexations have been forgotten in the lapse of years, and we remember pleasures alone; as in looking back on the landscape we have passed over, the rude hills become softened by distance, and the cliffs that were so difficult to surmount, seem dissolving in the purple sky. For this reason, the recollections of *childhood* are so captivating to every unperverted mind, though to him whose soul is stained with crimes, they are fraught with pain and remorse.

The causes which operated to induce *me* to form the present *museum* of incidents of “*men and manners*” once, are curious even to myself. The resolution to execute them, was only a passion of a few years; but the love to such objects in general, was as early as my childhood, and has indeed “grown with my growth, and strengthened with my strength.” I may now say, I feel gratified that my mind has been thus led to chronicle incidents. Many of them ought to be preserved as the eventful facts of a land peculiarly favoured of Heaven, and as destined, perchance, to future renown. *We should not forget these things*; and the record of them, in such manner as I have adopted, should be deemed a generous service to all those, who, with grateful hearts, love to consider the *causes* of their blessings. Piety and patriotism, equally cherish such sentiments.

I have had frequent occasions to lament that these kind of inquiries were not instituted sooner, even by myself; they might have been advantageously begun much earlier, by still older persons.

In now recollecting the aged of my early days, of whom I might have inquired, how many are remembered from whom nothing was attempted! To illustrate these ideas, what a treasure might Dr. Franklin have imparted of all he had seen or knew, from the years 1723 to 1790, when he died! He was remarkably qualified to have given us the materials for such a history as I have attempted in these pages. He must have been familiar with the *traditions* of the primitive settlers: must have *seen* many who *saw* Penn. &c. But his mind appears never to have been drawn to the consideration of their value to us, their posterity. The truth is, very few minds are so abstracted from the daily concerns of life, as to perceive that the things which at any given moment every man knows, may, thereafter, become highly interesting. Another reason may be, that Franklin never saw, at any particular period, any such astonishing improvements, as, since his death, every where arrest attention. Colonial things were too uniform and tame to arouse the mind. All things, in his day, were regularly progressive, gliding to its end with the smoothness of a stream. But if a person of my inquiring mind had had opportunities of drawing from such an observing mind as Franklin's, what a fund of entertainment and information could have been derived for posterity!

For reasons like the above, I, who am but middle-aged, am better qualified to ask various questions which would never occur to the mind of much older men. To me, the field was all new and unexplored, and therefore, with the eagerness of a child which asks questions about every thing, I felt constantly awake to inquiries on topics which would not affect the minds of old persons; things in which they had long ceased to be curious. Owing to this faculty of the mind, the most interesting travels, like Silliman's, are those which record every *new* thing which most surprises or pleases it. Then such a writer must speak *feelingly enough* for those who, like himself, have never seen what he so discovers to them. And even to those who have, he refreshes their memories in a way most grateful.

It is probably 17 or 18 years ago, that I desired to see some such work as the present, effected. Not thinking to attempt it myself, I suggested some such scheme to a friend. It met the approbation of the late Mr. Delaplaine, who set upon it with great ardour. My ideas were expressed in the form of a prospectus, which procured a subscription list, it was said, of 4000 subscribers, before the book was even written. With such a patronage, there was a defect of labour or enterprise in procuring the *materials*, and Dr. Mease was resorted to as composuist, to bring out something to answer the claims of the subscribers. It received the name of "*The Picture of Philadelphia*,"—but how far like my present result, the reader must judge. The doctor has managed his materials unexceptionably; but the defect was, that he had not the proper staple to weave into his fabric. Had he succeeded better in what were *my* aims, I

should never have made this attempt: but untouched as my scheme had been, I have made at last, though thus late, my own efforts, although subject to the disadvantage of residing six miles from the city, about which my inquiries and observations are employed,—and being withal, fettered with daily *official* duties, and cares of paramount consideration. From reasons like these, those who know me best, will be readiest to excuse imperfections, whether of style or selection.—and critics, if they deign to notice such labours, did they know the irregular hours and intervals in which fragments of time were seized for the purpose, might rather wonder it has been so well, than that it should have been so illy executed. To judge beyond this, may savour of ill-nature,

“————— which taught them still to say,
Whate’er was done, *might* have been better done !”

To such, I need only say,—“What is writ, is writ,—would it were worthier.”

Many of my selections of *local* facts were abstracted from a very great mass of court papers, and had to be hunted out among files of petitions, recognizances, special presentments for assaults, batteries, felonies, tippling and disorderly houses, &c. being the *usual* accompaniments of “*Quarter Sessions*,” as is well known to those in any degree acquainted with the criminal docket. Most probably, such a search they have not before had, since packed away as the lumber of office, and such another, I presume, they will *never have again!* Some local notices may appear too trivial for notice: but who knows what future discoveries may be made, in digging into some of the former “*fillings up?*” as, for instance, the late discovery of *sub-terrene* logs, in Chesnut street, by Hudson’s alley, (the remains of the old bridge, &c.) which no living persons could explain from memory! If a *jewel*, or some pieces of *coin*, (as may occur!) should hereafter be dug out of some of the “breaches” of Front street, (afterwards filled up) some of the foregoing facts may tend to elucidate the *cause* of their deposit there. As *Boswell* said, in an apology for his minute mention of the “*oak cudgel*.”—it was because it might afterwards become the hero of a *good* tale, in the hands of so interesting a character as Johnson! Johnson’s *Rambler*, too, justly remarks, “nor can it be always safely determined, which should be rejected or retained; for they may sometimes unexpectedly contribute to the illustration of history, and to the knowledge of the natural commodities of the country, or of the genius and customs of its inhabitants.”

Poulson’s paper of March 6, 1821, contains an article by me, entitled “*Old Times*” of 1769, &c. It requests others to communicate similar facts. I thus tried to set others at this kind of service, and to *exempt* myself;—but none heeded my counsel.—and

afterwards I made my own attempt. Fame or reward never entered into my motives. Like quaint John Bunyan,

“ ’Twas mine own self to gratify !”

The service was sufficiently pleasing in itself, to be a positive recreation and amusement, furnishing its own reward by the way,—

“ For having my method by the end,
Still as I pull’d, it came ;
Till at length it came to be,
For size, the bigness which you see !”

I have deemed it my duty, in many cases, to support my facts with the *names* of the credible relators. Not that they alone mentioned them to me, for it was my practice to confirm surprising facts by concurrent testimony, so far as the things told, were susceptible of being known to others. Several authorities too, deemed awkward or indelicate to introduce into the printed text, may be found in their connexion, in the original MS. Annals, in the City Library, and in the Historical Society.

There is another remark concerning *names* which might be appropriately mentioned here, as showing that I was aware that *names* and *personalities* are sometimes too sensitive to bear the touch. Yet I found it needful to retain them in general, and especially in my MS. as *my* necessary proofs and vouchers, in case of dispute or reference. Some that I designed only in initials, the inadvertency of the printer sometimes retained. In other cases, the names were sanctioned by the informants or persons themselves.—and finally, as an imposing reason, some names occasionally became a necessary appendage of the story.

In searching for some of these facts, was like seeking for the “living among the dead.” Only a few of the very aged, as by accident, had preserved their memory. And very often, persons equally old, or even older, dwelling on the spot of interest or inquiry, knew nothing, or nearly nothing, about it. The comparative intelligence of different men of equal ages, was often very dissimilar. To exemplify this, I have only to say, that not one aged man in fifty now in Philadelphia, could tell me where was “Guest’s Blue Anchor tavern, in Budd’s long row,”—nor the “Barbados lot.”—nor the “Swamp,”—nor the adjoining “Society Hill,”—nor “Bathsheba’s bath and bower,”—the “Schuylkill Baptisterion,”—the “old hospital,”—“Hudson’s orchard,”—“Penny-pot landing.”—“Penn’s cottage,”—the Swedes’ house,”—and *many other things* spoken of in these pages. I came at them by reading ancient papers, and then by re-calling forgotten things to their memories. their minds were enabled to seize on long forgotten facts. Sometimes, when I have asked ancient persons to tell me what they knew of antiquity, such would seem to have nothing to relate :

all seemed a blank to them. But when I have transported myself back to the cotemporaneous occurrences of their youth, and warmed their imagination with recitals, with which they were once familiar, I have been rewarded, by receiving many of the lively images of things which my conversation had generated. Without vanity I may say it. I have often made my company agreeable to the aged, and have seen them quickened to many emotions younger than their common feelings or their years. On other occasions I have visited such as were past sensibility,—the body enfeebled and the memory decayed: I laboured in vain to revive the expiring spark of life. They were looking for their “appointed change,” and this not unwisely engrossed all their thoughts. Finally, earlier questions might have been more successful, and any thing later than my attempt, “would have been absolutely fatal! What I rescued was trembling on the lips of narrative old age” or “tumbling piece meal into the tomb.” My regret is, that some of those of whom, or from whom, I write, will scarcely stay to have the chance of reading some of these pages. I might perhaps pertinently hint at my being fully aware of occasional repetition of facts in substance, though not in language,—this necessarily occurred occasionally from the design of making given chapters more complete on given subjects.

With some I shall doubtless need an apology for the little estimation in which they may regard some of my collections: I am content to say, I have only written for kindred minds. The distinguished Montesquieu once pressed this question upon an English nobleman, “Pray, my Lord, does the great Newton eat, drink and sleep, as other men?” Such affections as mine have had precedents enough in feeling minds—for instance, “the oak,” immortalized by Cowper’s muse, became so precious that the owner, the Marquis of Northampton, to keep it from its frequent pious thefts, was obliged to enclose it by a strong fence, and to affix to it a notice of prohibition. The chair in which the poet Thomson composed, is exhibited at his commemorative festivals. How many pious thefts have been made upon Shakespeare’s mulberry tree; and cups made from that, and from the “royal oak,” have sold at great prices. Learned doctors still deem it an honour to shroud themselves in Rabelais’ old cloak at Montpellier. The taking of the sword of Frederick the Great by Bonaparte, from Berlin to Paris, while it shows his estimate of relics, is treated by Scott and the world, as a heinous offence to all other men. Of all such things, says Edgeworth, and truly too, “we contemplate such with deep curiosity, because they are full of local impressions, and by the aid of these we create the ideal presence.” They connect the heart and the imagination with the past.

Among the encouragements to such reminiscences, I may mention such evidence as results from public celebrations of feats intended to revive and cherish such recollections. They prove to

me that my anticipations from such records as the present, have not been vain.

Already has the semi-historical sketches of Erving's muse in this way, given rise to a drama in which is portrayed the costumes and manners of the primitive Knickerbockers. The prologue to his "Rip Van Winkle" has some sentiments to my taste and to my future expectations of what may be hereafter set forth in poetry, painting, or romance, to arrest the attention of modern Philadelphians, to what were the primitive manners of their forefathers. The poet thus speaks, to wit :

" In scenes of yore endear'd by classic tales
The comic muse with smiles of rapture hails ;
'Tis when we view those days of *Auld Lang Sayne*,
Their charms with Home—that majic name combines.
Shades of the Dutch ! how seldom rhyme hath shown
Your ruddy beauty, and your charms full blown !
How long neglected have your merits lain !
But Irving's genius bids them rise again."

Our country has been described abroad, and perhaps conceived of at home, says Flint, as sterile of moral interest. " We have, it is said, no monuments, no ruins, none of the colossal remains of temples, and baronical castles and monkish towers, nothing to connect the heart and the imagination with the past, none of the dim recollections of the gone-by, to associate the past with the future." But although we have not the solemn and sombre remains of the past, as the remains of the handy work of man, we have every thing in the contemplation of the future. For when our thoughts have traversed rivers a thousand leagues in length, when we have seen the ascending steam boat breasting the mantling surge, or seen her along our opening canals, gleaming through the verdure of the trees, we have imagined the happy multitudes that from those shores shall contemplate their scenery in ages to come, in times when we shall have " strutted through life's poor play," and " been no more !"

REMARKABLE INCIDENTS.

“ A book wherein we read strange matters.”

THE present chapter is intended to embrace a variety of miscellanea of such peculiarity or variety in their occurrence as to afford some surprise, to wit :

Wild Pigeons.—The present aged Thomas Bradford, Esq. told me of hearing his ancestors say they once saw a flock fly over the city which obscured the sun for two or three hours, and were killed by hundreds, by people using sticks on the tops of the houses. Mr. Bradford himself used to see them brought to the Philadelphia market by cart-loads. The aged T. Matlack informed me he once saw a full wagon-load knocked down. A Captain Davy who was in Philadelphia at that time, (described above) went afterwards to Ireland, and there describing what he had seen, and giving the data for their numbers by giving breadth and time of passing, &c. some of the calculators declared they could not find numerals whereby to estimate their aggregate ! They therefore declared it was a whapping lie, and ever after they gave to Captain Davy, the name of Captain Pigeon.

Thomas Makin's poetic description of Pennsylvania in 1729, in Latin verse, says,

“ Here in the fall, large flocks of pigeons fly
So numerous, that they darken all the sky.”

In 1782, Hector St. John, of Carlisle, describing the country scenes he had before witnessed there, says, twice a year they ensnared numerous wild pigeons. They were so numerous in their flight as to obscure the sun. He has caught 14 dozen at a time in nets, and has seen as many sold for a penny as a man could carry home. At every farmer's house they kept a tanned wild pigeon in a cage at the door, to be ready to be used at any time to allure the wild ones when they approached.

In 1793, just before the time of the yellow fever, like flocks flew daily over Philadelphia, and were shot from numerous high houses. The markets were crammed with them. They generally had nothing in their craws besides a single acorn. The superstitious soon found out they presaged some evil : and sure enough sickness and death came !

Fire Flies.—The first settlers and all subsequent European settlers have been much surprised with our night illuminations by our numerous phosphorescent summer flies. Makin thus spoke of them in his day—

“Here insects are which many much admire,
Whose plumes in summer ev'nings shine like fire”

Bees.—These in the time of Kalm, who wrote of them in 1748, says they were numerous and must have been imported, because the Indians treated them as new-comers, and called them significantly English flies. Hector St. John, at Carlisle, at and before 1782, speaks of the bees being numerous in the woods in that neighbourhood, and gives some humorous stories of their manner of finding the place of the cells and the means of procuring the honey from hollow trees.

Rarities sent to Penn.—Among the presents sent to William Penn, by his request of the year 1686, were these, to wit: he saying, “Pray send us some two or three smoked haunches of venison and pork. Get also some smoked shad and beef. The old priest at Philadelphia had rare shad. Send also some pease and beans of the country. People concerned ask much to see something of the place. Send also shrubs and sarcafras,” &c. In another letter he asks for tame foxes and Indian ornaments. In another he calls for furs, for coverlets and petticoats, and also some cranberries.

Flies and Martins.—I have often heard it remarked by aged people that the flies in Philadelphia were much more numerous and troublesome in houses in their early days than since, especially in Market street. The difference now is imputed to the much greater cleanliness of our streets and the speedier removal of offals, &c. It is said too, that the flies and flees were excessive in the summer in which the British occupied Philadelphia, caused then by the appendages of the army.

Mr. Thomas Bradford, who has been now 80 years a curious observer of the martins, has noticed their great diminution in the city, which he imputes to the decrease of flies, their proper food. In former years they came annually in vast numbers, and so clamorously as in many cases to drive out the pigeons from their proper resorts. Now he sees boxes which are never occupied. A late author in Europe has said martins decrease there as flies and musquitoes diminish.

Hector St. John, in 1782, speaks of his means of ridding his house of flies, in a manner sufficiently alarming to others. He brings a hornet's nest filled with hornets from the woods, and suspends it in lieu of an ornamental chandelier or glass globe, from the centre of his parlour ceiling! Here, being unmolested, they do no harm to any of the family, but pleased with their warm and dry abode, they catch and subsist on numerous troublesome flies.

These they constantly catch on the persons and even the faces of his children !

Locusts.—1749, June 1st—Great quantities then noticed—again in 1766, in 1783 and in 1800—in this last year they appeared first on the 25th of May.

Sturgeon—were a fish remarkably abundant in the Delaware and Schuylkill river, and were formerly much more valued as diet among us, and especially by foreigners. The old newspapers often advertised it for sale by the city agent of one Richards, who pickled them in a rare manner at Trenton. We know from history that Sir Samuel Argal, the Deputy Governor of Virginia, first visited that colony in 1609, to trade and fish for sturgeon to be conveyed to Europe. Formerly there were but few families in the country but what put up one or two sturgeons every year at the shad time. In Penn's time they could be counted by dozens at a time leaping into the air and endangering the boats !

Noxious Insects.—Several of these have appeared among us as new-comers—such as destroyed perpetually the leaves of our fine elms once in the State-house yard, made their passage to this country about the year 1791, and began their wasteful career on like trees near the corner of Pine and Front streets. They were supposed to have got their passage in some foreign vessel making her discharge of cargo in that neighbourhood. They since destroy like trees at Chew's place in Germantown—

“ There filthily bewray and sore disgrace
The boughs on which are bred th' unseemly race.”

Kalm, in 1748, speaks then of the pease being so destroyed by the bug that they then abandoned the cultivation of them, although they had before had them without such molestation in great abundance. They had to send to Albany for their annual seed, who would still use them, because the insect which also overspread New York neighbourhood, had hitherto exempted those at Albany.

It is curious, that while the worm to the peach trees, now so annoying and destructive to our trees, were formerly unknown here, they were in Kalm's time making general ravages on the peaches at Albany. Now Albany is again, I believe, in possession of good fruit. In the summer of 1750, a certain kind of worms, (so says the gazettes) cut off almost all the leaves of the trees in Pennsylvania, avoiding only the laurel bush; the leaves of which are poisonous to some animals.

Mr. Kalm made frequent mention of the excessive annoyance of the wood-lice every where abounding in the woods. They were constantly brushed upon the clothes, and if you sat down upon a stump or a fallen tree, or upon the ground, you were speedily covered by a host of them, insinuating themselves under as well as above your clothes.

He speaks of locusts coming, as now, in every 17 years. Cater-

pillars too came occasionally in such numbers as to destroy entire forests. Some such places he saw, where trees were growing up amidst the bare stalks of the old dead ones, destroyed by the worms.

Noxious Weeds.—It occurs to me to mention some facts respecting some very prevalent weeds which have been introduced among us, to our prejudice, from foreign countries. The “Ranstead weed,” or *Anterrinum Lineria*, now excessively numerous in some fields around Philadelphia. It came first from Wales, being sent as a garden flower for Mr. Ranstead of Philadelphia, an upholsterer and a Welshman.

The yellow and white daisy, or *Chrysanthemum Lucanthemum*, also the day-wakers and night-sleepers, or star-hyacinth, botanically called *Ornithogelum Umbalatum*. These also originally came out as garden flowers, where they multiplied, and their seed afterwards getting abroad in manure, produced a general diffusion of those pernicious plants. On one occasion, they came out in some straw packing to old Mr. Wister, and from inoculating his farm, proceeded to others. The late introduction of the Merino wool, has introduced the seed of another weed, which is multiplying rapidly among us.

Rare floods and ebbs.—In 1687, Phineas Pemberton, in his letter, speaks of the great land flood and rupture, at or near the Falls of Delaware. It occasioned much mortality afterwards.

In 1692, 27th of 2d mo. he speaks of the great flood at the Delaware Falls, which rose 12 feet above usual high water mark, owing to the sudden melting of the snow. The water reached the upper stories of some of the houses, built on low lands.

1731, Feb. 16.—Last week we had the greatest fresh in the Delaware, ever known since the great flood at Delaware Falls, 39 years ago, in 1692.

In 1733, month of February, “the ice in Schuylkill broke up with a fresh, and came down in cakes of great thickness, in a terrible manner, breaking great trees where the flood came near the low land. It carried off the flats of two ferries, and the water was two and a half feet high on the ground floor of Joseph Gray’s middle ferry, which is much higher than any fresh is known to have been before in that river.”

1737, February 3.—Sunday night last the ice, thick and strong, broke up with the fresh occasioned by rains and melting of the snow. The water rose near six feet on the floor of Joseph Gray’s house at the middle ferry, which is three feet higher than before in 1733.

March 17.—On Wednesday and Thursday last a south-east storm raised the tide higher than known for many years, which did great damage.

1738, April 6, a great storm, at east and north-east, damaged the wharves and much raised the creeks.

1754, January 22, an unusually low tide, owing to a gale from north-west.

1767, January 8.—From the great and unexpected thaw since Saturday last, the ice on Monday broke up, and at the middle ferry carried away all the boats, broke the ropes, tore the wharf, swept off some of the out-houses, &c.

1769, March 16.—Saturday last, a remarkable low tide, owing to the north-west winds. It is said to be two and a half feet lower than common low-water mark in the Delaware; and in the Schuylkill it was so low that the ferry boats could not get to the fast land on either side.

1775, September 3.—The highest tide ever known.

1784, January 13.—Great damage was done by the sudden and extraordinary rise of water occasioned by the thaw and great rain of Thursday last.

March 15.—This morning (Sunday) about two o'clock the ice in the Schuylkill gave way, but soon after it lodged, and formed a dam, which overflowed suddenly the grounds about the middle ferry, and carried off every thing but the brick house—drowning several horses and cattle, and forced the family to secure themselves in the second story till daylight, whither they were followed by a horse, that had sought refuge in the house. The waters did not subside till 4 o'clock on Monday afternoon.* In the Pennsylvania Gazette of the 27th of March, 1784, the particulars of this event are related in the form of two chapters in Chronicles—in Scripture style.

1796, March 18.—A lower tide than recollected for many years—[say since the 26th of December, 1759, when it was lower] it was owing to a hard gale the night of the 16th instant, and since continued at north-west. The flood tide was two feet lower than a common ebb—the bar visible nearly across—several chimnies blown down.

1804, April 22 and 23.—A very great fresh in the Delaware and Schuylkill, attended with very high tides occasioned by very heavy rains.

1804, March 20.—The ice gorged above the city, on coming down Schuylkill in a heavy fresh, which occasioned the water to rise to so great a height, that a man on horseback, with a common riding whip, from the Market street wharf on this side the river, could but just reach the top of the ice piled on said wharf. The ice and water found its way round the permanent bridge on the west side, overflowing the causeway between the road and the bridge, to a depth that required boating for passengers for some hours.

1805—This summer Schuylkill lower by three inches than had been known for 70 years—caused by the long and great drought.

1810, January 19.—Lowest tide for 14 years.

1822, February, 21.—The ice and water came over Fairmount dam to a depth of nine feet, and brought with it the Falls bridge en-

* There were 21 persons in the house at the time, of whom only two are now living.

fire, which passed over the dam without injuring it, and went between the piers of the Market street bridge. At this fresh, the general body of water far exceeded the fresh in 1804; as the rising so much then, was owing to the ice gorging above. The fresh of 1822, from Reading down, is considered to have possessed the greatest body of water and ice ever known; at that place the river rose twelve feet high.

1824, April 7.—During the last four months twenty freshets have occurred in Schuylkill.

In 1824, the 29th of July, a very great and sudden land flood was experienced in and around Philadelphia,—the effect of a great discharge of rain, to wit:—

It commenced with light showers about nine o'clock, and from that time there were some intermissions until half after eleven, when the rain re-commenced, and continued, with thunder and lightning, for the period of three hours, to pour down such powerful torrents of water, as to deluge all the low lands in the city and neighbouring districts. In these situations many cellars were filled, in some of which, sugars and other perishable articles were destroyed, and other goods were damaged. The embanked meadows on the borders of the Delaware and Schuylkill were much injured, and some of the cattle were drowned. Two bridges between Holmesburg and Frankford, and the floating bridge at Gray's Ferry, on Schuylkill, were carried away. The bridge at the Flat Rock on Schuylkill, and Poole's bridge in Front street, were considerably damaged, and several mill-dams, and bridges across turnpike and other roads, were either carried away or considerably injured. A large quantity of lumber and drift wood was carried down the stream from the borders of the Schuylkill, and a man who was endeavouring to collect a portion of it, was unfortunately drowned yesterday morning below Fairmount dam. The loss to the county of Philadelphia, and to individuals, must be considerable. The rain which fell, measured, by the gage, four and a quarter inches. In Germantown, it fell eleven inches.

The water rose in Cohocksink creek, four feet higher than is recollected by the oldest inhabitants in the neighbourhood. It was nine inches deep on the lower floor of a house occupied by a Mr. White, and his family was apprized of the circumstance by the neighbours early this morning, having rested in confidence of their being secured from the flood. The house is an ancient one, having been built before the war of the Revolution, and during the conflict, was fired by the English; it was afterwards repaired, as many others in the vicinity of our city have been, which were burnt by order of the British.

We measured the height of the water mark left on the wall in the lower room of Messrs. Craig & Co's. cotton factory, and found it four feet above the floor. The machinery was nearly covered with it, and about 40 bales of cotton goods were damaged; the dye-

house belonging to the factory was inundated, and most of the dye-stuffs destroyed; much of the fencing along the creek was swept away.

At the bridge over the creek on Second street, the water rose to about four feet above the crown of the arch, and from a hasty view, there appeared to be about eight or ten cart-loads of lumber across the stream at that point. It is generally believed, that the insufficiency of the tunnel of that bridge to discharge the water, was the principal cause of the damage sustained; and from our own knowledge, within the last 25 years, the bed of the creek at Second street has been raised 5 or 6 feet, thereby lessening the tunnel nearly one half in its capacity.

At the bridge over St. John street there were fifteen or twenty loads of lumber, casks, privies, &c. together with the plank work of the bridge, swept from its pier at Beaver street. A family residing in a small brick house near Beaver and Third streets, were taken from the window of their bed-chamber at about two o'clock this morning, at which time the fresh was at its height.

When the extreme *lowest* tides have occurred in the Delaware, at the city, there have been some rocks exposed near Cooper's upper ferry, which are never seen, even in part, at other times. They were first observed bare in 1769,—then again, in 1796,—and at last, again in 1810, generally on the 17th of March. These low ebbs have usually occurred in March, and have been much promoted by strong and continued north-west winds. Those rocks have been seen as much as seven or eight feet out of the water;—on such occasions they have always been permanently marked with the initials and dates of visitors, &c. The rocks, in 1810, were but two feet out of the water.

1827, October.—Unusually high tides about full moon.

— November 14.—Lowest tide recollected for many years—rocks on Jersey channel exposed to view.

1829, March 6.—The ice and fresh came over Fairmount dam five feet six inches in depth, with a very powerful flow of water, and perhaps owing to the addition of a very strong north-west wind, the awful rushing of the waters over the dam, appeared to an observer of both freshes, much more terrifically sublime than that in 1822, although at that time the depth was 3 feet six inches more than the recent one, flowing over the dam. It is most gratifying to know that the Schuylkill navigation and canals, and the Union canal, with their locks and dams, sustained both these freshes, which have occurred since these valuable works were formed, without any injury of importance.

Storms.—1745, March 26.—Friday last a violent gust occurred, which damaged houses and cast down trees.

1747, April 30.—A violent north-east storm did much damage.

1750, December 25.—A violent north-east storm last Thursday; it damaged the wharves and sunk some small craft.

1753, November 14.—A violent gale from the east overflowed the wharves, and water lodged in most of the stores.

1786, April 1.—A north-east gale, with hail and snow, did much damage.

1788, November 10th and 11th, a violent storm from south-east caused a heavy swell in the river: many vessels were injured.

1796, January 7.—A violent storm last night did considerable damage.

1805, December 28th and 29th, a great storm—"a mere hurricane," by which several vessels were sunk at the wharves, and others broke loose and went to pieces.

1819, September 28.—The meadows below the city were overflowed by the great rise of the river in the late gale.

1821, September 3.—A great storm of rain and wind from the north-east destroyed many trees, blew down chimnies, and unroofed the bridge at the upper ferry. The Schuylkill dam rose much.

Meteors.—1737, May 7, was seen an Aurora Borealis.

1743, December 8, a comet visible for five or six nights.

1748, April 21, a comet visible for eight or ten nights past.

1750, February 16, a very bright Aurora Borealis.

1756, December 30, people much surprised with the sight of two mock suns.

1807, October 7, a comet visible.

1811, in November and December a comet is seen.

In 1749, 17 of 12 mo.—There was last evening an extraordinary appearance of the Aurora Borealis, which moved from north-east to north-west, and back again.

In 1764, 21 of July.—There was seen at Philadelphia, at seven in the evening, a great fiery meteor, about 50 degrees above the horizon, of bigger apparent diameter than the sun, which exploded in sight of the city with a report like springing of a mine, when were seen thousands of pieces of fire to diverge.

Transit of Venus.—In 1769, month of June, the observation was made at Philadelphia of an event not again to occur for a century. Preparation was previously made at the suggestion of the Philosophical Society. James Dickinson, Esq. who made the proposition to the Assembly, was granted 100£. sterling to purchase a telescope for the occasion. The whole marked an attention to science creditable to the rulers of that day.

Earthquakes.—In October, 1727, shocks of earthquake were felt at night at Philadelphia and at New York and Boston, which set the clocks to running down, and shook off china from the shelves. The 7th December, 1737, at night, a smart shock was felt at Philadelphia, and at Conestogoe, New Castle, &c. When John Penn first arrived, on a Sunday, a strong earthquake was felt as he stepped ashore at High street wharf. It raised some superstition, and it was therefore long remembered, and besides that, when he went home, a dreadful thunder-storm arose, and finally, when he next

time returned here as proprietary, a fierce hurricane arose! March 22, 1758, a smart shock was felt between 10 and 11 P. M. April 25, 1772, a slight shock felt about 8 A. M. November 30, 1783, an earthquake felt in the city, and again on 1st December a strong one was felt. January 8, 1817, the river was much agitated by the earthquake to the southward, tossing about the vessels and raising the water one foot.

Typography.—Philadelphia may claim some peculiarity under this article, for Mathew Carey for many years has printed his 4to edition of the Bible in standing separate types, being the first and only instance of so great a collection of standing type in the world! Christopher Sower too, at Germantown, printed in German the first 4to Bible ever attempted in the United States. Both Sower and B. Franklin were ingenious in their profession, made their own ink, and cut their own wood cuts, before either of them were attempted by others. Franklin even cast some of his own type ornaments. Jacob Bay, and Justice Fox, both made type for C. Sower in Germantown.

See in my MS. *Annals in the City Library*, page 282, a specimen of R. Aitkin's small Bible of 1781, made of importance enough to require the aid of Congress, and by them most formally given. It is a curiosity. There are as many as 425 books and pamphlets, in original works, all printed in Philadelphia before the Revolution,—a fact in our literary annals but very little known.

Aged Animals.—In 1823, month of June, there died, on the plantation of Joseph Walmsley of Byberry, a horse which was 37 years of age. The table of "longevity of animals" states the life of a horse at 25 to 30 years only.

In 1824, the *Pittsburg Mercury* of January, declares there is a horse then working at the brewery there full 31 years of age, of full health and vigour. For the last 14 years he has been at the brewhouse, and hauled 50,000 barrels of beer. One of 31 years of age is now in New York city in a cart, can draw 3000lbs. the property of John Cornish.

Two geese are now alive at Greenwich village, town of Horse-Neck, 85 years of age each. They were hatched on the same place,—are still laying eggs.—J. Mead, owner.

John Kinsey's strange death.—In the year 1748, died at Philadelphia John Kinsey, a young man, son of Judge Kinsey. His death was very singular. He was killed by his own gun whilst resting the but of it on the bottom of a boat, in which he and his friends, on a shooting party, were crossing the Schuylkill at Gray's ferry, on their return home. The piece, from an unknown cause, went off, and shot the shot into his cheek, and thence they ascended into the brain, and he died without uttering a word. But what is peculiarly memorable, is, that he had a remarkable premonition, the evening before, of his catastrophe; and he was then

abroad seeking to dissipate by exercise and novelty of objects, the sad impressions which the occurrence had had upon his spirits.

He dreamed his cousin Pemberton had come to him and told him to prepare to change worlds: while he talked he thought he heard an explosion like thunder, and a flash of fire struck his cheek! [There was no thunder at the time] and he awoke in great perturbation. The sense of the shock was deeply impressed upon his spirits. He, however, composed himself again to sleep, and was again, as he thought, (in dreaming,) visited by many spiritual beings, all of whom seemed to him to intimate his death. The influence of all these things upon his spirits, was very great the next day. He communicated the facts to his family, and endeavoured to dissipate the depression of his spirits, and the constant thought of the past night, by cheerfulness. His companions were sent for to aid him in this object: and it was soon proposed to take a ramble in the woods with their guns. The mother endeavoured much to dissuade him from taking his gun: but it was overruled. They crossed the middle ferry, and in pursuing the game, he sometimes said, I hope no accident will befall any of you, or me,—he often complained that his spirits were sad. At length, after some miles of such exercise, and when on their return, the fatal accident above related terminated his life! I have seen in the possession of Mrs. D. Logan, a letter from John Ross, Esq. of the year 1748, [John Ross lived in the house next to the Farmers and Mechanics Bank, eastward] to his familiar friend Dr. Cadwallader, in which he details all the foregoing facts. He asserts he knows all the parties: and although greatly disinclined to superstition, he is compelled to subscribe to the truth of them, as indubitably true.

Varieties from the Gazettes, &c.—1726—On the last day of December Theophilus Longstreet, of Shrewsbury, of 60 years of age, met with seven swans flying over a meadow, and shot down six of them at the same shot.—a shot never surpassed.

1728.—We have the following surprising, though authentic account of rum imported into Pennsylvania during the year 1728, to wit:—224,500 gallons. In that day no other kind of spirits was used.

1735.—Some fishermen took a shark 7 feet long, above the city; the same year (March 4,) great quantities of codfish were taken off the capes.

1753.—In this year the citizens of Philadelphia employed Captain Swain to go to Hudson's bay, to endeavour to find a north-west passage. He repeats his voyage in next year,—both without any important result.

In 1754.—Month of June, a water spout appeared on the Delaware, opposite to Kensington, which was carried up Cooper's creek, and supposed to break on the shore, where, it is said, considerable damage was done. A school-house was beat down, a

roof blown off, and a new wherry was fitted up and broke to pieces by the fall,—many trees were torn up by it.

In 1748, Christopher Lehman records that on the 4th of May it rained brimstone! Soon as I saw this fact I inferred it must have been the floss from the pines in Jersey, and now I lately see a similar occurrence at Wilmington, North Carolina, from the same cause, and exciting much surprise there.

1758.—I saw a MS. letter from Hugh Roberts to B. Franklin, then in London, which states a rare thing—saying “Our friend, Philip Syng, has lost his excellent son John, strangely. He had been poking a stick into a kitchen sink and holding a lighted candle in the other hand, when a vapour therefrom took fire and so penetrated him that he lost his senses and died in a few days.

Ruinous Speculations.—Philadelphia in common with her sister cities has been occasionally the victim of speculating mania. Six memorable instances have already occurred among us since the establishment of our Independence. The facts concerning them severally, too long for the present objects, have been preserved in my MS. Annals in the City Library, pages 94 to 97. Suffice it here briefly to say—speculation first began soon after the peace, in soldiers’ certificates—changing hands several times in a week and constantly gaining! The scrip of the Bank of the United States was a memorable event. It changed hands hourly and went up from 25 dollars to 140 dollars and then fell suddenly: “It went up like a rocket and fell like its stick!”

The great land speculation of Morris and Nicholson in the interior lands of our State—it was a most engrossing scheme of aggrandizement; very few gained any thing, and many fortunes were ruined. They themselves were desperately ruined, and for the great financier himself it provided him a jail.

After the peace of 1783, deep speculation and great losses were sustained by excessive importations of British goods beyond the means of the country to consume them, prompted by an unparalleled success in sales in a preceding year.

A deep and general speculation occurred in 1813–14. It was begun among the grocers, and, finally, influenced most other branches of business,—finally recoiling, as it was all artificially excited, on all concerned.

In 1825, occurred deep speculations, and ruinous losses eventually, in the purchase of cotton intended for the English market. The wounds then inflicted will long be remembered by some. It was an excited mania of gambling in the article, not at all warranted by the real want or deficiency of the article thus speculated upon.

“How oft has speculation, dreadful foe!
Swept o’er the country, laid our cities low—
The bold projector, restless of delay,
Leaves with contempt, the old and beaten way
Of patient labour—slow and certain gain.

The fruit of care, economy and pain :
 But soon, reverses this conclusion bring,
 Credit and ruin are the selfsame thing !”

Amusing Facts.—Some items partaking of singularity and sometimes of amusement in the contemplation, are here set down, to wit:

In 1720, Edward Horne, by advertisement, offers English saffron, “by retail, for its weight in silver !”

Same year is advertised “best Virginia tobacco cut and sold by James Allen, goldsmith. This union of two such dissimilar pursuits of business strikes one as so incongruous now !

Tobacco pipes of “long tavern size,” are advertised as sold at four shillings per gross, by Richard Warder, pipe-maker, where foul pipes are burnt for eight pence per gross !

1722.—I meet with a strange expression—“*For sale by inch of candle, on Monday next, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, at the Coffee-house, a lot on Society Hill, &c.*”

1723.—Josiah Quinby, of West Chester, New York, a Friend, advertises that he has discovered perpetual motion, and to be moved by the influence of the North star, &c. !! and to be combined with the influence of a well of water over which his machinery should work !

1724.—Andrew Bradford, printer, offers a reward of 15*l.* for apprehending John Jones, a tall, slender lad of 18 years of age, who stole five or six sheets of the 5 shilling and 20 shilling bills, which said Bradford was printing. He escaped after capture from the constable, by slipping out of his coat, and leaving it in the constable's hand. He wore a light bob wig.

In 1728, some wicked fellows in a neighbouring Presbyterian church, in lieu of another functionary, set up a large sturgeon in the pulpit in the hot days, and the church being shut up, it was not known until it became so putrid as to compel the congregation to leave the house and worship in a neighbouring orchard.

1729.—The Welsh having formed themselves into a fellowship, appointed Dr. Wayman to preach them a sermon in their own language, and to give them a Welsh psalm on the organ—then a novelty. But their crowning rarity was, that after sermon, on the Lord's day, they went to drinking healths and firing cannon, to Davis' inn, at the Queen's Head in Water street,—each man wearing at church and in the procession leeks in his hat, &c.—“So did not St. Paul !”

1731.—A certain stonemason was in a fair way of dying the death of a nobleman, for being found napping with his neighbour's wife ; the husband took the advantage of his being asleep to make an attempt to cut off his head. The wit which follows in the reflections on the case, though showing the coarse taste of the readers then, is harmlessly left for the curious on page 118 of my MS. *Annals in the City Library.*

1734.—A widow of Philadelphia was married in her shift, with-

out any other apparel upon her, from a supposition prevalent then, that such a procedure would secure her husband in the law from being sued for any debts of his predecessor. Kalm, in 1748, confirms this fact as a common occurrence when her husband dies in debt. She thus affects to leave all to his creditors. He tells of a woman going from her former home to the house of her intended husband in her shift only, and he meets her by the way and clothes her before witnesses,—saying “he has lent them!”

1737.—A curious writer gives a long list of tavern expressions used to express drunkenness among the tipplers—some are: He has taken Hippocrate’s elixir—he’s as dizzy as a goose—his head is filled with bees—he’s afflicted—he’s made an Indian feast—he’s sore footed—he clips his English—he sees two moons—has eat his opium—he walks by starlight—has sold his senses—has lost his rudder.

1754.—Is advertised as just published “The Youth’s Entertaining Amusement, or a Plain Guide to Psalmody, being a choice collection of tunes sung in the English Protestant congregation in Philadelphia, with rules for learning, by W. Dawson.” I give this title as a curious inadvertency, which expresses with much simplicity of judgment an unwary fact—that the youth and too many of their abettors too often resort to psalmody (which should be worship and adoration if any thing) for mere “entertainment and amusement!”

1765.—There died this year in the Northern Liberties, at the age of sixty, Margaret Gray, remarkable for having had nine husbands!

I sometimes hear anecdotes which I choose to suppress because of their connexion with living names. I think of one which contains much piquancy and spirit, which I shall put down here as illustrating a fact which often occurred in the sudden transitions of men’s conditions in the Revolution, from obscurity to elevation and renown, where accompanied with valour and ambition. A celebrated Friend, a preacher, met an old acquaintance in the streets of Philadelphia, who had been of Friends’ principles, with a sword girt on his side—Why, friend, said he, what is this thou hast bedecked thyself with!—not a rapier! Yes, was the reply; for “liberty or death” is now the watchword of every man who means to defend his property. Why, indeed, rejoined the other, thou art altered throughout, thy mind has become as fierce as thy sword; I had not expected such high feelings in thee: as to property, I thought thee had none, and as to thy liberty, I thought thee already enjoyed that by the kindness of thy creditors! The patriot alluded to was conspicuous in the public measures of the war, and although he never used his sword in actual combat, he directed those who did; and from that day has been a successful candidate to public offices: and, finally, has raised himself a respectable name and estate.

I notice in the old MSS. that they originally called a portman-teau (as we now call it) a *portmantle*,—certainly an appropriate name, as it was originally used as an interlined cover for the necessary cloak or mantle in travelling on horseback. The present word *knapsack*. I also found was originally spelled *snapsack*—an expressive name when we consider it, as it was, a sack which fastened with a snap-spring or lock. As it was in itself a convenient pillow for the traveller when obliged to sleep abroad in the woods, it must have received the nick-name of *nap* among the soldiers. The words *portmantle* and *snap-sack* may be found used in Madame Knight's Journal of 1704. I think I have discovered the cause of the name of "Blue-stockings" to literary ladies;* I find that a century ago it was a mark of lady-like distinction to wear coloured stockings with great clocks—blue and green colours were preferred. The ladies then who formed literary clubs, being of course the best educated, and coming from the upper class in society, were those chiefly who could afford the blue stockings. A pair of those stockings of green silk and broad red clocks, I have lately seen in possession of Samuel Coates, Esq. They were the wedding ones of his grandmother, in Philadelphia, and are double the weight of the present silk hose.

* Lady Montague's story seems too modern to account for it, and looks like a forced explanation.

CURIOSITIES & DISCOVERIES.

THE following facts, for want of a better designation, are arranged under the present head, altho' their value, as *discoveries* or *curiosities*, may have but little claim to future renown, to wit:—

Kalm, the Swedish traveller, when here, in the year 1743, speaks of numerous instances of finding fragments of trees deeply embedded in the earth at Philadelphia and elsewhere. He had himself got a piece of petrified hickory, on the north west side of the town, in the clay pits, then filled with water from a brook, where were many muscle shells,—*Mytili Anatini*. Boys gathered them and brought them to town for sale, where they were considered a dainty. Pieces of trees, roots, and leaves of oak, were often dug up from the well pits, dug in Philadelphia at the depth of eighteen feet. They also found in some places a slime like that which the sea throws on the shore. This slime was often full of trees, branches, reed, charcoal, &c. He relates similar facts from several of the Swedes at Swedesboro'—then called Raccoon, to wit: One King, a man of fifty years of age, had got a well dug on a hill near a rivulet, and at the depth of forty feet, found a quantity of shells of oysters and muscles, besides much reed and pieces of broken branches. Peter Rambo, about sixty years of age, said that in several places at Raccoon, where they had dug deep in the ground, they had found quantities of muscle shells and other marine animals. Sometimes, at twenty feet depth, they discovered logs of wood petrified, and others were charred, probably by some mineral vapour. On making a dike several years before this relation, along the creek on which the Swedish church at Raccoon stood, they found, in cutting through a bank, that it was filled with oyster shells, although it was 120 miles from the nearest sea shore. Often in digging wells they found clams. Similar relations were confirmed by special declarations of Mauns Keen, Iven Lock, Wm. Cobb, Aoke Helm, &c. They related that on one occasion they found, at a depth of twenty to thirty feet, a whole bundle of flax in good condition. It excited great surprise how it could get there. Mr. Kalm imagines it may have been the wild Virginia flax—*Linum Virginianum*. Or it may have been what the Swedes themselves called Indian hemp—*Apocynum Cannabinum*—a plant which for-

merly grew plentifully in old corn ground, in woods and on hills. From this, the Indians made their ropes and fishing tackle, &c. I have been thus particular in this detail, because I have myself a specimen of a "hank of hemp," as the discoverers called it, dug up from a well in the new prison, western yard, near Centre Square, from the bottom of a pit or privy, at 12 feet deep.

Old Mauns Keen, a respectable Swede, told Mr. Kalm, in 1748, that on their making a first settlement at Helsinburg, on the Delaware below Salem, they found in digging to the depth of twenty feet, some wells enclosed with brick walls. The wells were at that time on the land, but in such places as are sometimes under water and sometimes dry. But since that time, the ground has been so washed away (of course old Helsinburg also!) that the wells are entirely covered by the river, and the water is seldom low enough to show the wells. As the Swedes afterwards made new wells at some distance from the former, they discovered in the ground some broken earthen vessels and some entire good bricks, and they often got them out of the ground by ploughing. These facts Mr. Kalm said he often heard repeated by the aged Swedes. Their own belief was that the land, before their settlement there, had been possessed by some other race of Europeans, even possibly as the *Wineland* to which the old Norwegians went. The Indians, too, spoke of those wells as being a tradition, that they had been made by another race of people some centuries before. We shall, however, see in these pages, that the Indians themselves had some rude construction of pottery, but never like the idea of real bricks. The whole suggestion and facts are curious and may afford some speculation.

In digging a well for the house of the late David Rittenhouse, at the north west corner of Seventh and Arch street, they found the remains of a pine tree, at a depth of eighteen feet below ground. On the ground of Mr. Powell, within the same square, another like remains was also found; one of them was laying horizontal from the other, which seemed to be standing; they were obliged to cut off a limb to proceed with their work.

In digging a well for a pump at Bingham's stable, back of the Mansion House, the well-digger found, at the depth of twenty-one feet, the appearance of a former surface and several hickory nuts thereon.

In some part of Spruce street, some distance below the surface, the street commissioner, who told of it to Thomas Bradford, found there a pile of cord wood standing on its end.

The trunk of a buttonwood was found near Arch and Seventh street, at a great depth beneath its present surface. It was embedded in black mud, and had many leaves and acorns about it.

Mr. John Moore, a brick-mason of the city, told me a fact which strongly illustrates the rapid rise of Philadelphia,—to wit: that altho' he is but sixty years of age, he has built five hundred build-

ings. He gave me the following facts, viz. About thirty years ago, in digging a well thirty feet at the south west corner of Eighth and Cherry street for P. Waglam, they came to a pine tree laying horizontal, which they cut through, of great dimensions. Mr. Moore has seven houses in Cherry street, on south side, between eighth and ninth streets. In digging his front well in Cherry street, at thirty feet, they came to marsh mud, and found acorns and oak leaves in abundance, and a little below them they came to fine polished coarse gravel, from the size of pease to filberts. Afterwards he dug two wells back, 140 feet southward on said ground, and at same depth came to precisely the same discoveries of acorns, leaves, and gravel. All the earth, save the first 4 to 4½ feet of made ground, appeared to be the natural strata of loam and sand. When he was building Mr. Girard's stores in north Water street, about twenty-five years ago, they dug out of the cellar ground wine and beer, about one dozen bottles each, which still retained strength, supposed to have been buried there 100 years.

Mr. Graff, the city agent for the water pipes, informed me of his having found in digging, to lay them "near the bank of Pennsylvania," in Second street, as I understood him, at twelve feet below the present surface, a regular pebble pavement. I should expect this to be the case in Walnut street, westward of Second street.

The late aged Timothy Matlack, Esq, told me of his having seen spatterdocks, fresh and green, dug up at eighteen feet depth, at the place called Clarke & Moore's brewhouse, on Sixth street a little below Arch street. This occurred in the year 1760, and the specimens were used by Dr. Kinnersly, in the college before his class.

At the corner of Fourth and Greenleaf alley he saw, at four feet beneath the present surface, the top of a white oak rail post, and they had to dig ten feet more for a fast foundation for a house.

Colonel James Morris, now ninety years of age, told me of his seeing turf dug up at the time of sinking the foundation of Second street bridge over Dock creek. It was a congeries of black fibrous roots. Turf also was seen in digging seventeen feet for a gravel foundation to Francis West's store, in Dock street. The turf was found at twelve feet depth.

The late Jacob Shoemaker said he saw coal taken from a vein found in digging a well at a place on Turner's lane, about a quarter of a mile eastward of the Ridge road. It was, however, more probable it was such charred wood as is now found in the river bank at Bordentown.

Kensington has its foundation on quicksand, so that none of their wells will hold any depth of water.

Governor Dennie's daughter was buried in the Friends' burying ground near the corner of Third and Arch streets. What is curious, is, that after she had been buried thirty years, she was dug up and found entire, but perished when exposed to the air. Her hair had grown as long as the grave-digger could extend his hands.

Her broad riband was entire and was worn afterwards by the digger's daughter ! Her nails were grown too. This relation is well established and fully agrees with some other facts of the enduring quality of silk—for instance, on disinterring the leaden collins of Lord and Lady Bellemont at New York in 1787, the lead was found corroded, but the silk velvet on the lid was entire. At Boston, in 1824, they disinterred a British officer ; the body and clothes were perished, but the silk military sash was sound in material and colour.

Thomas Dixey, a pump-maker and well-digger, a man of seventy years of age, intelligent and respectable, a chief undertaker, in his way, for forty years in the city, having been requested to tell me all he had ever met with as curious under ground, told me, that he has often, in several places, at considerable depths, come across acorns, oyster shells, &c. He told me that in the neighbourhood of Carter's alley and Go-forth alley he dug twenty feet, and came to oyster shells and acorns. He found a great and excellent spring at twenty-eight feet depth, at the corner of Go-forth alley and Dock creek.

When the house No. 72, south Fourth street, a little above Walnut street, west side, was built, they dug nine feet for their cellar, and there came to an old post and rail fence.

Mr. Dixey in digging for a well on the north side of South street, near Third street, on the premises of Mr. Reed, silk dyer, he came, at the depth of 25 feet, across a pine limb of 3 inches thickness, having its bark on it. It had petrified, and he actually ground it into a good hone, and gave it to the said Mr. Reed.

At No. 13, Dock street, the house of Thomas Shields, was found, in digging his cellar, a regular fire hearth, one and a half feet below the present springtide mark.

Christian Witmeck, an old digger of wells in the Northern Liberties, mentioned some discoveries about Peggs run. In Lowber's tanyard at 13 feet depth cut across a small fallen tree—dug 38 feet; at 34 feet they came to wood; full as much as 24 feet was of black mud. In digging a well near there for Thomas Steel, No. 81, St. John street, he came, at 21 feet depth, to real turf of 10 feet thickness; at 26 feet depth they came to a crotch of a pine tree.

The clay in the vicinity of the new prison in Arch street, by Centre Square, is the deepest in the city, being 28 feet deep. In digging 28 feet on Singer's lot near there, Mr. Groves came to gravel and dug up a limb of an oak tree of 5 inches thickness, and longer than the well across which it lay. Some oak leaves, and the impressions of several were marked on the clay. Mr. Grove found an Indian tomahawk at 5 feet depth in M'Crea's lot, in Chesnut street, *vis a vis* Dorsey's Gothic mansion.

In digging a well for Thatcher, in Front near to Noble street, they came, at the depth of 28 feet, to an oak log of 18 inches thickness, quite across the pit. The whole was alluvial deposit in that

neighbourhood. Turf was dug out and burnt,—in digging for the drain wells of 28 feet depth under the present Sansom's row in Second street, north of Pegg's run.

In Race street, between Front and Second streets, in digging the foundation of the engine house now there, they dug up an Indian grave and found the bones.

At the corner of Eighth and Cherry streets, in digging a well at the depth of 40 feet. (says Joseph Sansom) they found a fallen log.

Other facts of sub-terrene discoveries will be found in other parts of this work connected with certain localities spoken of severally.

In 1707-8, there was much expectation, through the suggestions of Governor Evans, of a great discovery of valuable minerals in Pennsylvania. William Penn on hearing of it begged an explanation, and hoped it might relieve him from his embarrassments! It proved, however, to be a deceit of one Mitchel, who had been a miner in England. He pretended he was led to the discovery by a Shawnese king. Some of the "black sand," &c. was sent to Penn to assay it.

In 1722, Mine land is spoken of as having been taken up for Sir William Keith, at a place beyond Susquehanna.

In 1728, James Logan writes of there being then four furnaces in the colony, in blast.

About the year 1790, John Nancarro, a Scotchman, had a furnace under ground for converting iron into steel. It stood at the north west corner of Ninth and Walnut streets. There a curious fact occurred which but for this record might puzzle the *cognoscenti* and antiquaries, at some future day,—such as whether the aborigines had not understood the art of fusing iron, &c. The fact was this: The great mass of five tons of iron bars which were in the furnace, was suddenly converted into a great *rock of steel*, by reason of a fissure in the furnace which let in the air, and consumed the charcoal, whereby the whole run into *steel*, equal to 4 to 5 tons. Some houses of very shallow cellars have been since erected over the place, and all are quite unconscious of the treasure which rests beneath them. It was an open lot when so used by Nancarro.

There is a curious and unaccountable vault far under ground, in the back premises of Messrs. John and C. J. Wister,—say, No. 139, High street, north side, and between Third and Fourth streets. At 14 feet depth is a regular arched work of stone, of 16 feet long, and without any visible outlet. In breaking into its top to know its contents, they found nothing therein, save a log laying along the whole length. They sealed it up again, and the privy wall now rests upon it. There is no conjecture formed concerning what it may have been constructed for, nor at what time it may have been made. Dr. Franklin once lived in the adjoining house, No. 141; (both houses belonged to Wister) whether the vault could have had any connection with his philosophy, may be a question.

In 1738, it is announced in the Gazette, that they have the pleasure to acquaint the world, that the famous Chinese plant *Gin Seng*, is now discovered in the province, near Susquehanna. It appears from the specimens sent home that it agrees with Du Haldes' account, and with Chambers' Dictionary exactly.

STATISTIC FACTS.



AN attention to the following facts may serve to show the progress of society, by marking its increase in population, houses, exports, &c. at successive periods, to wit :

1683.—William Penn's letter of that year, says, "I mentioned in my last account, that from my arrival in 1682 to the date hereof, being ten months, we have got up fourscore houses at our town, and that some villages were settled about it. From that time to my coming away, which was a year within a few weeks, the town advanced to 357 houses, divers of them large, well built, with good cellars, three stories, and some balconies." Thus settling the fact that they built 357 houses in the first year !

1685.—Robert Turner, in his letter to William Penn of this year, says, "The town goes on in planting and building to admiration, both in the front and backward, and there are about 600 houses in three years time."

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

1720.—The taxables are stated by Proud at 1195 persons, in city and county.

1723.—The imports from England was 15,992*l.* sterling.

1728-9.—There were frozen up in the docks this winter, about the city, 14 ships, 3 snows, 8 brigantines, 9 sloops, 2 schooners besides shallops, &c. The whole number of churches then were but six.

1730.—The imports from England was 48,595*l.* sterling.

1727 to '39.—From an account of the highest and lowest number of votes given at the elections, and known by the return of members of Assembly, we ascertain the votes for the county of Philadelphia to have been as follows, to wit :

Election—1727—highest number, 787,—lowest number, 432				
1728,	do.	971,	do.	487
1730,	do.	622,	do.	365

Election—1732,—highest number, 904,—lowest number, 559

1734,	do.	821,	do.	441
1735,	do.	1097,	do.	517
1736,	do.	719,	do.	439
1737,	do.	904,	do.	497
1738,	do.	1306,	do.	736
1739,	do.	555,	do.	332

1737.—The imports from England was, this year 58,690£. sterling.—Vide Proud.

1740.—The taxables are stated by Proud at 4850 persons, in city and county.

1741.—We are indebted to a friend for the subsequent statement of the number of taxable inhabitants of the city and county of Philadelphia, for this year. They have been copied from the books of his venerable ancestor, who was Assessor, &c. for several years.

Statement of the number of Taxable Inhabitants of the City and County of Philadelphia, in the year 1741.

[The city was then divided into *ten* wards, and the county then extended to the southern limits of Berks county, and embraced the whole of the county of Montgomery.]

Number of Taxables in the City in 1741.

1. Dock Ward, - - -	183	Brought over, - - -	880
2. Lower Delaware, - -	115	7. Upper Delaware, - -	99
5. Walnut, - - -	98	8. High Street, - - -	151
4. South, - - -	105	9. Mulberry, - - -	309
5. Middle, - - -	236	10. North, - - -	182
6. Chesnut, - - -	143		
	<hr/>	City Total - - -	1621
Carried over, - - -	880		<hr/>

Number of Taxable Inhabitants in the County in 1741.

[The County then contained 47 Townships.]

Amity, - - -	70	Brought over, - - -	657
Abington, - - -	92	Dublin, Lower, - - -	125
Allamingle, - - -	37	Dublin, Upper, - - -	77
Biberry, - - -	52	Exeter, - - -	76
Bristol, - - -	64	Franconia, - - -	59
Blockley, - - -	72	Frankford and } - - -	87
Creesham, - - -	60	N. Hanover, }	
Cheltenham, - - -	67	Frederick, - - -	76
Colebrook Dale, - - -	85	Germantown, - - -	168
Douglass, - - -	58	Gwyned, - - -	93
	<hr/>		<hr/>
Carried over, - - -	657	Carried over, - - -	1418

<i>Brought over</i>	-	-	1418	<i>Brought over,</i>	-	-	2543
Hanover, Upper,	-	-	97	Providence,	-	-	146
Horsham,	-	-	80	Perkiomen and	}	-	73
Kingsess,	-	-	59	Skipake,			
Limerick,	-	-	59	Passyunk and	}	-	78
Moreland Manor,	-	-	125	Moyamensing,*			
Montgomery,	-	-	54	Plymouth,	-	-	46
Maiden Creek,	-	-	75	Roxborough,	-	-	38
Merion, Upper,	-	-	52	Sulford,	-	-	174
Merion, Lower,	-	-	101	Springfield,	-	-	29
Menatauny,	-	-	111	Towamensing,	-	-	55
Northern Liberties,	-	-	151	Whippan,	-	-	56
Norrington,	-	-	25	White Marsh,	-	-	89
Oxford,	-	-	78	Worcester,	-	-	70
Ouley,	-	-	58	Wayamesing,	-	-	25
			<hr/>				<hr/>
<i>Carried over,</i>	-	-	2543	<i>County Total,</i>	-	-	3422

Comparative Statement.

	In 1741.	In 1826.	Increase.	
City Taxables.	<u>1,621</u>	<u>11,120</u>	<u>9,499</u>	
County Taxables, to wit, in				
Biberry,	52	190	138	
Bristol,	64	272	208	
Blockley,	72	512	440	
Lower Dublin,	125	488	363	
Germantown,	168	881	713	
Kingsessing,	59	162	103	
Moreland,†	125	89	—	
Northern Liberties,	151	7,996	7845	
Oxford,	78	484	406	
Passyunk and	}	216	3,327	
Moyamensing.		78		729
Southwark,				2,460
Roxborough,	38	448	410	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	
Totals,	1,010	14,927	13,953	
Decrease in Moreland,	-	-	36	
			<hr/>	
			13,917	

* The whole of that portion of land, south of the city, now called "The District of Southwark," was included in the township of Moyamensing, until the year 1762, when the Legislature of Pennsylvania passed a law creating it a separate district, to be thereafter known as the "District of Southwark."

† The Act of the Legislature, creating the county of Montgomery, cut off so large a portion of the original township of Moreland, (adding it to the county of Montgomery) as to leave but a small number of the taxable inhabitants within the present limits of that township, which accounts for their number having decreased from 125 to 89.

In that portion of the then county of Philadelphia, now forming the county of Montgomery.	2,412	7,959	5,547
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RECAPITULATION.

<i>Taxables in the</i>	<i>In 1741.</i>	<i>In 1826.</i>	<i>Increase.</i>
City of Philadelphia,	1,621	11,120	9,499
County of Philadelphia,	1,010	14,927	13,917
County of Montgomery,	2,412	7,959	5,547
<i>Totals, - - -</i>	<i>5,043</i>	<i>34,006</i>	<i>28,963</i>

1742.—The imports from England this year was 75,295*£*. sterling.

1744.—A letter from Secretary Peters to the proprietaries, states the population of the city as estimated at 13,000 people and 1500 houses. The same is confirmed in the same year, by the minutes of the City Council.

1747.—The imports from England this year were 82,404*£*. sterling.

1749.—This spring the houses in the several wards were counted by the following named gentlemen, and amounted to 2076 in number, to wit:

In Mulberry Ward,	488,	by Dr. Franklin,
Dock Ward,	245,	Joseph Shippen,
Lower Delaware,	110,	William Allen,
Upper Delaware,	109,	T. Hopkinson,
South,	117,	Edward Shippen,
High Street Ward,	147,	T. Lawrence, jun.
Walnut,	104,	James Humphries,
Chesnut,	110,	J. Turner,
North,	196,	William Shippen,
Middle,	238,	William Coleman,
	<u>1864,</u>	
South suburbs,	150,	Edward Shippen,
North do.	62,	William Shippen,
	<u>2076</u>	houses.

At the same time (1749) the places of worship were these, to wit:

1 Episcopalian,	2 Presbyterian,
2 Friends,	1 Baptist,
1 Swedish,	1 Dutch Lutheran,
1 Dutch Calvinist,	1 Moravian,
1 Roman Catholic.	

The same year (1749) Proud states that 25 large ships arrived with Germans, bringing 600 persons each, making together 12,000 souls in one year, and that nearly as many came annually from Ireland, so as to people whole counties of those two nations.

1751.—The imports from England this year were 190,917*l.* sterling.—Vide Proud.

1752.—Dr. Franklin stated before the House of Commons, that 10,000 hogsheads of flaxseed had been in that year exported from Philadelphia—making 70,000 bushels, and that all the flax that grew with it they manufactured into coarse linen. On George Heap's map the exports are detailed thus, viz. 125,960 barrels of flour, 86,500 bushels of wheat, 90,740 bushels of corn, 249 tons of bread, 3431 barrels of beef, and 4812 barrels of pork.

1753.—There were ascertained by the assessor to be 2300 houses, including the city and suburbs.

1760.—There were ascertained by the same assessor to have been in the city and suburbs 2969 houses, and 8321 taxables in the city and county. It was also officially reported that there were then 5687 taxable inhabitants in the whole county of Philadelphia, and their county tax was laid at 5653*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.* The city tax was laid at 5633*l.* 13*s.* on 2634 taxables. At the same time were reported as within the county, the following mills, to wit:—83 gristmills, 40 sawmills, 6 papermills, 1 oilmill, 12 ful-lingmills, 1 horse-mill, 1 windmill, and 6 forges.

1766.—Dr. Franklin, when examined this year before a committee of the House of Commons, respecting the repeal of the Stamp Act, stated the following facts, to wit:

He supposed there were in Pennsylvania about 160,000 white inhabitants, of whom one-third were Quakers, and one-third were Germans.

The taxes were then laid on all estates, real and personal—a poll tax—a tax on offices and professions, trades and businesses, according to their profit—an excise on all wine, rum, and other spirits, and 10*l.* duty per head on all negroes imported.

The tax on all estates, real and personal, was 18*d.* in the pound, fully rated, and the tax on the profits of trades and professions, &c. made about 2*s.* 6*d.* in the pound. The poll tax on unmarried men was 15*s.* per head. All the taxes in Pennsylvania then produced about 20,000*l.* per annum.

He said he thought our people increase faster than in England, because they marry younger and more generally, and this they did because they may easily obtain land by which to raise their families. He said the people had by general agreement disused all goods fashionable in mournings.

The imports from Great Britain he presumed to be above 500,000*l.* per annum, and the exports to Britain he supposed did not exceed 40,000*l.* per annum.

1767.—The exports of Philadelphia for one year were thus offi-

cially stated, to wit : 367,500 bushels of wheat, 198,516 barrels of flour, 34,736 barrels of bread, 60,206 bushels of corn, 6645 barrels of pork, 609 barrels of beef, 882 tons of bar iron, 813 tons of pig iron, 12094 hogsheds of flaxseed, 1288 barrels of beer.

1769.—In December of this year the assessor gave in the following list of houses then ascertained, to wit :

In Mulberry Ward,	920
Upper Delaware,	234
North,	417
High street,	166
Middle,	358
Chesnut,	112
South,	147
Walnut,	105
Lower Delaware,	120
Dock,	739
	<hr/>
	3318

In the Northern Liberties or Northern suburbs to Second street bridge, over Stacy's run, (Cohocksinc) 553—and in Southwark or southern suburbs to the north side of Love lane 608—making together 4474 in the city and suburbs, of dwellinghouses exclusively.

1770.—This year the number of houses were ascertained to have been—

Within the city bounds,	3318
In the Northern Liberties,	553
In Southwark,	603
	<hr/>
	4474—estimated to

contain 25 to 30,000 souls.

At the same time the number of churches were ascertained to have been 16, to wit :

3 Episcopalians,	1 Methodist,
4 Presbyterians,	2 German Lutheran,
1 Baptist,	1 German Calvinist,
1 Moravian,	1 Swedish Lutheran,
2 Papists.	

1771.—The taxable inhabitants are stated by Proud as being 10,455 in number for the city and county, of whom 3751 were of the city. The exports of Philadelphia, in the same year, were conveyed in 361 square-rigged vessels, and 391 sloops and schooners—making in all 46,654 tons, of which there were 252,744 barrels of flour, 259,441 bushels of corn, and 110,412 bushels of flaxseed.

1772.—The following comparative facts of several years, down to this year, have been given by R. Proud, and may serve still further to illustrate the statistics of those early days, to wit :

Of Exports.

In 1731, when wheat was at 2s. 6d. and flaxseed 4s. 8d. they amounted to 62,584 <i>l</i> .					
1749, do.	5s. 3d.	do.	10s. 8d.	do.	148,104
1750, do.	4s.	do.	10s.	do.	155,174
1751, do.	3s. 10d.	do.	6s. 6d.	do.	187,457
1765, do.	5s. 3d.	do.	9s. 3d.	do.	422,614
1772, do.	5s. 6d.	do.	8s.	do.	571,050

I have before noted the amounts of several annual imports from England, under their several years. The last which I stated, in the year 1751, made the amount to be 190,917*l*. sterling; but from and after the year 1761, they sunk greatly. No cause is assigned by Proud, who states the following annual amounts, to wit:

Imports of 1761,	38 099 <i>l</i> . sterling.
1762,	38,228 do.
1763,	36,258 do.
1764,	25,148 do.
1765,	26,851 do.

As the war with France began in 1756, and ended in 1763, the trade may have been so embarrassed as to have diminished much, both the ability and the safety of importation. After the peace, we know that the agitated question of "taxing America," made the people of set purpose use domestic fabrics in lieu of foreign supplies, so as by all means to diminish the trade of England with us.

1777.—In October of this year, General Howe being then in possession of Philadelphia, and many of the inhabitants gone off because of the war, or the dread of the British, an accurate census was taken by order of General Cornwallis, to wit:

Houses in the city,	3508
in Southwark,	781
in the Northern Liberties,	1170
	<hr/>
	5470

Five hundred and eighty-seven of the houses were found untenanted. There were 287 stores; there were also found to be 21,767 inhabitants, exclusive of the army and strangers.

Years.	City contained	N. Liberties.	Southwark.	Total.
In 1790,	28,522 souls	8333	5661	42,516
1800,	41,223	16,970	9621	67,811
1810,	53,722	21,558	13,707	88,987

William Sansom, Esq. who has been for several years a minute observer of the progress of the city in its increase of buildings, has furnished the following data, to wit:

In 1802, new houses erected were 464	} The detail of those houses, showing in what streets they were built, may be consulted on p. 518 of my MS. Annals. in Hist. See
1803, do. 385	
1804, do. 273	
1809. do. 1295	

In the next year the total number of buildings was ascertained and found to be 20,260—say 8874 in the city, 2998 in the Northern Liberties, and 2301 in Southwark, and their inhabitants 88,988. If we should pursue this data, it is deemed reasonable to conclude that in the last eighteen years, from 1809 to 1827, the new buildings may have averaged 600 in each year, thus producing an increase of 10,800 to be added to the former 20,260, and thus forming an aggregate of about 31,000 buildings, and a probable total of 133,000 inhabitants in 1827. I deem this estimate high enough, but the next census will check it.

In the year 1823, the churches were ascertained to be 80 in number, to wit :

13 Presbyterian,	5 Friends,
10 Episcopalian,	4 Papists,
8 Baptist,	26 of all other denominations.
14 Methodist,	(Vide Poulson's paper of 24th of March.)

Philadelphia, as a great commercial city, kept a proud pre-eminence of the cities in the Union, until about the year 1820. In the year 1796, the exports of Philadelphia were above one-fourth of the whole United States, being then 17,613,866 dollars, but as quickly as the year 1820, she became as low as the seventh State in the grade of the Union ! The exports of New York, in 1792, was but 2,930,370 dollars, but in 1820, it was 13,163,244 dollars ! Thus, as Philadelphia has been sinking, New York has been rising, and her great canal will give her still more decided advantages, until we in turn derive our increase from our purposed inland improvements. Even the exports of Baltimore, in 1820, recent as has been her growth, was, in 1820, 865,825 dollars more than ours !

I since find the following facts concerning the number of burials occurring in the city about a century ago, to wit :

In 1722, the Gazette began first to record the death and burials of the month, to wit : In February, 1722, for one month, it was three of the Church of England—Quakers four, and Presbyterians, none.

In 1729 to '30, the interments in one year, from December to December, were 227 in number, to wit : In Church ground 81—in Quaker 39—in Presbyterian 18—in Baptist 18, and in strangers' ground (the present Washington Square, an adorned grave ground now for them !) 41 whites and 30 blacks. In some weeks I perceived but one and two persons a week, and in one week none. It is worthy of remark that although the influence of Friends was once so ascendant as to show a majority of their population, yet it seems from the above, that the churchmen must have been then most numerous. In the week ending the 15th of July, 1731, I noticed the burials of that week were "none !"

WHALES AND WHALERY.

“The huge potentate of the scaly train.”

IT will much surprise a modern Philadelphian, to learn how very much the public attention was once engaged in the fishery of whales along our coast, and to learn withal, that they disdained not occasionally to leave their briny deeps to explore and taste the gustful fresh waters of our Delaware,—even there,

“Enormous sails incumbent, an animated Isle,
And in his way dashes to heaven's blue arch the foaming wave.”

“The Free Society of Traders” had it as a part of their original scheme of profit, to prosecute extensively the catching of whales. To this purpose, they instituted a whalery near Lewistown, and as I am inclined to think there was once in some way connected with the whalery, a place of sale or deposit at the junction of “Whalebone alley” and Chesnut street, on the same premises now Pritchett's. The old house which formerly stood there, had a large whalebone affixed to the wall of the house, and when lately digging through the made earth in the yard, they dug up several fragments of whales, such as tails, fins, &c. Its location there originally was by the tide water ranging in Dock creek. Be this as it may, we are certain of the whales and the whaleries, from facts like the following, to wit :

In 1683, William Penn, in writing to the above Society, says, “The whalery hath a sound and fruitful bank, and the town of Lewes by it, to help your people.”

In another letter of the same year he says, “Mighty whales roll upon the coast, near the mouth of the bay of the Delaware ; eleven caught and worked into oil in one season. We justly hope a considerable profit by a whalery, they being so numerous and the shore so suitable.”

In another letter of 1683, William Penn again says, “Whales are in great plenty for oil, and two companies of whalers, and hopes of finding plenty of good cod in the bay.”

In 1688, Phineas Pemberton, of Peunsbury, records a singular visiter, saying, “a whale was seen in the Delaware as high as the Falls !”

In 1722, deficiency of whales is intimated, saying in the Gazette.

that there are but four whales killed on Long Island, and but little oil is expected from thence.

In 1730, a cow-whale of fifty feet length is advertised as going ashore to the northward of Cape May, dead. The harpooners are requested to go and claim it. Thus showing, I presume, that a fishery was then near there, by the same persons who may have harpooned it.

In 1733, month of April, two whales, supposed to be a cow and a calf, appeared in the river before the city. They were pursued and shot at by people in several boats, but escaped notwithstanding. What a rare spectacle it must have been to the fresh-water cocknies of the city!

In 1735, month of July, some fishermen proved their better success at this time in capturing an ocean fish, such as a shark of seven feet length in a net, a little above the city. The Gazette of the day says it is but seldom a shark is found so high in fresh water. If that was strange in that day, it was still stranger in modern times, when "a voracious shark" of nine feet long and 500wt. was caught at Wind Mill Cove, only five miles below Philadelphia, in July, 1823. Not long after, say in January, 1824, near the same place, was taken a seal of four feet four inches long, and 61lbs. weight, near the Repaupa flood gates.

About the same time another was taken in Elk River. Many years ago seals were often seen about Amboy, but to no useful purpose.

In 1736, February, "two whales are killed at Cape May, equal to 40 barrels of oil, and several more are expected to be killed " by the whalemens on the coast."

Finally, the last "huge potentate of the scaly train" made his visit up the Delaware about the year 1809,—then a whale of pretty large dimensions, to the great surprise of our citizens, was caught near Chester. He was deemed a rare wanderer, and as such became a subject of good speculation as an exhibition in Philadelphia and elsewhere. Thomas Pryor, who purchased it made money by it, and in reference to his gain was called "Whale Pryor." The jaws were so distended as to receive therein an armchair in which visitors sat.

GRAPES AND VINEYARDS.



NUMEROUS incidental intimations and facts evince the expectations originally entertained for making this a flourishing grape and wine country. Before Penn's arrival, the numerous grapevines every where climbing the branches of our forest trees, gave some sanction to the idea that ours may have been the ancient *Wineland* so mysteriously spoken of by the Norwegian writers. Almost all the navigators, on their several discoveries, stated their hopes from the abundance of grapevines with exultation. But neglecting these we have substituted whisky!

Penn in his letter of 1683, to the Free Society of Traders, says, "Here are grapes of divers sorts. The great red grape, now ripe, (in August,) called by ignorance the foxgrape, because of the rich relish it hath with unskilful palates, is in itself an extraordinary grape, and by art, doubtless may be cultivated to an excellent wine—if not so sweet, yet little inferior to the Frontinac, as it is not much unlike in taste, ruddiness set aside, which in such things, as well as mankind, differs the case much. There is a kind of muscadel, and a little black grape, like the cluster grape of England, not yet so ripe as the other, but they tell me, when ripe, sweeter; and that they only want skilful vigneron to make good use of them. Then he adds—I intend to venture on it with my Frenchman this season, who shows some knowledge in these things. At the same time he questions whether it is best to fall to fining the grapes of the country, or to send for foreign stems and sets already approved. If God spare his life, he will try both means—[a mode of practice recently obtaining favour with several experimenters.] Finally, he says, I would advise you to send for some thousands of plants out of France with some able vigneron."

With such views, Penn, as we shall presently shew, instituted several small experiments. He and others naturally inferred, that a country so fruitful in its spontaneous productions of grapes, must have had a peculiar adaptation for the vine. When the celebrated George Fox, the founder of Friends, was a traveller through our wooden wilderness, he expressly notices his perpetual embarrassments in riding, from the numerous entangling grapevines. The same too is expressly mentioned by Pastorious, in his traversing

the original site of Philadelphia. And when Kalm was here in 1748, he speaks of grapevines in every direction, the moment he got without the bounds of the city; and in his rides to Germantown and Chester, &c. he found them all along his way. Thus numerous and various as they once were, it may be a question, whether, in the general destruction of the vines since, we have not destroyed several of peculiar excellence, since modern accidental discoveries have brought some excellent specimens to notice,—such as the Orwigsburg and Susquehanna.

In 1685, William Penn, in speaking of his vineyard to his steward, James Harrison, writes: “Although the vineyard be as yet of no value, and I might be out of pocket, till I come, be regardful to Andrew Dore the Frenchman. He is hot but I think honest. This, I presume, refers to the vigneron, and to the vineyard at Springetsbury.

In another letter he writes to recommend Charles de la Noe, a French minister, who intends, with his two servants, to try a vineyard, and if he be well used more will follow.”

In 1686, he writes to the same steward, saying, “All the vines formerly sent and in the vessel (now) are intended for Andrew, (Dore,) at the Schuylkill, for the vineyard. I could have been glad of a taste last year, as I hear he made some. Again he says, if wine can be made by Andrew Dore, at the vineyard, it will be worth to the province thousands by the year,—there will be hundreds of vineyards, if it takes. I understand he produced ripe grapes by the 28th of 5 mo. from shoots of 15 or 16 mos. planting. Many French are disheartened by the Carolinas (for vines) as not hot enough!”

About the time William Penn was thus urging the cultivation of the vine, his enlightened friend Pastorius, the German and scholar, was experimenting, as he expressly says, on his little vineyard in Germantown,

How those vineyards succeeded, or how they failed, we have no data on which to found an explanation now. We behold, however, now, that Mr. E. H. Bonsall is succeeding with a vineyard among us; and at Little York the success is quite encouraging.

The following description of the discovery and character of the Susquehanna grape, will probably go far to prove the superiority of some natural grapes once among us, or leave grounds to speculate on the possibility of birds conveying off some of Penn's above-mentioned imported seeds! Another new and excellent grape has been discovered on the line of the new canal, beyond the Susquehanna.

About a year ago, there were obtained some cuttings of a grapevine which was discovered by Mr. Dininger, on an island in the Susquehanna, called Brushy Island. The island upon which this vine was found is uninhabited and uncultivated, the soil alluvial, and subject to overflow. The vine runs upon a large sycamore.

spreading through the top branches, to the height of forty or fifty feet from the ground, and appears to have grown with the tree, the root being from 20 to 30 feet from the tree. The wood, leaf and early shoots very much resemble what is called Miller's Burgundy, also the fruit, in colour and flavour; but in size it is much larger. It was observed, that the fruit obtained in September, 1827, was a deep brown; that of the next season, some were brown and others a deep black. The difference was accounted for by Mr. Dininger, who stated that the brown bunches were those that were shaded from the sun by the thick foliage of the tree; but those exposed to the sun were black. Some of the bunches procured that season were very fine, and set closely upon the stem—fruit the size of the Powel grape, skin thin, *no pulp*, a sweet water, seed small, flavour equal to the celebrated *Black Prince*, and not inferior to any foreign grape, for the table.

It is believed to be a truth, that no native grape was previously found, that did not possess a secondary skin, enclosing a stringy pulp, and most of them possessing a husky flavour, proving their affinity to the fox. But because this one, found on the Susquehanna, is an exception—because it possesses all the delicate sweetness, tenderness of skin, and delicious flavour of the most esteemed exotics, we are not willing to concede that it is not entitled to be classed among the native productions of our soil.

In favour of its being purely of American origin, we will state, that the island on which it was found, has never been inhabited, that lying immediately below Eshleman's falls the approach to it is difficult, and that it has rarely been visited, except by the proprietor, an aged man named Fales, lately deceased, who did not trouble himself about grapes, native or foreign; and merely used it as a place to turn young cattle upon in the summer season. The sycamore, of which it is the parasite, appears to be about 40 years old, and the vine is rooted about 30 feet from the stem of the tree, under a pile of drift wood, from which it runs along the ground, in company with three other vines of the fox or chicken variety, apparently of the same age, and interwoven climb the tree together. From appearances one should judge that the tree is not older than the vine—that the young sycamore in its growth carried the vine with it.

At the period in which this vine must have taken root, foreign grapes were little known in the United States, and then their cultivation was confined to the neighbourhood of the great Atlantic cities.

None of the foreign varieties we have seen correspond in appearance with this fruit, for though the wood and leaf of Miller's Burgundy are so similar as scarcely to be distinguished apart, yet the bunches and fruit of that of the Susquehanna are much larger.

Again—we have many stories related through the country, by persons worthy of credit, of the delicious grapes found upon the

islands of the Susquehanna. Some described as *white*, some *red*, *black*, *purple*, &c. without pulp, and all ripening in August and September. It was these reports urged several gentlemen to the pursuit, which has been so far crowned with success, in the discovery of the kind above described. Mr. D. was one of several citizens who visited the Brushy Island in the autumn of 1827, and saw the vine, and from the observations then made and facts that have since come to his knowledge, says, I have no doubt that there does exist in those islands a variety of grapes, equal for the table or for wine, to any that have been imported; and that they are purely native.

Of the grape now discovered, we understand there are from two to three hundred plants, in the possession of different gentlemen in that neighbourhood, in vigorous growth, independent of those in the possession of Col. Carr and the Messrs. Landreths, of Philadelphia.

Charles Thomson used to tell that the most luscious and excellent wild grape he ever tasted, grew in a meadow on the road to Chester. He thought the fruit so fine that he intended at a proper season to procure cuttings for its cultivation, but found the stupid owner had destroyed it, because it shaded "too much his ground!"

BEASTS OF PREY, & GAME.

“The squirrels, rabbits, and the timid deer,
To beasts of prey are yet exposed here.”—[POEM, 1729.]

THE following notices of the state of wild animals roaming through our woody waste in early days, will aid the mind to perceive the state of cultivation which has since banished the most of them from our territories—to wit :

Mr. Kalm, the Swedish traveller, who was here in 1748, says that all the old Swedes related, that during their childhood, and still more in the time of the arrival of their fathers, there were excessive numbers of wolves prowling through the country, and howling and yelping every night, often destroying their domestic cattle.

In that early day, a horrible circumstance occurred for the poor Indians. They got the smallpox from the new settlers. It killed many hundreds of them. The wolves, scenting the dead bodies, devoured them all, and even attacked the poor sick Indians in their huts, so that the few who were left in health were much busied to keep them off.

The Swedes, he said, had tamed some few wolves. Beavers they had so tamed, that they were taken to fish with, and bring the fish they caught to their keepers. They also tamed wild geese and wild turkies. Those wild turkies which he saw in the woods were generally larger than those of the domestic race.* The Indians also tamed the turkies and kept them near their huts. Minks were very numerous along the waters.†

In 1721, mo. September, several bears, says the Gazette, were seen yesterday near this place, and one was killed at Germantown, and another near Darby. Last night a very large bear being spied by two amazons as he was eating his supper of acorns up a tree, they called some inhabitants of this place (the city !) to their assistance, and he was soon fetch'd down and despatched by them.

* Penn speaks of turkies weighing from 40 to 50 pounds.

† Hector St. John, of Carlisle, in 1780, speaks of it as practised there to render rattlesnakes harmless, and to keep them as matters of curiosity and amusement. If they find such a snake asleep, they put a small forked stick on their necks, by which they hold them firm to the ground, and in that state give them a piece of leather to bite. This they jerk back with great force, until they find their two poisonous fangs torn out. Once he saw a tamed one quite gentle. It was delighted to be stroked with a soft brush, and would turn off its back to make it more grateful. It would take to the water and come back at a call.

As late as the year 1724 & '29, they gave a premium, by law, of 15 to 20s. for wolves, and 2s. for foxes. This was for the purpose of destroying them out of the country.

In 1729, a panther was killed at Conestogoe. It had disturbed the swine in their pen at night. The owner ran to the place with his dogs, and the beast then ascended a tree. It being very dark, the women brought fire and made a flame near it. It was shot at twice. The second fire broke both its legs, when, to their surprise, it made a desperate leap and engaged with the dogs, until a third shot in the head despatched it.

About the same time, a monstrous panther was killed at Shrewsbury, by an Indian. Its legs were thicker than those of a horse, and the nails of its claws were longer than a man's finger. The Indian was creeping to take aim at a buck in view, when hearing something rustling behind him, he perceived the panther about to spring upon him. He killed him with four swan shot in the head.

In 1730, a woman in Chester county going to mill, spied a deer fast asleep near the road. She hit it on the head with a stone and killed it.

The latest mention of buffaloes nearest to our region of country, is mentioned in 1730, when a gentleman from the Shanadore, Va. saw there a buffalo killed of 1400 pounds, and several others came in a drove at the same time.

1732.—At Hopewell, in New Jersey, two bucks were seen fighting near the new meeting-house, in the presence of a black doe. They fastened their horns so closely that they could not separate, and were so taken alive! The doe also was taken. Another brace had been before caught in a similar extremity!

In 1749, the treasurers of the several counties declared their treasuries were exhausted by their premiums paid for squirrels. 8,000£. was paid in one year (says Kalm) for grey and black squirrels at 3d. a head, making the enormous aggregate of 640,000! The premium was then reduced to half price.

Samuel Jefferies, who died near West Chester in 1823, at the age of 87, very well remembered a time in his early life when deer were plenty in his neighbourhood—and Anthony Johnson, of Germantown, tells me of often hearing from his grandfather there, of his once killing deer, beavers, and some bears and wolves in that township.

Mr. Kalm, when here in 1748, says, all then agreed that the quantities of birds for eating were then diminished. In their forefathers' days, they said the waters were covered with all sorts of water-fowl. About 60 to 70 years before, a single person could kill eighty ducks of a morning! An old Swede of 90 years told Mr. Kalm he had killed twenty-three ducks at one shot! The wild turkies and the hazel-hens (pheasants) too, were in abundance in flocks in the woods. Incredible numbers of cranes visited the country every spring. They spoke also of fish being once much more

abundant. At one draught they caught enough to load a horse : and *codfish*, since all gone, were numerous at the mouth of the Delaware.

In the year 1751, as I was assured by the late aged Timothy Matlack, Esq. there was killed a bear, at the square now open eastward and adjoining the present poorhouse, nine years before it was built, in 1760. He was killed by Reuben Haines, grandfather of the present gentleman of that name. He and five others had started him from near Fairmount, and chased him through the woods nearly five miles when he took to a cherry tree at the square aforesaid. They had no gun, but remaining there till one was procured, he was shot down. Mr. Matlack declared this was a fact. Penn's woods, we know, were then existing thereabout.

In 1750, a woman killed a large bear at Point no Point. She lived there with Robert Watkins, and while she was at work near the kitchen outhouse, he came up to it so near, that she killed him.

These were of course deemed rare occurrences, even in that day, and have been since remembered and told from that cause.

Old Mr. Garrigues, a respectable Friend, now about eighty-six years of age, assured me that when he was a lad and coming home one night late from Coates' woods, then in the Northern Liberties, he actually encountered a bear as he was passing over the path at Pegg's run, then a lonely place. It was moonlight, and he was sure he could not have been deceived, and he fully believed it was also a wild one. This may seem strange to our conceptions now, but as the time is seen to agree with the story preceding it, of Haines and others starting a bear at Fairmount, in 1751, there may be more reason for inferring the fact, than would otherwise be admitted. If no better reason could be found, it might in both cases be admitted to be a bear escaped from keeping. Those different parties certainly never thought of comparing their accounts, and probably never knew of each other's adventures. Their coincidence, so far as they accord, furnishes a reason which has not escaped my observation, that an annalist should not reject isolated facts, if interesting in themselves, because he could not immediately discern their bearing : for other incidents may occur to give them their due interpretation at some subsequent period.

In 1816, January 1st.—A large she wolf was taken in West Nottingham, Chester county, nearly three feet high, measuring upwards of six feet in length.

1817, January 7.—A large eagle was shot fifteen miles from Philadelphia, in Moreland township, weighing 8 pounds, and its wings extending seven feet. About the same time a wild cat was killed at Easton, measuring three feet.

1827, February.—A panther measuring six feet, was killed seventeen miles from Easton.

THE STAMP ACT RESISTED.



“ Society, grown weary of the load,
Shakes her encumber'd lap—and casts them out.”

THE measures of the Stamp Act in England, and the oppositions and counteractions which ensued in this country, were all so many causes combining to sever those ties of union, before existing between the parent and the offspring, and leading the latter to self-government and independence.

Many who then fell into measures of resistance had little or no conception of the termination to which it led—whilst others, as by an eye of prescience, seemed to penetrate all the hidden mysteries of the future. Such a mind as the Abbe Raynal's before the Revolution commenced, fairly wrote out our destiny, calling “the American provinces the asylum of freedom, the cradle of future nations, and the refuge of distressed Europeans !”

In November, 1765, the Stamp Act was to have taken effect at Philadelphia. John Hughes, a tradesman of Philadelphia, a friend of Dr. Franklin's, who procured him the appointment, and a member of the Assembly, was made the Stamp-master. He affected to decline the office; but was not deemed sincere. Wherefore, when his commission arrived (some blamed Franklin for it) all the bells were muffled, the colours hoisted half-mast, and great appearances of mobbing occurred. Hughes' house was guarded and armed by his friends, &c. In the meantime the present Thomas Bradford, from the “Committee of Safety,” (a self-created Society) with his posse, waited on the Stamp-master and compelled him to a voluntary resignation; that is, he had to say it was such.*

At the same time all the storekeepers in Philadelphia resolved to import no British goods, &c. William Smith opens a store for the sale of commission domestic goods, where all the patriots are invited to make purchases. The community agree to eat no lamb-meat, so that the wool might be the sooner increased for home-made fabrics. Among other resolves to live in a more frugal manner suitable to the self-denying times, they determine to restrain the usual expenses of funerals, formerly conducted with a censurable

* A long letter of his, opposing the views of his constrainers, to the Commissioners of Stamps in England, may be seen with other proceedings in the case, in the Register of Pennsylvania,—vol 2, p. 244.

“pomp of wo.” In the new mode B. Price, Esq. was buried in an oaken coffin and iron handles, and Alderman Plumstead without pall or mourning dresses.

In the meantime, feelings of resistance were cherished by some so far as to exhibit emblems and devices diminishing the former regard to the parent country. A paper was sold about the streets called “the Folly of England and Ruin of America.” In fine, the measures of resistance were so prompt, energetic and wide diffused through the colonies, that every motive of prudence urged the mother country to an equally prompt repeal. In the meantime she had granted time and occasion for organizing many civic associations called “Sons of Liberty.” &c. who thus learnt without any mishap, the hardihood and practice necessary to conduct future social and civic combinations when needful; in fact, they never fully subsided; and in the end they revived at the period of the Revolution with redoubled vigour and skill.

When the news of “Stamp Act repealed” arrived in 1766, the gentlemen at the Coffee-house sent a deputation to Captain Wise, by whose brig the news came, to invite him up to drink punch, and at the same time to give his whole crew presents. All was joy and hilarity. At the Coffee-house the punch was made common, and a gold laced hat was presented to the Captain as a token of their gratitude. The same night every street in the city was illuminated. A large quantity of wood was given for bon-fires, and many barrels of beer to the populace. Next day the Governor and Mayoralty gave a great feast for 300 persons at the State-house gallery. At the same place it was unanimously resolved to dress themselves at the approaching birthday in new suits of English manufacture, and to give their homespun and patriotic garments to the poor!

In June, 1766, being the King’s birthday, and in honour of the repeal, a great number of the inhabitants of the Northern Liberties and Southwark met on the banks of the Schuylkill, then a place of arborescent shade, where 430 persons were dined in a grove. The Franklin barge of 40 feet, and the White Oak barge of 50 feet—both decorated with many flags, were then used with much parade. One was rowed up the Schuylkill firing her salutes; and the other was drawn through the streets of the city, also firing her salutes *en passant*. Fireworks were exhibited at night. The whole scene was a joyous occasion, and the crowds were great. They rejoiced as well for the supposed concession, as for their personal and national interests.

Dr. Franklin, who was afraid his countrymen would show too much exultation and triumph, writes in his letter of the 27th of February, 1766, to Charles Thomson, saying, “I trust the behaviour of the Americans on this occasion will be so prudent and grateful as that their friends here (in London) will have no reason to be ashamed; and that our enemies who predict that the indul-

gence will only make us more insolent and ungovernable, may find themselves false prophets."

The proprietary, Penn, in his letter to Secretary Peters, says "It was given as the softest medicine to the wound. Our friends give it as matter of great favour. Don't exult as at a great victory; but send grateful thanks, &c.—else our opposing prophets here will verify their assertion that the repeal will cause further disobedience."

Another letter of B. Franklin's to Charles Thomson, of the 11th of July, 1765, says, "I did all I could to oppose the act, but the tide was too strong. The nation was provoked by American claims of Independence, and all parties joined in resolving by this act, to settle the point," &c. The sequel proved how fatal was the experiment: while it helped them to feel our pulse, it also eventuated in the final dismissal of the prescribers!

The British authorities then in this country, affected to neutralize the apparent exultation and triumphs at the repeal, by joining their names and persons in the displays and rejoicings. Thus the Governor joined the feastings in Philadelphia; and at New York, the mansion of General Gage, in Broad street, was gorgeously illuminated with the royal arms and "Stamp Act repealed," &c.

BRITISH DUTIES AND TEA ACT RESISTED.

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“Touch'd by the Midas finger of the State,  
Seeks gold for ministers to sport away.”

THE feelings which had been excited by the Stamp Act, were again much revived in what were deemed encroachments of the British government, in their renewed attempts in 1768, to impose duties on glass, paper, &c.

In September, 1768, the traders of Philadelphia, in concert with those of New York and Boston, resolved to import none of the usual goods from England, until the Act laying those duties was repealed.

In July, 1769, a load of malt having arrived to Amos Strettell, whereupon all the brewers and traders held a meeting at the State-house, and there resolved unanimously that they will not purchase nor consume the same.

The papers of the year 1770, are frequent in their resolutions and appeals to the people, to adhere to the “non-importation agreement,”—to be persisted in until they effect a change of measures at home. The spirit is very general, and effigies are made and burnt of any dissenters of note. The spirit of liberty, under the name of “Sons of Liberty,” is in full effervescence among some. Even as the opposition of the Church of Rome to the reformation then, only served to strike out new light, and to elicit more system in resistance—so in politics with us; the more we made inquiries into British misrule, the more and more we discovered the benefits of separate interests and the rights of enfranchisement.

In the year 1770, the inhabitants of New York, altered for a season, in their politics, by a most extraordinary electioneering influence, swerved from their “non-importation agreement,” the only colony in the union which did it!—in consequence of which the patriots of Philadelphia meet, and resolve to make no purchases of any thing from New York—calling them at the same time, “a faction unfriendly to redress of grievances.”

All the goods which came out to Philadelphia on commissions, were all rejected and had to go back, and especially those which were sent to Boston.

The desire to encourage domestic fabrics gave rise, in 1771, to the erection of a flint glass manufactory near Lancaster, by which they hoped to save 30,000£. to the province. A china factory too, was also erected on Prime street, near the present navy yard, intended to make china at a saving of 15,000£.\* At the same time, a piece of the finest broadcloth "ever made in America." was publicly exhibited at the Coffee-house, from the then first and only loom existing in the colonies.

In December, 1776, the tea ships, "with the detested tea," arrived in our river as far as Gloucester Point, where they were arrested from coming nearer to the city, by a committee from the general town meeting of probably 8,000 people, assembled at the State-house yard. They allowed the captain of the "Polly" to come to town, that he might see the prevalent spirit of opposition, by which he might determine whether to take the chance of remaining, or of wisely directing his voyage homeward. He chose the latter. In the meantime, the committee procured the resignations of all the consignees who had the charge to sell them.

The conclusion of the measure was, "that they had closed the important affair by a glorious exertion of virtue and spirit—by which the intended tax has been effectually broken, and the foundations of American Liberty (for so they then talked) more deeply laid than ever!"

Finally, in July, 1774, the assembly of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia, resolved, that in consequence of the long subsisting differences with Great Britain, that it is absolutely necessary to call a Congress, which accordingly met at Philadelphia in September following, and held their session in the Carpenter's Hall. A Congress peculiarly fitted for the juncture. A body of greater men never crowned our annals—of whom Lord Chatham said to Franklin, they were "the most honourable assembly of men ever known!" Their measures, and our subsequent struggles and freedom under their guidance, "*Deo Juvante*," are on the imperishable pages of our history, and in the hearts and remembrance of every instructed American!

\* This long row of wooden houses afterwards became famous as a sailor's brothel and riot house on a large scale. The former frail ware proved an abortive scheme.

## OCCURRENCES

### OF THE

# WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.



“The deeds of our fathers in times that are gone;  
Their virtues, their prowess, the fields they have won,  
Their struggles for freedom, the toils they endured,  
The rights and the blessings for us they procured.”

WITH a view to preserve some of our local facts connected with the war of Independence, expressed in a manner more moving and stirring to our feelings than those general terms, by which our historians have generalized their facts, I had aimed to collect and preserve such *individual* and *special* incidents, as would bring back the former scenes and doings of our forefathers to our contemplation. With this purpose, I had gathered from several eye-witnesses, in graphic delineations, the things they saw and did, and especially of those occurrences which transpired while Philadelphia was held under the government and conquest of General Howe and his army. I had gathered from *the reminiscences* of the aged, and the *diaries* of others of that day, several curious and unpublished facts: such as would surprise, stir, and interest the present generation.\* But after all my preparation on this matter, fully equal to 50 pages, I find myself obliged to lay it aside from the present publication, for want of room. Such parts of those facts, as had been communicated to me, may be consulted on page 393, to 430, in my MS. Annals in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and others are still in my own possession.

The following facts, chiefly concerning the British army, must suffice for the present article, to wit:

#### *The Entry of the Army—as told by Captain J. C.*

The grenadiers with Lord Cornwallis at their head, led the van when they entered the city; their tranquil look and dignified appearance has left an impression on my mind, that the British grenadiers were inimitable. As I am relating the feelings and observations

\* Some of the facts were from the recollections of the late Colonel A. McLane, so enterprising in our “border war,” along our lines,—and some from the diary of a young lady in the midst of the martial doings, &c.—all spirited and warm from the heart, with the glow of a “good whig;” some also from the diary of a widow Friend, foreboding and sad with tory sympathies and fears.

of a boy only ten years old, I shall mention many things, perhaps, not worth relating; for instance, I went up to the front rank of the grenadiers when they had entered Second street, when several of them addressed me thus,—how do you do young one.—how are you my boy, in a brotherly tone, that seems still to vibrate on my ear: then reached out their hands and severally caught mine, and shook it, not with an exulting shake of conquerors, as I thought, but with a sympathising one for the vanquished. The Hessians composed a part of the van-guard, and followed in the rear of the grenadiers,—their looks to me were terrific,—their brass caps—their mustachios,—their countenances, by nature morose, and their music, that sounded better English than they themselves could speak—plunder—plunder—plunder, gave a desponding, heart-breaking effect, as I thought, to all; to me it was dreadful beyond expression.

*Recollections of the Entry of the Army—by a Lady.*

In answer to my esteemed friend Watson's queries respecting what I can remember of the state of things, facts, and the expression of public opinion, during the memorable years of 1777 and '78, when the hostile army of Great Britain occupied Philadelphia, I will give my recollections as briefly and simply as I can.

I can well remember the previous gloom spread over the minds of the inhabitants, from the time it was thought the enemy would advance through the Jerseys; the very darkest hour of the Revolution, appearing to me to be that preceding the capture of the Hessians at Trenton. The Tories who favoured the government at home, (as England was then called,) became elated, and the Whigs depressed. This may account for a good deal of severity that was used before the constituted authorities of that time left the city, in visiting the inhabitants and inspecting what stores of provisions they had, taking in some instances what they deemed superfluous, especially blankets, of which our army were in great need. After the public authorities had left the city, it was a very gloomy time indeed. We knew the enemy had lauded at the head of Elk, but of their procedure and movements we had but vague information; for none were left in the city in public employ, to whom expresses would be addressed. The day of the battle of Brandywine was one of deep anxiety. We heard the firing, and knew of an engagement between the armies without expecting immediate information of the result, when towards night a horseman rode at full speed down Chesnut street, and turned round Fourth to the Indian Queen public house; many ran to hear what he had to tell, and as I remember, his account was pretty near the truth. He told of La Fayette being wounded.

We had for a neighbour and an intimate acquaintance, a very amiable English gentleman, (H. Gurney) who had been in the British army, and had left the service upon marrying a rich and



excellent lady of Philadelphia, some years before. He was a person so much liked and esteemed by the public, that he remained unmolested at a time when the Committee of Public Safety sent many excellent citizens into banishment without a hearing, upon the most vague and unfounded suspicion; but contented themselves with only taking his word of honour that he would do nothing inimical to the country, nor furnish the enemy with any information. He endeavoured to give my mother confidence that the inhabitants would not be ill-treated. He advised that we should be all well dressed, and that we should keep our houses closed. The army marched in and took possession of the town in the morning. We were up-stairs, and saw them pass to the State-house; they looked well, clean, and well clad, and the contrast between them and our own poor barefooted and ragged troops was very great, and caused a feeling of despair—it was a solemn and impressive day—but I saw no exultation in the enemy, nor indeed in those who were reckoned favourable to their success. Early in the afternoon, Lord Cornwallis' suite arrived, and took possession of my mother's house. But my mother was appalled by the numerous train which took possession of her dwelling, and shrank from having such inmates; for a guard was mounted at the door, and the yard filled with soldiers and baggage of every description; and I well remember what we thought of the haughty looks of Lord Rawdon\* and the other aid-de-camp, as they traversed the apartments. My mother desired to speak with Lord Cornwallis, and he attended her in the front parlour. She told him of her situation, and how impossible it would be for her to stay in her own house with such a numerous train as composed his Lordship's establishment. He behaved with great politeness to her, said he should be sorry to give trouble, and would have other quarters looked out for him—they withdrew that very afternoon, and he was accommodated at Peter Reeve's, † in Second, near to Spruce street, and we felt very glad at the exemption—but it did not last long—for directly the Quarter-masters were employed in billeting the troops, and we had to find room for two officers of artillery, and afterwards, in addition, for two gentlemen, Secretaries of Lord Howe.

The officers, very generally I believe, behaved with politeness to the inhabitants, and many of them upon going away, expressed their satisfaction that no injury to the city was contemplated by their commander. They said, that living among the inhabitants, and speaking the same language, made them uneasy at the thought of acting as enemies.

At first, provisions were scarce and dear, and we had to live with much less abundance than we had been accustomed to. Hard money was indeed as difficult to come at, as if it had never been taken from the mines, except with those who had things to sell for

\* Since the Marquis of Hastings, and who died at Malta in 1826.

† Now David Lewis's house, No. 112, south Second street.

the use of the army. They had given certificates to the farmers, as they came up through Chester county, of the amount of stores they had taken, and upon these being presented for payment at head-quarters, they were duly honoured. My mother received a seasonable supply in this way, from persons who were in her debt, and had been paid for what the army had taken.

Every thing considered, the citizens fared better than could have been expected, and though it was extremely disagreeable in many places, on account of the dirt, yet the city was healthy. The enemy appeared to have a great deal of shipping in the Delaware; I counted sixty vessels, that looked of large size, moored so close to each other, that it seemed as if you could not pass a hand between them, near to where the navy yard now is—and all the wharves and places seemed crowded. There was scarce any thing to sell in the shops when they came into the town, and the paper money had depreciated to nothing. I remember two pieces of silk that I saw on sale a little before their arrival, at 100 dollars per yard. Tea was fifty and sixty dollars per pound.

The day of the battle of Germantown, we heard the firing all day, but knew not the result. Towards evening they brought in the wounded. The prisoners were carried to the State-house lobbies, and the street was presently filled with women taking lint and bandages, and every refreshment which they thought their suffering countrymen might want.

General Howe, during the time he staid in Philadelphia, seized and kept for his own use, Mary Pemberton's coach and horses, in which he used to ride about the town. The old officers appeared to be uneasy at his conduct, and some of them freely expressed their opinions: they said, that before his promotion to the chief command, he sought for the counsels and company of officers of experience and merit—but now, his companions were usually a set of boys—the most dissipated fellows in the army.

Lord Howe was much more sedate and dignified than his brother; really dignified, for he did not seem to affect any pomp or parade.

They were exceedingly chagrined and surprised at the capture of Burgoyne, and at first would not suffer it to be mentioned. We had received undoubted intelligence of the fact, in a letter from Charles Thomson, and upon communicating this circumstance to Henry Gurney, his interrogatories forced an acknowledgment from some of the superior officers, that it was, as he said, "alas! too true!"

One of my acquaintance, indeed an intimate one, performed the part of a "Nymph of the blended Rose," in the splendid festival of the Meschianza, but I saw no part of the show, not even the decorated hall where the knights and ladies supped, amidst the "Grand Salema" of their turbaned attendants; nor even the *Riddo* part, which was gazed at from the wharves and warehouses by all the uninvited population of the town.

The streets seemed always well filled with both officers and soldiers, and I believe they frequently attended different places of worship, but Friend's meetings were not much to their tastes. They had their own chaplains to the different regiments, which appeared to us a mere mockery of religion. Parson Badger was chaplain to the artillery, and he was billeted at John Field's, who, with his wife, were very plain Friends, in our neighbourhood. The house was very small, and he had the front room up-stairs, and as he was a jolly good-tempered person, he was much liked by the young fellows who used to call to see him after parades.

Even whig ladies went to the Meschianza and to balls, but I knew of very few instances of attachments formed—nor, with the exception of one instance, of any want of propriety in behaviour.

When they left the city, the officers came to take leave of their acquaintance, and express their good wishes. It seemed to us, that a considerable change had taken place in their prospects of success, between the time of their entry and departure. They often spoke freely in conversation on these subjects.

“The honourable Cosmo Gordon” staid all night at his quarters, and lay in bed so long the next morning, that the family thought it but kind to waken him, and tell him “his friends, the rebels,” were in town. It was with great difficulty he procured a boat to put him over the Delaware. Perhaps he and his man were the last that embarked. Many soldiers hid themselves in cellars and other places, and staid behind—(I have heard.) In two hours after we saw the last of them, our own dragoons galloped down the street.

When our own troops took possession of the city, General Arnold, then flushed with the recent capture of Burgoyne, was appointed to the command of it, and his quarters, (as if we had been conquered from an enemy) appointed at Henry Gurney's! They were appalled at the circumstance, but thought it prudent to make no resistance, when to their agreeable surprise, his politeness, and that of his aids, Major Franks and Captain Clarkson, made the imposition set light, and in a few days he removed to Mrs. Master's house in Market street, that had been occupied as head-quarters by General Howe, where he entered upon a style of living, but ill according with republican simplicity, giving sumptuous entertainments that involved him in expenses and debt, and most probably laid the foundation, in his necessities and poverty, of his future deception and treason to his country. He married our Philadelphia Miss Shippen.

*Further Facts—by J. P. N. Esq.*

I recollect seeing the division march down Second street, when Lord Cornwallis took possession of the city—the troops were gay and well clad. A number of our citizens appeared sad and serious. When I saw them, there was no huzzaing. The artillery were quartered in Chesnut, between Third and Sixth streets,—the

State-house yard was made use of as the Park,—the 42d Highlanders occupied Chesnut below Third street,—the 15th regiment were in quarters in Market, in and about Fifth street.

When the enemy were bombarding Fort Mifflin, we could see the path of the bomb from the top of my old house. The blowing up of the *Augusta* was attended with a shock similar to that of an earthquake. I immediately started for Schuylkill point, where the British had a battery, and saw some firing. The officers appeared much chagrined at the events of the day. On our way down, we met several wagons with wounded soldiers—many of them in great pain—their moans and cries were very distressing. These men had been wounded before Red Bank Fort.

I was present when some of the troops were going off for Germantown, the morning of the battle—they were in high spirits, and moved in a trot.

Houses entirely occupied by the soldiery were a good deal injured—their conduct, however, was quite as good as could be expected. The officers of middle age were in general polite—the younger ones were more dashing. Some of them had women with them. I recollect Col. Birch of the horse, and Major Williams of the artillery had. They occupied houses to themselves, and were not quartered on families. All the regiments paraded morning and evening.

After the battle of Germantown, the officers who were made prisoners in that action, were confined some days in the long room upstairs in the State-house, now Peale's museum.

During the winter, prisoners and deserters were frequently brought in, and carried first to head-quarters. They were easily distinguished, as the latter always had their arms, and which they were allowed to dispose of; they were almost naked, and generally without shoes—an old dirty blanket around them, attached by a leather belt around the waist.

Deserters from head-quarters were led off to the superintendent, (Galloway) and officers of the new corps were generally on the look out to get them to enlist.

The citizens of Philadelphia were once gratified with the full display of General Washington's whole army. It was done on the occasion of raising the spirits of the whigs, and of proportionably dispiriting the measures of the tories. As it was intended for effect, it was, of course, in its best array for our poor means, and had indeed the effect to convince the tories it was far more formidable than they expected! This martial entré passed down the long line of Front street.—There, thousands of our citizens beheld numerous poor fellows, never to be seen more among the sons of men! They were on their march to meet the enemy, landed at the head of Elk. They encountered at Brandywine and at Germantown, and besides losing many lives, retained little of all those implements and equipages, which constituted their street-display in our city.

*I add also the localities occupied by the army and officers as something unknown to the present generation, to wit:*

General Howe lived in the house in High street, near Sixth street, where was afterwards the residence of President Washington. His brother, Lord Howe, resided in Chesnut street, in the house now the Farmers and Mechanics Bank. General Kniphausen lived in the house now General Cadwallader's, in south Second street, opposite to Little Dock street. Lord Cornwallis dwelt in the house since of David Lewis, in Second above Spruce street. Colonel Abercrombie—afterwards the General, who was killed in Egypt—dwelt in the house of Whitehead, in Vine street, second door west of Cable Lane. Major André dwelt in Dr. Franklin's mansion in a court back from High street.

Several of the British troops used to exercise in the large vacant lot appurtenant to Bingham's mansion.

The British who were wounded at the battle of Brandywine, were put in Cuthbert and Hood's stores and houses in Penn street. The Americans were put into the lobbies of the State-house. The British wounded at Germantown, were put into the Scotch Presbyterian church in Spruce street.

While the British remained, they held frequent plays at the Old Theatre, the performances by their officers. The scenes were painted by Major André and Captain Delancy; they had also stated balls.

They had under their control two tory presses,—one the "True Royal Gazette," by James Humphreys, the other the "Royal Pennsylvania Gazette," by James Robertson.

Sir William Howe was a fine figure, full six feet high, and well proportioned,—in appearance not unlike his antagonist, General Washington. His manners were graceful and dignified, and he was much beloved by his officers, for his generosity and affability.

Sir Henry Clinton, his successor in command, was in a good degree a different man,—he was short and fat, with a full face and prominent nose, in his intercourse was reserved, and not so popular as Howe.

Lord Cornwallis was short and thick set, his hair somewhat grey, his face well formed and agreeable, his manners remarkably easy and affable—much beloved by his men.

General Kniphausen was much of the German in his appearance, always very polite in bowing to respectable citizens in the streets, not tall, but slender and straight. His features sharp and martial, very honourable in his dealings.

Colonel Tarleton was rather below the middle size, stout, strong, heavily made, large muscular legs, and an uncommonly active person,—his complexion dark, and his eye small, black and piercing.

Among their greatest feats while at Philadelphia, was that of

the celebrated "Meschianza," so called. The description of which more at length is given in my MS. Annals in the Philadelphia Library, pages 300 to 305, from which I extract the present short notice, to wit :

*The Meschianza at Philadelphia.*

This is the appellation of the most splendid pageant ever exhibited in our country, if we except the great "Federal Procession" of all trades and professions, through the streets of Philadelphia in 1788. The Meschianza was chiefly a tilt and tournament with other entertainments, as the term implies, and was given on Monday the 18th of May, 1778, at Wharton's country-seat in Southwark, by the officers of General Sir William Howe's army, to that officer, on his quitting the command to return to England. A considerable number of our city *belles* were present : which gave considerable offence afterwards to the whigs ; and did not fail to mark the fair as the "tory ladies." The ill-nature and the reproach has long since been forgotten.

The company began to assemble at three to four o'clock, at Knight's wharf,\* at the water edge of Green street, in the Northern Liberties, and by half past four o'clock in the afternoon the whole were embarked, in the pleasant month of May, in a "grand regatta" of three divisions. In the front of the whole were three flat boats, with a band of music in each of them, "rowed regular to harmony." As this assemblage of vessels progressed, barges rowed on the flanks, "light skimming, stretch'd their oary wings," to keep off the multitude of boats that crowded from the city as beholders ; and the houses, balconies and wharves were filled with spectators all along the river side.

At the fort below the Swedes' church they formed a line of procession, through an avenue of grenadiers, and light-horse in the rear. The company were thus conducted to a square lawn of 150 yards on each side, and which was also lined with troops. This area formed the ground for a *tilt or tournament*. On the front seat of each pavilion were placed seven of the principal young ladies of the country, dressed in Turkish habits, and wearing in their turbans, the articles which they intended to bestow on their several gallant knights. Soon the trumpets at a distance announced the approach of the seven *white knights*, habited in white and red silk, and mounted on grey chargers, richly caparisoned in similar colours. These were followed by their several Esquires on foot ; besides these there was a herald in his robe. These all made the circuit of the square, saluting the ladies as they passed,† and

\* This wharf at that time was the only wharf above Vine street, which ran out to a good depth of water. The tickets of admission (one of which I have) were elegant and curious. It had a view of the sea, military trophies, the General's crest, *Vive Vale*.

† I have in my MS. Annals an original drawing by Major Andre, showing the style of this dress.

then they ranged in line with their ladies; then their herald, Mr. Beaumont, after a flourish of trumpets, proclaimed their challenge, in the name of "*the knights of the blended rose*," declaring that the ladies of their order excel in wit, beauty, and accomplishments, those of the whole world, and they are ready to enter the lists against any knights who will deny the same, according to the laws of ancient chivalry: at the third repetition of the challenge, a sound of trumpets announced the entrance of another herald, with four trumpeters dressed in black and orange. The two heralds held a parley, when the black herald proceeded to proclaim his *defiance* in the name of "*the knights of the burning mountain*." Then retiring, there soon after entered "*the black knights*," with their esquires, preceded by their herald, on whose tunic was represented a mountain sending forth flames, and the motto "*I burn forever*."

These seven knights, like the former ones, rode round the lists, and made their obeisance to the ladies, and then drew up fronting the white knights, and the chief of these having thrown down his gauntlet, the chief of the black knights directed his esquire to take it up. Then the knights received their lances from their esquires, fixed their shields on their left arms, and making a general salute to each other by a movement of their lances, turned round to take their career, and encountering in full gallop, shivered their spears! In the second and third encounter they discharged their pistols. In the fourth, they fought with their swords.

From the garden they ascended a flight of steps, covered with carpets, which led into a spacious hall, the panels of which were painted in imitation of Sienna marble, enclosing festoons of white marble. In this hall and the adjoining apartments, were prepared tea, lemonade, &c. to which the company seated themselves. At this time the knights came in, and on their knee received their favours from their respective ladies. From these apartments they went up to a ball-room, decorated in a light, elegant style of painting, and showing many festoons of flowers. The brilliancy of the whole was heightened by eighty-five mirrors, decked with ribands and flowers, and in the intermediate spaces were thirty-four branches. On the same floor were *four* drawing rooms, with sideboards of refreshments, decorated and lighted in the style of the ball-room. The ball was opened by the knights and their ladies; and the dances continued till ten o'clock, when the windows were thrown open, and a magnificent bouquet of rockets began the fireworks. These were planned by Captain Montresor, the chief engineer, and consisted of twenty different displays in great variety and beauty, and changing General Howe's arch into a variety of shapes and devices. At 12 o'clock, (midnight) supper was announced, and large folding doors, before concealed, sprung open, and discovered a magnificent saloon of two hundred and ten feet by forty feet, and twenty-two feet in height, with three alcoves on

each side, which served for sideboards. The sides were painted with vine leaves and festoon flowers, and fifty-six large pier-glasses, ornamented with green silk artificial flowers and ribands. There were also one hundred branches trimmed, and eighteen lustres of twenty-four lights hung from the ceiling.\* There were three hundred wax tapers on the supper tables, four hundred and thirty covers, and twelve hundred dishes. There were twenty-four black slaves in oriental dresses, with silver collars and bracelets.

Towards the close of the banquet, the herald with his trumpeters entered and announced the king and royal family's health, with other toasts. Each toast was followed by a flourish of music. After the supper, the company returned to the ball-room, and continued to dance until 4 o'clock in the morning.

I omit to describe the two arches, but they were greatly embellished. They had two fronts, in the Tuscan order. The pediment of one was adorned with *naval* trophies, and the other with *military* ones.

Major André, who wrote a description of it, (altho' his name is concealed) calls it "the *most splendid* entertainment ever given by an army to their General." The whole expense was borne by 22 field officers. The managers were Sir John Wrotlesby, Colonel O'Hara, Majors Gardiner and Montresor. This splendid pageant blazed out in *one* short night! Next day the enchantment was dissolved; and in exactly one month, all these knights and the whole army chose to make their march from the city of Philadelphia!

When I think of the few survivors of that gay scene, who now exist, (of some whose sprightliness and beauty is gone!) I cannot but feel a gloom succeed the recital of the feat. I think, for instance, of one who was then "the Queen of the Meschianza," since Mrs. L. now *blind*, and fast waning from the "things that be." To her I am indebted for many facts of illustration. She tells me that the unfortunate Major André was the charm of the company. Lieutenant André, his esquire, was his brother, a youth of about nineteen, possessing the promise of an accomplished gentleman. Major André and Captain Oliver Delancey painted, themselves, the chief of the decorations. The Sienna marble, for instance, on the apparent side walls, was on *cavvass*, in the style of stage scene painting. André also painted the scenes used at the theatre, at which the British officers performed. The proceeds were given to the widows and orphans of their soldiers. The water-fall scene, drawn by him, was still in the building when it lately burnt. She assures me, that of all that was borrowed for the entertainment, *nothing* was injured or lost. They desired to pay double if accidents occurred. The general deportment of the officers was very praiseworthy therein. There were no ladies of British officers, save Miss Auchmuty, the new bride of Captain Montresor.

\* All the mirrors and lustres, &c. were borrowed from the citizens, and were all sent home with all their ornaments attached to them as a compliment for their use.



The American young ladies present were not numerous—not exceeding fifty. The others were married ladies. Most of our ladies had gone from the city, and what remained, were of course in great demand. The American gentlemen present, were *aged non-combatants*. Our young men were whigs generally, and were absent.

No offence was offered to the ladies afterwards, for their acceptance of this instance of an enemy's hospitality. When the Americans returned, they got up a great ball, to be given to the officers of the French army, and the American officers of Washington's command. When the managers came to invite their guests, it was made a question whether the "Meschianza ladies" should be invited. It was found they could not make up their company without them. They were therefore invited. When they came, they looked differently habited from those who had gone to the country, they having assumed the high head-dress, &c." of the British fashion. (Vide a specimen, p. 218. of my MS. Annals, in the City Library,) and so the characters, unintentionally, were immediately perceived at a glance through the hall.—[It was in the Masonic Hall in Lodge alley.] But *lots* being cast for partners, they were soon fully intermixed, and conversation ensued as if nothing of jealousy had ever existed, and all umbrage was forgotten.

The same lady was also at a splendid supper and dance given by Captain Hammond, on board the *Roebuck*. The ship was fully illuminated, and 172 persons sat down to supper.

Miss J. C—g, who was also a knight's lady, has kindly given me her original invitation from Sir Henry Calder, (an officer of high rank) and also an original drawing by Major André, (see p. 242 of my MS. Annals in the City Library,) of the dress for that feat. He sketch'd it to give the ladies an idea of the garb they should assume. In reality it was this:—for the *Blended Rose* a white silk, called a *Polonese*, forming a flowing robe, and open in front on the waist—the pink sash 6 inches wide, and filled with spangles—the shoes and stockings also spangled—the head-dress *more towering* than the drawing, and filled with a profusion of pearls and jewels. The veil was spangled and edged with silver lace. She says the whole scene was like enchantment to her then young mind.

The ladies of the black knights wore white sashes edged with black, and black trimmings to white silk polonese gowns. "The ticket" (p. 242 of my MS. Annals in the City Library,) is surmounted with Sir Wm. Howe's *crest*, and the shield represents the *sea*, which Sir William is about to cross—hence "Five Vale." The setting glory of the sun, and the Latin scroll, seem to indicate that altho' *their* luminary is thus receding from them, it shall rise again (resurgum) in another hemisphere.

## ALLIANCE FRIGATE.



AS Philadelphians, we are entitled to some pre-eminence for our connexion with this peculiar frigate. After the close of the war of Independence she was owned in our city and employed as a merchant ship. When no longer seaworthy, her hull has been stretched upon the margin of Petty's Island, to remain for a century to come a spectacle to many river-passengers, and qualified to raise numerous associations of the past connected with her eventful history in the Revolution.

She was the only one of our first navy, of the class of frigates, which was so successful as to escape capture or destruction during the war! In the year 1781, she and the Deane frigate were the only two of all our former frigates, then left to our service. She was in many engagements and always victorious—she was a fortunate ship—was a remarkable fast sailer—could always choose her combat—she could either fight or run away—beating her adversary either by fight or flight!

Twice she bore the fortunes of La Fayette across the ocean; De Noailles was also along at one time. When I presented the former with a relic of her timber he was delighted with it for the mental associations it afforded him. Another relic, which I had given to one of our naval officers, has been formed into a miniature ship and now holds a place at the President's palace.

Such a vessel deserves some commemoration and some memorial to revive her fame. She is still a relic visibly uniting the present to the former navy, and in her single remains preserving single and alone the solitary link of union. She led those naval heroes of the infant navy, of which some remained to join their destinies with the present.

Sailors who are fond of the marvellous and like to be supported in their perils by the mysteries of luck and charms, should be indulged to have a relic of the fortunate Alliance, chiseled into the future Philadelphia war vessels in which they may place their destinies. The magic security will be surely as good as that now attached to "Old Iron Sides." Men who can "whistle for wind," love to indulge themselves in such fancies.

A more sober part of the story is to say a few words respecting her construction, &c. which may possibly lead to useful imitation.

She was 125 feet keel payable, about 37 feet beam—making her about 900 tons. She was thought to be long, narrow, shoal and sharp, and to be over-sparred; her main topmast was 18 inches diameter in the cap—main yard 84 feet long, 18 inches in the slings—her topsail yard was 18 inches in the slings. As she was built up the river Merrimack, at Salisbury, Massachusetts, which had a bar at the mouth, it perhaps accounts for a part of her construction as a shoal vessel. She was first sailed in the spring of 1778, soon after her being launched, and was then commanded by Captain Landais. She was two years in building—built by John and William Hasket—six of the persons who built her were alive at Salisbury three years ago and all above 70 years of age.

All these facts may be deemed very minute; but we have our motives. Every nation forms its imaginative legends, and puts itself under the auspices of tutelary beings. We also are of an age now to construct our heroic age, and such a case as the Alliance, presents a part of the material.

## THE FEDERAL PROCESSION.

“ ’Twere worth ten years of peaceful life—  
One glance at their array !”

THIS great procession took place at Philadelphia, for the purpose of celebrating the adoption of the Constitution, and it was appointed on Friday, the fourth of July, for the double purpose of commemorating the Declaration of Independence of the fourth of July, 1776. Although we have had several processions since, none have ever equalled it in the pomp and expense of the materials engaged in the pageantry. The soldiery then were not so numerous as in the late entry of La Fayette, but the citizens were more numerous, and their attire more decorative. It was computed that 5000 walked in the procession; and that as many as 17,000 were assembled on the “ Union Green,” where the procession ended, in front of Bush-hill.\* The whole expense was borne by the voluntary contributions of the tradesmen, &c. enrolled in the display; and what was very remarkable, the whole of the pageantry was got up in four days!

The parties to the procession all met at and about the intersection of Cedar and Third streets, and began their march by nine o'clock in the morning. They went up Third street to Callowhill; up that street to Fourth street; down Fourth street to High street; and thence out that street across the commons to the lawn before Bush-hill, where they arrived in three hours. The length of the whole line was about one mile and a half. On this lawn were constructed circular tables, leaving an area for its diameter of about 500 feet. The tables were covered with awnings, and the centre was occupied by the “ Grand Federal Edifice,” drawn there by 10 white horses,—and by the ship Union, drawn there also by ten horses. There an oration on the occasion was delivered by James Wilson, Esq. to upwards of 20,000 people. After which, the whole members of the procession sat down to the tables to dinner. The supplies were abundant; no wine or ardent spirits were present; but porter, beer and cider flowed for all who would receive them; and of these liquors, the casks lined all the inner circles of the tables. They drank ten toasts in honour of the then ten confederated states; as the cannon announced these, they were re-

\* This was then Hamilton's elegant country-seat.

sponded from the ship *Rising Sun*, laying in the Delaware off High street, decorated with numerous flags.\* The same ship, at night, was highly illuminated. This great company withdrew to their homes by six o'clock in the evening—all sober, but all joyful. The occasion was the strongest which could exercise the feelings of the heart in an affecting manner. It was to celebrate a nation's freedom, and a people's system of self-government—a people recently made free, by their desperate efforts: the remembrance of which then powerfully possessed every mind. They then all felt the deep importance of the experiment of self-government, to which their hearts and voices were then so imposingly pledged. The scene ought not to be forgotten—we should imprint the recollections of that day, and of the imposing pageantries, upon the minds of our children, and of our children's children. This has been already too much neglected; so that even now, while I endeavour to recapitulate some of the most striking incidents of the day, I find it is like reviving the circumstances of an almost obliterated dream. I did not see the spectacle; but it was the talk of my youthful days for years after the event.

*The Procession, to wit:*

1. Twelve axe-men in white frocks, preceded as pioneers.
2. Captain Miles' company of dragoons.
3. John Nixon, Esq. on horseback, bearing a liberty cap, and under it a flag with the words thereon, *4th of July, 1776*.
4. A train of artillery—Claypole's corps of infantry—Bingham's dragoons.
5. Several single gentlemen on horseback bore silk flags, highly ornamented; one had the words "*New Era*," another "*17th of September, 1787*,"—that being the day the Convention adopted the Constitution.
6. A car, called the Constitution, in the form of a large eagle, drawn by six white horses, in which were Judges M·Kean, Atlee, and Rush, in their robes. M·Kean bore a splendid flag.
7. Ten gentlemen, preceded by Heysham's infantry, bore each a silk flag, bearing the name of each State.
8. All the Consuls of foreign States in a car drawn by four horses, and each bearing his nation's flag.
9. A carriage bearing P. Baynton, Esq. and Col. I. Melchor, the latter magnificently habited as an Indian Sachem, and both smoking the calamat of peace.
10. The Montgomery and Bucks county troops of dragoons.
11. "*The New Roof, or Grand Federal Edifice*," was a most splendid spectacle. It was a dome sustained by thirteen columns, but three of these columns were purposely left unfinished. The

\* Besides this ship, ten other ships lay off the several streets, highly decorated, and each bearing a large flag with the name thereon of the State in the Union which each thus represented.

names of each State appeared on the pedestals; a cupola rose above the dome, on which was a figure of plenty. The carriage and superstructure made 36 feet of height. The words "*In union the fabric stands firm,*" were very conspicuous around the pedestal of the edifice. Ten white horses drew this elegant pageant.\*

12. After this edifice followed the architects and housecarpenters.

13. The Cincinnati and militia officers, followed by Rose's company of infantry.

14. The Agricultural Society bearing a flag, followed by farmers; these had two ploughs—one drawn by four oxen was directed by Richard Willing, Esq.—a sower followed, sowing seed.

15. The Manufacturing Society, with their spinning and carding machines, looms, jennies, &c. bearing a flag. The carriage which bore these was 30 feet long, and was drawn by ten bay horses; on this weavers were at work, and Mr. Hewson was printing muslin. The weavers marched behind this, and bore a flag of silk.

16. Robinson's company of light infantry.

17. The Marine Society, carrying a flag, trumpets, spy-glasses, &c. They preceded the *Federal Ship Union*. This elegant small ship was a spectacle of great interest; she was perfect in every respect, and finely decorated with carvings, gildings, &c. Such a ship, completed in less than four days, was a very surprising circumstance; she was 33 feet in length—had been the barge of the Alliance frigate, and had been captured by Paul Jones as the barge of the *Scrapis*.† This ship was commanded by Captain John Green, and had a crew of 25 men and officers. They flung the lead, and cried the soundings, and trimmed the sails to the wind as they changed their courses. She was drawn by ten horses, and under her bottom painted canvass, representing the sea, concealed and hung over the wheels of the carriage; another vessel followed her as a pilot, and followed by all the pilots.

18. A frame drawn by four bay horses, 18 feet long, contained the frame of the Union's barge, and men at work at the same. The boatbuilders followed with a flag.

19. The sailmakers, bearing a silk flag, on which was painted the inside of a sail-loft.

20. The shipcarpenters—their silk flag representing a ship on the stocks.

To shorten this article I briefly state that the following professions, decorated and bearing emblematic flags, succeeded, to wit: Shipjoiners, ropemakers, merchants and traders—one carrying a

\* This was afterwards placed in front of the State-house, and it is really strange that none of the numerous elegant silken flags should have been preserved to this time. If some of them still exist, they would be very interesting in processions now. As many of them as now exist should be collected and preserved by the Penn Association, which is in effect our Antiquarian Society.

† I had the pleasure to see this ship laying at anchor in the Schuylkill at Gray's Ferry, where she was long preserved as an attraction to that celebrated garden and inn.

ledger; cordwainers had a shop, drawn by four horses, and six men in it at work; coachpainters, cabinet and chairmakers, brick-makers, painters, draymen, clock and watchmakers, bricklayers, tailors, carvers and gilders,—these had an elegant car, and men therein at work; coopers, planemakers, whip and canemakers—these had a carriage, and lads at work therein; blacksmiths had a shop, drawn by nine horses, and men therein at work, making plough-irons out of old swords; coachmakers had a shop, drawn by four horses, and men at work therein; potters,—a shop and men at work; hatters, wheelwrights, had a stage and men at work; tinplate workers, glovers, tallowchandlers, victuallers, with two fat oxen; printers and bookbinders had a stage, and executed printing, and cast out an ode among the people. Ten of these odes to the States were despatched by carrier pigeons, which issued from the Mercury cap worn by the printer, habited as Mercury; fourteen different trades followed: then lawyers, physicians, clergy, and a troop of dragoons, concluded the whole.

F. Hopkinson, Esq. has preserved in his works a minute detail of all these things; he having been much engaged in the direction of the same. Similar processions were had in New York, Boston, and other cities.

## WATERING PLACES.



“ And when too much repose brings on the spleen,  
And the gay city’s idle pleasures cloy,  
Swift as my changing wish, I change the scene,  
And now the country,—now the town enjoy.”

THE practice of summer travelling among the gentry and their imitators, is quite a modern affair. Our forefathers, when our cities were small, and pump water still uncontaminated, found no places more healthy than their homes; and generally they liked the country best, “when *visited* from town.” From that cause there were very few country-seats in existence; and what there were, were so near as to be easily visited on foot, “not for the good and friendly too remote” to call. Thus the Rev. Gilbert Tennant’s place, Bedminster, was at the corner of Brewer’s alley and Fourth street. Burges’ place and Mitchell’s place were in Campington. Two or three were out in Spring Garden, on the northern side of Pegg’s run; Hamilton’s place was at Bush-hill; Penn’s place was close by at Springetsbury; and lastly, Kinsey’s place, where is now the Naval Asylum, and Turner’s place, Wilton, was down near Girard’s farm. All these were rather rarities than a common choice.

As population and wealth increased, new devices of pleasure were sought, and some *inland* watering places began to be visited, chiefly, however, at first, for the good they might be supposed to offer to the infirm. Next in order came *sea bathing*, most generally used at first by the robust,—by those who could rough it,—such as could bear to reach the sea shore in a returning “Jersey wagon,” and who depended on their own supply of “small stores,” sheets, and blankets, &c.—Increase of such company, in time, afforded sufficient motive to residents on the favourite beaches, to make such provision for transient visitors, as could not conveniently make their own supply. Thus, yearly, such places of resort grew from little to greater, and by degrees to luxury and refinement. It is still, however, within the memory of several of the aged, when the concomitants of sea bathing, before the Revolution, were rough as its own surges, and for that very reason, produced better evidences of positive benefits to visitors in the increase of robust feelings, than they do now. But last in order, in the progress of



luxury, came the last device of pleasure, in travelling excursions,—now “boxing the compass” to every point. The astonishing increased facilities of communications have diminished distances. Steamboats transfer us to far distant places, before we have fairly tried the varieties of a single day and night of their operation! Post-coaches, and fleet horses, roll us as easy as on our couches: New England and northern tours occur,—the grand canal and Niagara are sought; westward, we have Mount Carbon, and the line of new canals; and homeward, “round about,” we have the wonders of Mauch-Chunck, Carbon Dale, the Morris canal, Catskill mountain, and the everlasting battlements of the North river. In such excursions much is seen to gratify the eye, and much to cheer the heart.

“The verdant meads, the yellow waving corn,  
The new-mown hay, the melody of birds,  
The pomp of groves,—the sweets of early morn.”

Scenes like these, oft-times varied, and sometimes combined with sea scenes, are ever grateful.

“—————The music,  
The dash of ocean on the winding shore;”  
“How they cheer the citizen,  
And brace his languid frame!”

I proceed now to notice historically the only “*Watering Places*,” known to our forefathers, placing them much in the order in which they occurred, to wit:

“The mineral water in the Great Valley,” thirty miles from Philadelphia, was first announced, as a valuable discovery, in the year 1722. In the same year, great praise is bestowed on the newly discovered mineral water at “Bristol Spring.”

In 1770, such was the decreased fame of the *Yellow Springs*, in Chester county, that it was deplored as a public evil, that it had been so deserted; although its efficacy of waters and charms of scenery and accommodation, were still undiminished—at the beginning—(fifty years before.) It was stated, that from 100 to 500 persons, daily, had been accustomed to be found there in the summer months.

We think “Long Beach” and “Tucker’s Beach,” in point of earliest attraction as a sea-shore resort for Philadelphians, must claim the precedence. They had their visitors and distant admirers long before Squam, or Deal, or even Long Branch itself, had got their several fame. To those who chiefly desire to restore languid frames, and to find their nerves new-braced and firmer strung, nothing can equal the invigorating surf and genial air. And what can more affect the eye and touch the best affections of the heart, than there to think of *Him* who made those great waves—stalking like so many giants to the shore,—tossing their white

crests high against the everlasting strand, and calling to each other, in the deep toned moans of imprisoned spirits, struggling to be free ! In the beautiful language of our country woman, Mrs. Sigourney, we may say,—

“Thou speak'st a God, thou solemn, holy sea !  
 Alone upon thy shore, I rove and count  
 The crested billows in their ceaseless play ;  
 And when dense darkness shrouds thy awful face,  
 I listen to thy voice and bow me down,  
 In all my nothingness, to *Him* whose eye  
 Beholds thy congregated world of waves  
 But as a noteless *dew drop* !”

“*Long Branch*,” last but greatest in fame, because the fashionable, who rule all things, have made it so, is still inferior as a surf, to those above named. It was held before the Revolution by Colonel White, a British officer and an inhabitant at New York. The small house which he owned and occupied as a summer retreat, is still existing in the *clump* now much enlarged by Renshaw. In consequence of the war, the place was confiscated and fell into other hands, and finally for the public good.

That house was first used as a boarding-house by our fellow citizen, Elliston Perot, Esq. in 1788. At that time the whole premises were in charge of an old woman left there to keep them from injury. Of her Mr. Perot begged an asylum for his family, which was granted, provided he could hire his beds and bedding of others. Being pleased with the place, he repeated his visits the three succeeding years, taking with him other friends. In 1790-1, Mr. M'Night, of Monmouth, witnessing the liking shown to the place, deemed it a good speculation to buy it. He bought the whole premises, containing 100 acres of land, for 700£, and then got Mr. Perot and others to loan him 2000 dollars to improve it. He then opened it for a public watering place ; and before his death it was supposed he had enriched himself by the investment, as much as 40,000 dollars. The estate was sold out to Renshaw for about 13,000 dollars.

The table fare of those companies who first occupied the house under the old woman's grant, consisted chiefly of fish, and such salted meats as the visitors could bring with them. All then, was much in the rough style of bachelor's fare.

Prior to the above period, “Black Point” not far off, was the place of bathing. They had no surf there, and were content to bathe in a kind of water-house, covered ; even Bingham's great house near there, indulged no idea of surf-bathing. The tavern entertainment at Black Point was quite rude, compared with present Long Branch luxuries ; cocoanut pudding, and floating-islands, &c. were delicacies, not even known in our cities !

Indeed we cannot but see, that the most of former summer ex-

excursions were but for the men. They were generally deemed too distant and rough for female participation. But later improvements in roads, and a far more easy construction of spring-carriages, have since brought out their full proportion of ladies,—gladdening the company along the route by those feminine attractions which lessen our cares and double our joys. Thus giving an air of gaiety and courtesy to all the steam-boats, stage-coaches, and inns, where they enter, and thus alluring us to become the greatest travellers in our summer excursions, to be found in the world! From these causes, country-seats, which were much resorted to after the year 1793, are fast falling into disuse, and probably will not again recover their former regard.

## STEAM-BOATS.

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“ Against the wind, against the tide,
She breasts the wave with upright keel.”

IN the year 1788, the bosom of the Delaware was first ruffled by a steamboat. The projector at that early day was John Fitch, a watch and clockmaker by profession, and a resolved infidel in theology. He first conceived the design in 1785; and being but poor in purse and rather limited in education, a multitude of difficulties, which he did not sufficiently foresee, occurred to render abortive every effort of his most persevering mind, to construct and float a steamboat.

Applying to Congress for assistance, he was refused; and then, without success, offering his invention to the Spanish government for the purpose of navigating the Mississippi. He at last succeeded in forming a company, by the aid of whose funds he launched his first rude effort as a steamboat, in the year 1788.—The idea of wheels had not occurred to Mr. Fitch; but oars, working in a frame, were used in place of them. The crude ideas which he entertained, and the want of experience, subjected this unfortunate man to difficulties of the most humbling character. Regarded by many as a mere visionary, his project was discouraged by those whose want of all motive for such a course rendered their opposition more barbarous; while those whose station in life placed it in their power to assist him, looked coldly on, barely listening to his elucidations, and receiving them with an indifference that chilled him to the heart. By a perseverance as unwearied as it was unrewarded, his darling project was at length sufficiently matured, and a steamboat was seen floating at the wharves of Philadelphia, forty years ago. So far, his success amid the most mortifying discouragements, had been sufficient to prove the merit of the scheme. But a reverse awaited him, as discouraging as it was unexpected. The boat performed a trip to Burlington; a distance of twenty miles, when, as she was rounding at the wharf her boiler burst. The next tide floated her back to the city; where, after great difficulty, a new boiler was procured. In October, 1788, she again performed her trip to Burlington. The boat not only went to Burlington, but to Trenton, returning the same day—and moving at the rate of eight miles an hour.—It is true, she could hardly perform a trip without something breaking, not from any error in Fitch's designs or conceptions, but, at that time, our mechanics were very ordinary, and it was impossible to have machinery, so new and complex, made with exactness and competent skill. It was on this account that Fitch was obliged

to abandon the great invention on which the public looked coldly ; from these failures, and because what is now so easy, then seemed to be impracticable, the boat was laid up as useless, rotted silently and unnoticed in the docks of Kensington. Fitch became more embarrassed by his creditors than ever ; and, after producing three manuscript volumes, which he deposited in the Philadelphia Library, to be opened thirty years after his death, he was carried off by the yellow fever in 1793. Such was the unfortunate termination of this early conceived project of the steamboat. Fitch was no doubt an original inventor of the steamboat. He was certainly the first that ever applied steam to the propulsion of vessels in America. Though it was reserved to Fulton to advance its application to a degree of perfection which has made his name immortal ; yet to the unfortunate Fitch belongs the honour of completing and navigating the first American steamboat.

His three manuscript volumes were opened about three years ago. Although they exhibit him an unschooled man, yet they indicate the possession of a strong mind, of much mechanical ingenuity. He describes his many difficulties and disappointments with a degree of feeling which cannot fail to win the sympathy of every reader, causing him to wonder and regret that so much time and talent should have been so unprofitably devoted. Though the project failed—and it failed only for want of funds—yet he never for a moment doubted its practicability. He tells us that in less than a century we shall see our western rivers swarming with steamboats ; and that his darling wish is to be buried on the margin of the romantic Ohio, where the song of the boatman may sometimes penetrate into the stillness of his everlasting resting place, and the music of the steam engine echo over the sod that shelters him forever !

In one of his journals, there is this touching and prophetic sentiment—“ 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 any thing worthy of attention !” I do not know that I have his precise words, but the sentiment is what I have given. The truth is, that Fitch, like Robert Morris, lived thirty or forty years too soon ; they were ahead of the condition of their country ; these great projects of improvements, which we now see consummated, were beyond the means of the country to execute them, and were therefore thought visionary and extravagant. Public opinion has since become better instructed, and the increase of wealth has enabled us to do what was then thought impossible.

On page 296, in my MS. Annals in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, is a picture of his first boat as he invented her in the year 1786, showing the propelling paddles on the side. He afterwards quite altered its appearance, by placing the paddles behind the stern. He thus spoke of his first scheme, saying, “ It is in several parts similar to the late improved engines in Europe, though there are some alterations. Our cylinder is to be horizontal, and the steam to work with equal force at each end. The mode to procure a vacuum is, I believe, entirely new, as is also the method of letting the water into it, and throwing it off against the atmosphere without any friction. The engine is placed about one-third

from the stern, and both the action and reaction turn the wheel the same way. The engine is a twelve inch cylinder, and will move a clear force of 11 or 12cwt. after the frictions are deducted, and this force acts against a wheel of 18 inches diameter."

As remembered to the eye when a boy, when seen in motion she was graceful, and "walked the water like a thing of life." His predilections for watchmaking machinery was very manifest, for two or three ranges of chains of the same construction as in watches, were seen along the outside of his vessel from stem to stern, moving with burnished glare, in motion proportioned to the speed of the boat; and ornamenting the waist, not unlike the adornments about an Indian bride.

It is melancholy to contemplate his overwhelming disappointments in a case since proved so practicable and so productive to those concerned. Some of those thousands so useless to others, had they been owned by him, so as to have enabled him to make all the experiments and improvements his inventive mind suggested, would have set his care-crazed head at rest, and in time have rewarded his exertions. But for want of the impulse which money affords, all proved ineffective. "Slow rises worth by poverty depressed!"

After Fulton and Livingston had proved the practicability of a better invention, by their boat on the North river, the waters of the Delaware were again agitated by a steam vessel, called the *Phœnix*. She was first started in 1809, and being since worn out, her remains, with those of Fitch's boat, repose in the mud flats of Kensington. The *Phœnix*, then deemed the *ne plus ultra* of the art, won the admiration of all of her early day; but as "practice makes perfect," it was frequently discovered that better adaptations of power could be attained, and although she underwent many changes in her machinery and gear, she soon saw herself rivalled, and finally surpassed, by successive inventions, till now, the steamboats can accomplish in two hours what sometimes took six to perform in her. For instance, the *Phœnix* has been known to take six hours in reaching Burlington against the wind and tide.

Such too, was the rapid progress in steam invention, that Mr. Latrobe, who wrote a paper for the Philosophical Society to demonstrate the impossibility of a momentum such as we now witness, became himself in two years afterwards a proselyte to the new system, and proved his sincerity and conviction, by becoming the agent for the steam companies in the West!

Most amazing invention! from a cause now so obvious and familiar! It is only by applying the principle seen in every house, which lifts the lid of the tea kettle and "boils over,"—that machines have been devised which can pick up a pin, or rend an oak; which combine the power of many giants with the plasticity that belongs to a lady's fair fingers; which spin cotton and then weave

it into cloth ; which by pumping sea water and extracting its steam send vessels across the Atlantic in fifteen days ; and amidst a long list of other marvels, “ engrave seals, forge anchors, and lift a ship of war like a bawble in the air.”—presenting in fact to the imagination, the practicability of labour-saving inventions in endless variety, so that in time, man through its aid, shall half exempt himself from “ the curse !” and preachers through steam-press printing, shall find an auxiliary effecting more than half their work !

Much of our steam invention we owe to our own citizen, Oliver Evans. He even understood the application of it to wagons—(now claimed as so exclusively British.) As early as 1787, the Legislature of Maryland granted him its exclusive use for 14 years, and in 1781, he publicly stated he could by steam drive wagons, mills, &c. Finally, he published his bet of 3000 dollars, engaging “ to make a carriage to run upon a level road against the swiftest horse to be found,”—none took him up ! and Latrobe, as a man of science, pronounced the idea as chimerical ; others said the motion would be too slow to be useful, &c. He got no patrons, and others now take his fame !—See *Emporium of Arts*, 1814, p. 205.

“ Of each wonderful plan
E'er invented by man,
This nearest perfection approaches—
No longer gee-up and gee-ho,
But fiz—fiz !—off we go,
Nine miles to the hour,
With fifty horse-power,
By day time and night time
Arrive at the right time,
Without rumble or jumble,
Or chance of a tumble,
As in chaise, gig, or whiskey,
When horses are frisky.”

WATERWORKS.



THE Philadelphia Waterworks were begun in the spring of 1799. It had but little encouragement, and to induce monied men to adventure their capital, they were offered water free of rent for a term of years. As late as 1803, only 960 dollars was the rental of the water, although nearly 300,000 dollars had then been expended in the enterprise; at the same time 126 houses were receiving the water free of cost. In 1814, there were 2850 dwellings receiving the water and paying a rent of eighteen thousand dollars. In that year, the cost of raising the water was 24,000 dollars. In 1818, the steam engine at Fair Mount was set in operation, and raised the water at a saving of 8000 dollars, still leaving an expense of 16,000 dollars per annum; but in 1827, such was the improvements introduced, that the expense of raising the water was but 1478 dollars! while the water rents from the city and districts had risen to 33,560 dollars, and this is still rapidly increasing. In the eventual success of these measures we owe much to the skill and perseverance of J. S. Lewis and Frederick Graff—names which will always be identified with its origin and renown. The unpromising and unassisted beginnings of this establishment, and its rapid progress to profit, will be the history in its turn of our canal and rail road enterprises. Our great benefactor, Franklin, early foresaw the need of a fresh supply of water for Philadelphia, and recommended the Wissahiccon creek for that object; but that, now in the city's great enlargement, would be drained dry in a week!

There was little or no desire expressed by the citizens of Philadelphia for any other than their good pump water, till after the fever year 1793. Then, when the mind was alive to every suggested danger of ill health, the idea of pump water being no longer good, found its increasing advocates. But after river water was introduced many were still very slow and reluctant to give up their icy-cold well water for the tepid waters of the Schuylkill; but numerous pits for other purposes, in time, destroyed the former pure taste of the pump waters, and led finally to their total abandonment, and the consequent increased patronage to the waterworks.

ANTHRACITE COAL.



“I sat beside the glowing grate fresh heap’d
 With Lehigh coal, and as the flame grew bright—
 The many coloured flame—and played and leap’d,
 I thought of rainbows and the Northern light,
 And other brilliant matters of the sort.”

WHEN the anthracite coal up the Schuylkill, at Mount Carbon, &c. was first effectively discovered, since the year 1800. it was deemed of little value, because they could devise no way to ignite it—a character which its name sufficiently denotes. About the year 1810–11, however, a practical chymist, I believe, an Englishman, his name unknown to fame or me, combining science with practice, made such an analysis of the coal as convinced him there was inherent in the mass all the properties suited for combustion. He therefore erected a furnace in a small vacant house on the causeway road (Beech street) leading over to Kensington. To this he applied three strong bellowses; these succeeded to give out such an immense white heat from the coal as to melt platina itself! From this experiment, at which two of my friends were present as invited witnesses, was derived such proofs as led to its future general use in our city.

It was in the year 1808, that Judge Fell, at Wyoming, made the first experiment to use that coal in a grate of his own construction; a measure in which he succeeded far beyond his expectations. Before that time they had used it only for smith-work. It was first so used in 1768–9, by Obadiah Gore, (an early settler of Wyoming) and afterwards by all the smiths there.

The Mount Carbon coal was known to exist in the neighbourhood more than forty years ago; and some search was made, but the coal found being so very different from any which was previously known, it was not thought to be of any value, and the search was abandoned. It is supposed to be forty years since a blacksmith by the name of Whetstone, found coal and used them in his smith-shop. At a very early period, Judge Cooper declared his belief of the existence of coal in the district, and the Messrs. Potts explored various places along the old Sunbury road, but success did not attend their operations. A Mr. William Morris afterwards became the proprietor of most of the coal lands at the head of our canal; he found coal.

and took some quantity to Philadelphia, about the year 1800; but all his efforts to bring them into use failed, and he abandoned the project, and sold his lands to their late proprietor, Mr. Potts.

It does not appear that much notice was taken of the coal from the time of Whetstone, and the search made by the Messrs. Potts, until about twenty years ago, when a person by the name of Peter Bastrus, a blue-dyer, in building the valley forge, found coal in the tailrace.—About the same time, a Mr. David Berlin, a blacksmith in this neighbourhood, permanently commenced and introduced the use of stone coal in the smith's forge, and continued to use and instruct others in its use many years afterwards. But few persons, however, could be induced to use them: prejudice and old habits again became victorious, and appear to have held undisputed sway until about the year 1812, when Mr. George Shoemaker, a present innkeeper at Pottsville, and Nicho Allen, discovered coal on a piece of land they had purchased, now called Centreville. Allen soon became disheartened, and gave up the concern to Shoemaker, who, receiving encouragement from some gentlemen in Philadelphia, got out a quantity of coal, and took nine wagonloads to Philadelphia. Here again, our coal met with a host of opposition. On two wagonloads Mr. S. got the carriage paid; the others he gave away to persons who would attempt to use them. The result was against the coal: those who tried them, pronounced them stone and not coal, good for nothing, and Shoemaker an impostor! At length, after a multitude of disappointments, and when Shoemaker was about to abandon the coal and return home, Messrs. Mellon and Bishop, of Delaware county, made an experiment with some of the coal in their rolling mill, and found them to succeed beyond expectation, and to be a highly valuable and useful fuel. The result of their experiments was published at the time in the Philadelphia papers. Some experiments with the coal were made in the works at the falls of Schuylkill, but without success. Mr. Wernwag, the manager at the Phoenix works at French creek also made trial of the coal, and found them eminently useful. From that time forward, the use of the coal spread rapidly, and now bids fair to become a most important and valuable branch of trade, and to produce results highly beneficial to the interests of Pennsylvania generally.

The foregoing statement may appear minute, but it is due to the individuals who laboured to force upon us the great benefits which coal is and will be to our State. We are aware that the credit of pointing out the use, and perhaps of discovering the anthracite, has been claimed by and awarded to individuals in another part of our State: but it is within the knowledge of many, that those individuals joined in pronouncing the coal good for nothing. We have abundant testimony also for the facts and dates we have given: from which it appears, that to Mr. David Berlin, George Shoemaker, Messrs. Mellon and Bishop, we are indebted for the

discovery of the use and introduction of our anthracite or stone coal.

“Dark Anthracite ! that reddenest on my hearth,
Thou in those inland mines didst slumber long,
But now thou art come forth to move the earth
And put to shame the men that mean the wrong ;
Thou shalt be coals of fire to those that hate thee
And warm the shins of all that underrate thee.

Yea, they did wrong thee foully—they, who mock’d
Thy honest face, and *said thou wouldst not burn,*
Of hewing thee to chimney-pieces talked,
And grew profane—and swore in bitter scorn,
That men might to thy inner caves retire,
And there, unsinged, abide the day of fire.

Yet is thy greatness nigh. Thou too shalt be
Great in thy turn—and wide shall spread thy fame
And swiftly—farthest Maine shall hear of thee,
And cold New Brunswick gladden at thy name,
And, faintly through its sleets, the weeping isle,
That sends the Boston folks their cod, shall smile.

For thou shalt forge vast rail-ways, and shalt heat
The hissing rivers into steam, and drive
Huge masses from thy mines, on iron feet
Walking their steady way, as if alive,
Northward, till everlasting ice besets thee,
And south as far as the grim Spaniard lets thee.

Thou shalt make mighty engines swim the sea,
Like its own monsters—boats that for a guinea
Will take a man to Havre—and shall be
The moving soul of many a spinning jenny,
And ply thy shuttles, till a bard can wear
As good a suit of broadcloth as the May’r.

Then we will laugh at winter, when we hear
The grim old churl about our dwellings rave ;
Thou from that “ruler of th’ inverted year,”
Shall pluck the knotty sceptre Cowper gave,
And pull him from his sledge, and drag him in,
And melt the icicles from off his chin.

Heat will be cheap—a small consideration
Will put one in a way to raise his punch,
Set lemon trees, and have a cane plantation—
’Twill be a pretty saving to the *Lunch*.
Then the West India negroes may go play
The banjo, and keep endless holiday.”

LOTTERIES.



————— It must be told ;
 These from thy Lottery Wheels are sold ;
 Sold.—and thy children dearly tax'd,
 That few may win —————

It must be told, that fearful as is the waste of treasure and morals by the present infatuation of many for lotteries, they were, at an early period of our city, the frequently adopted measures of "raising ways and means." It is true they were then fairly conducted—had public benefit in design—and tickets were generally vended by disinterested citizens without reward, for the sake of advancing the public weal. It was their way when the mass of the people was comparatively poor, and direct taxes were onerous and unpopular, to thus bring out the aid of the abler part to pay willingly for expensive public improvements, &c. The facts in the case are to the following effect, to wit :

The earliest mention of a lottery in Philadelphia, occurs in 1720, when Charles Reed advertises "to sell his brick house in Third street by lottery." That house, if now known, should be the headquarters of lotteries now, as the proper "head and front of their offending."

In 1728, the city council, averse to all private projects in lotteries, interfere and frustrate the design of Samuel Keimer, printer, and once a partner of Franklin's. He had advertised his purpose to make a lottery at the approaching fair, and the council having sent for him and heard his case, gave orders that no such lottery should be attempted, and thus the affair dropped.

In 1748, began the first occasion of a sanctioned public lottery. It was altogether patriotic. It was in time of war, when great apprehension existed that the plunder of the city might be attempted by armed vessels. Individual subscriptions and a lottery were resorted to as means for raising "the Association Battery," then constructed near the present navy yard. On this occasion, the Friends put forth their strength to discourage lotteries, and read a rule against them in their Meeting. Some controversy ensued.

Christ church steeple was the next subject of public interest, awakening general regard as an intended ornament and clock-tower. A lottery for this object was first instituted in November,

1752, and the drawing finished in March, 1753, of which further particulars may be seen in the article—"Christ Church."

In the same spirit, the citizens, in March, 1753, encouraged the institution of another lottery for another steeple, viz: "for raising 850*l.* towards finishing a steeple to the new Presbyterian church," at the north west corner of Third and Arch streets. The lottery was drawn in May following.

The facilities of lotteries must then have been very encouraging, as we find about this time, that the lottery expedients are numerous. On such occasions, they invited citizens of Philadelphia and other places to contribute for quite distant places. Thus, to raise 500 dollars to build a long wharf in Baltimore, a lottery is sold off in Philadelphia, and so to build a church in Brunswick, another is sold in Philadelphia. In Connecticut I see, in 1754, that 13,332*l.* is raised by lottery there, to aid the building of the Princeton college, and tickets are sold in Philadelphia.

In 1754, they form a lottery of 5,000 tickets at 4 dollars each, to raise a fund to complete the City Academy in Fourth street, then lately purchased of Whitfield's congregation; and in the next year, a further lottery of 4 classes is made to raise 75,000 dollars, and neat 9,375 dollars for the general objects of the academy, and to endow professorships, &c.

In 1760, St. Paul's church is helped to a finish by a lottery. The bare walls were at first set up by subscription. First, a lottery of 5,000 tickets, at 4 dollars, is formed, by which to clear 3000 dollars, and the next year another lottery of 30,000 dollars is formed, to clear enough to buy off the ground-rent, &c.

In 1761, the zeal for lotteries began to shew itself as an evil. In this matter, "every man did as seemed right in his own eyes." Thus, one man makes it for his store of books and jewellery, and Alexander Alexander so disposes of his 46 acres of land on the south west end of Petty's island, in lots, for 10,500 dollars. There are lotteries too, announced for all the neighbouring churches—one for Bordentown—one for Lancaster—one for Middletown—one for Brunswick—one for Carlisle—Newtown—Forks of Brandywine—Oxford—and even Baltimore. Some too are for schools. It is even proposed to erect by lottery a *great bath and pleasure garden*. On this occasion, all the ministers combine to address the Governor to resist it as a place of vice.

Lotteries are also granted for raising funds for paving the streets. In 1761, 12,500 tickets, at 4 dollars, making 50,000 dollars, are sold for raising 7,500 dollars to that purpose.

In the same year, (1761) a lottery is made to pay off a company of rangers at Tulpchaikin, for services against the Indians in 1755! on a scheme of 5,000 tickets, at 2 dollars each! Another lottery is made to erect the light-house at Cape Henlopen, to raise 20,000*l.* and the house itself was begun in 1762. The bridge over the Conestogoe is erected by a lottery, and also the bridge at Skippack.

As a necessary sequel to the whole, the Legislature had to interfere to prevent so many calls upon the purses of their citizens, and soon after those lotteries, an Act was passed to restrain lotteries !

It would strike us as a strange location for drawing of lotteries now to name them as in stores on the wharves ! but the lottery for St. Paul's church was drawn at a store on Gardner's wharf above Race street. And a subsequent lottery for the Presbyterian steeple, (corner of Third and Arch streets) was drawn in April, 1761, in Masters' store on Market street wharf.

Lotteries having so received their *quietus*, none appear to have been suggested till the lonely case of 1768, when a lottery was granted by the Legislature in four classes, for raising the sum of 5,250£. for purchasing a public landing in the Northern Liberties, and for additional paving of the streets.

The history of lotteries, since our Independence and self-government, and its lately pervading evil in all our cities, is too notorious and too generally lamented by the prudent and considerate, to need any further notice in this connexion. In the hands of the wily traffickers in these unstable wares, legal enactments have been but "ropes of sand," without power to fetter them.

MISCELLANEOUS FACTS.



“Made of odd ends and patches.”

THE following facts have no proper connexion, and have here been brought together, because they had no proper affinity with any other subjects treated of severally under appropriate heads. They are shreds and patches and odd ends, here wove into a *Mosaic* pattern—to wit :

Miscellanea.

1683, Jan. 28.—The Speaker of the Assembly ordered, that each member absenting himself without good cause, should pay a fine of 12d. sterling each time.

1685, March 16.—Nicholas Moore, (former Speaker) for contempt of the authority of the House, was expelled.

1689, March 13.—John White, a member in prison in New Castle, was ordered to be set free and to take his seat, but he was again seized by the sheriff, John Claypole, and borne off!

1695.—The judges were allowed 10s. a day for their services. John Claypole alone was declared a man of ill-fame, and the Governor was requested to remove him.

1701.—Juries were to be paid 8d. a day, and witnesses 2s. each. Members of Assembly in after years, received 4s. 6d. a day.

1704, August 16.—The violence of the wind and rain prevented the members of Assembly, out of town, from attendance. Such members usually brought their dinners with them.

—, October 15.—The Assembly was required to meet on Sunday. They organized, and adjourned to Monday.

1705.—Solomon Cresson, going his round at night, entered a tavern to suppress a riotous assembly, and found there John Evans, Esq. the Governor, who fell to beating Cresson.

1706.—The wolves had increased so greatly near to Philadelphia, as to endanger the sheep.

1721.—Sundry persons in Philadelphia agree to receive, in payment of goods, &c. the dollars called Lion dollars at the rate of 5s. the English crown at 7s. 6d. the English shilling at 1s. 6d. &c. proclamation money.

Four brick tenements on the west side of Front street, and with lots extending through to Second street, fronting on which are two tenements, all rent for 70£. per annum, and pay 15£. ground rent, bounded on the

north by Clement Plumstead, who lived at the north west corner of Union and Front street.

1722.—The mineral water in the Great Valley, 30 miles from Philadelphia, is discovered this year; and great praise is bestowed on the Bristol spring.

A public paper of the merchants at Jamaica, of July, 1722, states “that the reputation of a place, (Philadelphia) once famed for the best flour in America, has become so corrupted, that housekeepers are scarcely persuaded to look on Pennsylvania flour.” In consequence of this and other representations, an Act for better inspection was passed.

The names of the Grand jurors empanelled, gives one a good idea of the first inhabitants; and their original signatures to recommendations to tavern licenses, might now help many a descendant to a means of knowing the writing of their first progenitors in Philadelphia. These are still on file in the Mayor’s court.

In 1722 & 3, interest was reduced in Pennsylvania from 8 to 6 per cent.

When blackbirds and crows were numerous and destructive, they gave premiums for their heads—by the Act of 1704, they gave 3d. per dozen for blackbirds and 3d. for crows.

By an Act of 1719, they compelled all paupers in Philadelphia to wear a letter P upon their right shoulder, to prevent them from street begging, &c.

The Act for establishing a ferry to Daniel Cooper’s land, was passed in 1717.

1726.—There are advertised two grey stallions suitable for a coach.

1727.—Lord De la Warr, after whom Delaware is named, so spells his name in signing, with the other lords, the declaration of King George’s death.

A lion, the king of beasts, is exhibited in Water street at 1s. a sight.

The king’s birth-day was celebrated this year, (1727) at the house of Wm. Chancellor, sail-maker, in whose gardens twenty-one pieces of cannon were placed and fired. Some incidental circumstances have shown that he was the friend of Sir Wm. Keith, the Governor, and had from him the first grant of keeping gunpowder stored for safety.

The first loan office was opened in 1728.

1729.—J. Kempster and J. Coals were compelled to kneel at the bar of the House of Assembly, and to ask pardon for offence.

1730, Nov. 5.—Monday night, one Bradley going home alone, in liquor, fell into a ditch at the upper end of Market street, where he was found dead the next morning, having been drowned in six inches of water.

It is worthy of remark, that in this early day so few co-partnerships should occur in business. In a list of 120 chief houses in trade, only two instances occur of signatures by firms.

1730.—The House of Assembly ordered that a flag should be hoisted on proper days upon Society Hill—such as Sundays and holidays, &c.—and that Edward Carter be paid 10£. for such hoisting, &c.

1736.—An ox is announced as to be roasted whole, for public entertainment, in the Northern Liberties—at J. Stennards.

Mr. Dering, dancing-master, advertises for scholars. John Salomen, Latin and French teacher, advertises in Latin for pupils.

1736.—A servant man going into the river, “under Society Hill,” to wash, slipped beyond his depth and was drowned.

At the same place a man, attended by his wife, came to drown himself to get rid of her: but after casting himself in, at which sight she was a calm spectator, some officious persons near there rescued him, and compelled him and his wife to go home together!

1738.—Peter Poole, of Manatawna, hearing a noise in the brook near his house, supposed it was a deer in the water, and shooting at it, killed his own mother, Anna S. Poole! This was probably of the family giving name to Poole’s ship-yard and bridge.

1738.—The Mayor acquainted the City Council that several of the barbers of the city had applied to him to take proper measures to prevent persons exercising that trade on the first day of the week, called Sunday, and the Mayor desired the opinion of the board what measures to adopt,—whereupon the board orders that they be notified to abstain from so working on that day, according to the law of the province before existing, and preventing working on that day.

1739.—One of the houses at the corner of Front and Walnut streets, (held by Edward Bridges as a dry-goods store) is said to be “commonly called the Scales.”

A camel is this year exhibited, the first ever shown here.

1746.—“Firms” in trade, now first begin to appear—say Hamilton, Wallace, & Co.”—“Stedman, Robertson, & Co.”

A storekeeper in Wilmington—say Joseph Peters—advertises his list of store goods in the Philadelphia paper. He does this often in several years, even till his death, and then his successor does the same.

In 1746, Thomas Kinnett advertises to teach the noble art of defence with the small sword, and also dancing.

In consequence of that advertisement, an article soon after appeared, signed Samuel Foulke, in which he says, “I was indeed surprised at his audacity and brazen impudence in giving those detestable vices those high encomiums. They may be proved so far from “accomplishments,” that they are diabolical. This is a freedom of assault by friend Foulke, not now practised with other men’s advertisements! The other does not appear to have made any defence, altho’ so accomplished to defend himself!

1748.—The coin of the day is called pieces-of-eight—pistoles—and cob-dollars.

1749.—A proclamation of Charles Willings, Esq. the Mayor, commands all barbers and peruke-makers from working at their trades on the sabbath-day.

This year wood was determined, by an ordinance, that it should measure four feet in length or be forfeited to the poor, and any person refusing to submit it to measurement, should forfeit 5s. per cord.

1751.—The pilot boats used to be all dock’d in a dock where is now Girard’s stores, above High street. They were of small dimensions then. I perceive they were pink’d stern, but 27 feet keel, and 11 feet beam.

1754.—By far the greatest collection of books that I have seen advertised by catalogue, even by Franklin and other printers, were published by Trench Francis, jr. in connexion with his assortment of European and East India goods. There were then no exclusive book-stores.

William Taylor, who came from England in 1726, and settled at Darby, was the first man who ever made a pair of smith's bellows in our country.

There was great perplexities in our markets at the time of changing the computation of money from pounds, shillings, and pence, to dollars and cents, and considerable in keeping accounts, &c. It was a long time before people could get out of their old habits.

Philadelphia has long enjoyed the reputation of a peculiar cake called the *afec*. Thousands who partake of them have no conception of the origin of their name. Ann Page, still alive, under another name and business, first made them, many years ago, under the common name of cakes. The aged may remember her small frame house in Second street, two doors north of Carter's alley. On her cakes she impressed the letters A. P. the letters of her name, and from this cause, ever since the initials have been disused on them, the cakes have continued to be called *afees*.

Our Philadelphia butchers are said to cut up and display their beef in a manner superior to the sister cities. At New York they leave the lean on the chuck, which our butchers leave on the hide; and we cut the plate and brisket more slightly than they do at New York or Baltimore.

In the year 1779, the Spanish Ambassador, then living in Chew's large house in south Third street above the Mansion house, gave a *grand gala*. The gardens there were superbly decorated with variegated lamps, and the edifice itself was like a blaze of light.

I saw an ancient deed in the possession of Samuel Richards, which was written on very fine linen cambric, and faced on both sides with paper. It made it firm and to the eye like vellum.

The mile-stones from Philadelphia to Trenton, were set up by the Directors of the Company for the Insurance of Houses—done in 1764, out of the funds raised by their fines. They cost 33£. The particulars, as reported by the committee, may be seen at length on page 198 of my MS. Annals in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

I have been well assured that the stones set up along the Gulph road are marked with Penn's Arms. Some still remain and were seen lately. Along the Chester road, too, were once mile-stones, having some en-signia of the Queen's Arms.

The War and Navy office of the United States, and General Post Office, when in Philadelphia, before 1800, was at the corner of Fifth and Chesnut streets, and the Secretary of State's office was adjoining on Fifth street—all belonged to Simmons.

Great quantities of wood used to be brought to the city on sleds in the winter, and often sold very high; sometimes 15 to 16 dollars a cord. Since the practice of laying up wood in yards has prevailed, the winter prices are much moderated.

A city directory, and the numbering of all the houses is a great convenience which did not exist till about the year 1790.

A letter of James Logan's, of the year 1718, states that Colonel Spotswood, the Governor of Virginia, had happily discovered passes in the Allegheny mountains, by which to conduct military enterprises, &c.

Tobacco Cultivated.

In 1701, the tobacco field is spoken of, on the land of John Stacey, by the long bridge over the Cohocksinc creek.

In 1719, Jonathan Dickinson, in his letter, speaks of "several around Philadelphia who planted and raised tobacco with success."

Much of Penn's rents was paid to J. Logan in tobacco. It was cultivated at an early period on Logan's farm; also at Harriton, where Charles Thomson afterwards lived and died.

Grass and Clover Cultivation.

In 1685, William Penn in his letter to his steward says, "Hay dust (meaning grass seed, I presume) from Long Island, such as I sowed in my court yard is best for our fields. I will send divers seeds for gardens and fields, &c." In another letter he says, "I am glad the Indian field bore so well. Lay as much down as you can with hay dust."

Professor Kalm, who was here in 1748, says an old Swede, whose father came out with Governor Printz, said his father used to say the grass grew every where two feet high in the woods; but in Kalm's time it was much diminished. He imputes the decrease to the practice of the annual burning of the leaves.

From the letters of Jonathan Dickinson it appears he had much desire to import grass seeds; two or three times they arrived injured by the heat of the hold. In 1721, he proposes to hang it over the vessel's quarter, sewed up in tarpaulins; but before the experiment could be made he announces himself happy to find a very simple means used by another. The seed was sealed in jars and kept air tight.

The same Jonathan Dickinson, I found in 1719, speaks of having bought up 500 pounds of red clover seed in Rhode Island for his cultivation here—saying the white clover already tinges the roads as a natural production. Kalm afterwards, in 1748, spoke of the white clover as abundant here; and red and white as both abundant about Albany, and some about New York.

The cultivation of red clover, which proved eventually a great restorer of our impoverished lands, did not get into successful introduction and use, until it was first successfully used and publicly recommended by Mr. James Vaux, of Fatland Ford, in Montgomery county, about the year 1785. John Bartram, however, the botanist, had fields of red clover in cultivation before the war of Independence.

Plaster of Paris.

When our forefathers began to work this virgin soil, they found it very productive. For the first 60 or 70 years the land sustained itself against the exhausting manner of husbandry—producing an average of from 25 to 30 or 35 bushels of wheat to the acre, as I have learned. But after the year 1750, and down to the time of the peace, frequently the former good lands could produce but an average crop of six or seven bushels to the acre. At this crisis the public became greatly indebted to the intelligence and public spir-

itedness of the late venerable Judge Peters. To his perseverance and recommendation we are indebted, in good measure, for the introduction and use of that incalculable renovator of our soil the gypsum or plaister of Paris.

Vegetable Productions Introduced.

Gardening, as an exclusive branch of business, is quite a modern concern. If any existed before the year 1793, they were without notice or emolument. But since, by introducing many new table luxuries, they have acquired reputation and profit, and this inducement has allured several to the same employment. We shall here notice a few of the more remarkable vegetables introduced among us.

As late as my mother's childhood, potatoes were then in much less esteem and use than now. The earliest potatoes, like the originals now discovered from South America, were very small, compared with the present improved stock. They were small bright yellow ones, called kidney potatoes; and probably about 65 years ago, they then first introduced a larger kind, more like the present in use, which were called, in New England, the bilboa. They were, however, of slow use into families, and the story ran that they were pernicious to health; and a lover of bilboas was said to die in five years! In Pennsylvania the same kind of potatoes were called Spanish potatoes.

In accordance with those facts, the present Colonel A. J. Morris, now in his 90th year, told me that the potatoes used in his early life were very inferior to the present. They were called Spanish potatoes, and were very sharp and pungent in the throat and smell. They sent occasionally a better sort from Liverpool. He said Tench Francis first imported our improved stock, which by frequent cultivation he much improved.

In 1748, Professor Kalm speaks of nightshade and privet as growing wild in our fields; of the latter several hedges were made. The squash he deemed an indigenous plant, much used by the Indians before the Europeans came. The Indians too, had always a kind of cultivated pease. He much expressed his surprise to see our cultivated lands abounding with purslain, a vegetable which required a gardener's care in his country! He often saw, he said, asparagus growing wild in loose soils on uncultivated sandy hills. The misletoe (*Viscum Album*) grew upon the sweet gum, the oak, and lime tree, so much so that their whole summits were quite green in winter. I believe none witness these things in our region now.

Charles Thomson, the Secretary of Congress, said he well remembered the circumstance of the first introduction of broom corn into our country. Dr. B. Franklin chanced to see an imported corn whisk in the possession of a lady, and while examining it as a novelty he espied a grain of it still attached to the stalk. This

took and planted, and so we at length have got it in abundance
 among us.

The yellow willow among us were introduced from a similar accident, as told me by T. Matlack, Mrs. D. Logan, and Samuel Watts. All in our State came originally from some wicker-work found sprouting in a basket-state in Dock creek. It was seen by Dr. Franklin, who took it out and gave the cuttings to Charles Neill, of that day, who reared them at the grounds now the site of the Bank of the United States, where they grew to great stature.

The first creeping willows were introduced into the city by Governor John Penn for his garden, in south Third street, next adjoining to Willing's place.

The manner of Mr. Ranstead, the upholsterer from Wales, introducing as a flower, the plant since known in abundance as the Ranstead weed, I have told elsewhere; also in like manner, that of the day-waker, and the daisy, once deemed flowers, and now multiplied so as to be regarded as annoying weeds.

City Charter.

1684, the 26th of 5 mo. Thomas Lloyd, Thomas Holmes, and William Haignes were appointed to draw up a charter for Philadelphia to be made a borough consisting of a Mayor and six Aldermen, and to call to their assistance any of the Council. The charter as a city, was obtained in 1691. For I find by an act of Council of June, 1691, that Humphrey Murray is recognised "as present Mayor of the city of Philadelphia." It appears, however, that in later periods the city was generally spoken of as obtaining its first charter as a city under date of the 25th of October, 1701, that being the time of Penn's second arrival, when he granted "the charter of the city of Philadelphia."

The Northern Liberties part, was incorporated in 1803, and the Southwark district, in 1794.

Several attempts, after the Revolution, were made to procure an act of incorporation for the city, before it was obtained. It was much opposed by some. Fourteen hundred citizens, in September, 1783, signed and presented a memorial against it. The subject was again revived in 1786, but no act was passed until the month of March, 1789. The whole objections contained in the memorial may be read in Hazard's "Pennsylvania Register," vol. 2, p. 327. They complain that if the act contemplated should pass they should be "subjected to an aristocratic police,"—"that the act of incorporation is in itself unnecessary,"—"that many eastern well regulated towns prosper well without incorporation,"—"on the contrary English example affords instructive facts of the mischievous effects of incorporating,"—"They object to the large powers of Oyer and Terminer."—"They deem the incorporation unnecessary because the Legislature, in which several gentlemen of the city are a part, will always be possessed of sufficient information respecting the

provisions necessary to be made for the convenience and order of the city," &c.

Port Entries—Inward and Outward.

In the earliest newspapers, the entrance and clearance of vessels are as regularly printed for New York and Amboy, as they are at Philadelphia. Down to about the year 1730, they are about two or three a week inward, and two or three outward—but from and after the year 1736, they are increased to about twelve each way, in a week—being certainly a quick increase.

Funeral Pomp restrained.

In 1727, Robert Ashton, Esq. Recorder and Prothonotary, died, aged 58, and was buried in pomp by torch lights at night, in Christ church ground.

About that time, funeral cards of invitation were sent out among fashionable people, as has been lately revived. They were printed in London, having deep mourning borders and funeral devices. Such a one is preserved in Peale's museum, filled up in Maryland, in 1723. This ceremony was of rare occurrence.

We have some intimation of the "pomp and circumstance" of an old-fashioned funeral, in the death of *Aquila Rose* at Philadelphia, in 1723. He was young—a printer—poet—and clerk of the Assembly, and was honoured more for his merit than his wealth. His eulogium, in elegiac verse, was done by S. Keimer, "city printer," and quondam friend of Franklin—to wit :

"His corps attended was, by Friends so soon,
From seven at morn, till one o'clock at noon.
By master-printers carried toward his grave,
Our city printer such an honour gave.
A worthy merchant did the widow lead,
And then both mounted on a stately steed.
Next preachers, common council, aldermen,
A Judge and Sheriff grac'd the solemn train,
Nor fail'd our Treasurer in respect to come,
Nor staid the Keeper of the Rolls at home.
With merchants, shopkeepers, the young and old,
A numerous throng, not very easy told.
And what still adds a lustre to it,
Some rode well mounted, others walk'd afoot.

Thus "died and was buried" in distant olden time,—

"A lovely poet, whose sweet fragrant name,
Will last till circling years shall cease to be."

It is not a little curious, that the original printed paper from which the above is taken, is still in existence, embellished with the usual symbols of death—the head, bones, hourglass, &c.

In 1765, it was resolved by the best families in New York, Bos-

ton, and some attempts were made at Philadelphia to diminish the expenses of funerals—and at Philadelphia, on the occasion of the death of Alderman W. Plumstead, it is said, “he was buried at St. Peter’s church in the plainest manner according to the new mode—having no pall over his coffin, nor any of his relatives (by his request) appearing in mourning.” B. Price, Esq. also, according to his will, was buried in an oak coffin and iron handles.

The Bloody Election

Was an incident of the year 1742, and of frequent mention in the early annals as an affair of much scandal. Secretary Peters, in his letter to Proprietaries, thus describes it, saying,—Young Joseph Turner gathered the sailors, to the number of forty to fifty persons, with clubs, at an open lot over against the Christ church. Thence they made an assault at the court-house, on some of the electors there. Thence went to Chesnut street, and by a back way [for open ground seemed common then !] to the Indian King inn in High street, where, being refused any drink by Peter and Jonathan Robeson, they went back enraged to the election grounds. There they fell heavily with their clubs upon the Germans and others,—beating off the former as many as 500. The fight became “shocking to the sight,”—“a truly mad scene and uproar,”—but the sailors were made to retreat. There was a great trial for the stairs by which the voters ascended and descended, then occupied, as formerly for several years, by Isaac Norris and his party.* The ship-carpenters clubbed together to make it their own, which they accomplished. As it produced much public feeling, it became quickly a matter of court cognizance, and even the Assembly itself, as if anticipating the courts, made it a matter of debate and business for three weeks, passing at length a bill for a Riot Act, &c.

Insurance.

In 1721, John Copson, the printer of the Mercury Gazette, opens “an insurance office at his office, where he will provide competent underwriters to assure any sum applied for.” This was the first attempt at insurance in Philadelphia. In the former times, all insurance for sea risks, &c. were effected in London.

In 1752, was founded the Philadelphia Contributionship for insuring of houses from loss by fire. It was incorporated in 1768, as a mutual assurance, and was much promoted by Dr. Franklin. In March, 1823, the capital amounted to \$228,850. The number of policies out, were 2273, and the sum insured, \$3,620,450. What is curious respecting this ancient institution, is that they never had but one law-suit, and that they gained ! Another curious fact respecting this association is, that at an early period they insured a house which was soon after burnt, and this single loss much distressed the concerned to make it good. The annual election for di-

* Norris’s election was always supported by the Germans.

rectors being near at hand, at an upper room in the old court-house, no one attended but Hugh Roberts, who having waited until the time of choosing had nearly expired, he alone proceeded to elect twelve directors and a treasurer, all of whom he notified in due form! But for that circumstance, this institution now so distinguished and beneficial, would have expired!

Aboriginal Trees.

For want of a better term I have chosen so to name those primitive trees of the forest race as still remain among us, from days cotemporary with the foundation of the city. Those now standing on the northern extremity nearest to the city are nigh the first gate on the Germantown turnpike,—on Wager's field or lot. There are two of them there of sweet gum about 20 feet apart, and having a circumference of about 14 feet. Between those trees there was once deposited in the ground a quantity of stolen treasure—afterwards confessed and recovered.

On the western side of the city is a large forest elm, at the north west corner of Race and Schuylkill Seventh street, nearly *vis a vis* to the Friends' walled-ground. An old man near there, told me it looked equally large as now, nearly fifty years ago.

The next nearest forest trees are three ancient gums on the north side of Vine street, fronting the Bush-hill mansion.

In the south-western section, the nearest remaining trees there are a few (five) well-grown oak trees standing in a lot at Lombard street near Schuylkill Tenth street.

At the south end, there is on Swanson street, by the water side, a great buttonwood or waterbeech, the remains of several once there, seen and noticed by Kalm in 1748.

The above trees compose all which remain so near the city; these alone have escaped the British desolations, the axe of their owners, and time. We cannot think of them without remembering the expressive and beautiful musings of Cowper on his "Yardley Oak,"

Survivor sole of all that once liv'd here!
 A shatter'd vet'ran,—couldst thou speak
 And tell who liv'd when thou wast young!
 By thee I might correct the clock of history—
 Recover facts,—mistated things, set right:
 But since no spirit dwells in thee to speak,
 I will perform myself, in my own ear,
 Such matters as I may."

Other cities, like us have their consecrated trees. On Boston common, there is an elm called the Great tree, which girths 21 2-3 feet. At Hartford they have their celebrated "Charter Oak;" it girths 33 feet. At New York they venerate a groupe of large buttonwood trees on the ground of the Columbia College. At Providence, Rhode Island, they have their "Great Elm Tree," which they publicly and solemnly consecrated "to liberty," as early

as the year 1768, and at Boston too, they had their "Liberty Tree," even earlier.

Strange Transmission of Sound.

In 1707, the guns fired upon Hill's vessel from the little fort at New Castle, were distinctly heard by Hill's anxious wife at Philadelphia.—Vide Proud.

On the 10th of July, 1745, "a great number of guns were heard by many people in and about town, which seemed to be at a great distance, and the next day we found by express, they were as far off as New York, at which place were great firings and rejoicings for the capture of Cape Breton!" It is probable no weight of artillery could now be heard from city to city!

Old persons have told me that before the city was paved, and when fewer carriages were employed, they found it much easier than now to hear distant sounds. Sixty odd years ago, Cooper, on the Jersey side, had a black fellow named Mingo, who possessed a fine clear voice, and could be distinctly heard singing in the field towards the evening,—even the words of the chorus in some cases could be understood by those living near the water side in the city. Colonel Thomas Forrest was one who assured me of this. The aged Colonel A. J. Morris, told me of his hearing Whitfield's clear voice, at Gloucester point, when he was preaching on Society Hill. Captain Coates tells me that just before the Revolution, when his father dwelt at the corner of Cable Lane and Vine street, they could there hear the voice of his workmen at his brick-kiln at the corner of Fourth and Green streets, cry out "Phebe get the dinner ready!" This may seem strange in the present thick population; but I must also add there are spots in Germantown, where, on occasions of overcast and calm mornings, persons can plainly hear the rattle of carts in Philadelphia, six miles off!

The guns that were fired at the battle of Brandywine, were distinctly heard by persons in Philadelphia, altho' they were only 9 and 10 pounders. And the bombardment of Fort Mifflin was heard daily at Germantown. When the Augusta blew up there, Mr. Bradford told me he distinctly heard the report not far from Lancaster, and following up the line of the river, another told me they heard it near Pottsgrove. Another heard it at the forks of Little Egg Harbour.

Names of Streets changed.

In the olden time they were remarkably disposed to give popular names to streets and places, to the exclusion of their legal and recorded names. I remember very well that when a boy, about the year 1800, we first saw index boards on the walls, to show the streets. The names of some of the streets were so new to us, that we really thought, for a long while, that they were absolutely new

names. Those which have undergone changes, have been as follows, to wit :

Bread Street—has been called familiarly Moravian alley, because that church had its front formerly on that street.

Noble Street—was called commonly Bloody lane, because a murder had been committed there.

Garden Alley—changed to Coombes' alley, because he was a tenant on the Front street corner.

Cedar Street—is changed to South street, because it was the southern limit of the city. It was often called Southermost street.

Sassafras Street—has been called Race street, because it was the road to the races once out there. It was also called Longhurst street, in the earliest deeds.

Mulberry Street—always called Arch street, because of an arch or bridge across that street at Front street. It was also called Holmes' street, in the earliest deeds.

High Street—originally called so, because of its having been the highest elevation from the river of all the other streets—changed to Market street by the popular voice, because of the markets in it.

King Street—changed to Water street because of its nearness to the river.

Branch Street—changed to Sourcroust alley, and so universally once called, because the first cutter of cabbage, who made it a business to go abroad with his machine to cut for families, lived almost alone in that street.

Jones' Alley—changed to Pewter-platter alley, because of such a sign (a real pewter dish of large size) once hung at the corner of Front street.

Duke Street—changed to Artillery lane, because of the British cannon having been placed there.

Prime Street—was called Love lane, because of a long row of lewd houses there.

Callowhill Street—in 1690 was called "New street," probably because it was the first opened in the Northern Liberties.

Brewer's Alley—because of Geddes' brewery there, now called Wood street.

Vine Street—was at an early period called Valley street, because of its vale there between two hills, above and below it.

Chesnut Street—was first called Wynn street, after Thomas Wynn.

Walnut Street—was Pool street, as leading to Dock creek water.

Norris's Alley—was called Hutton's lane or alley.

Gray's Alley—was called Morris' alley.

Gabriel Thomas, in his account of the city as early as 1698, speaks of several other street-names not now known, to wit : Shorter's alley—Yower's lane—Waller's alley—Sikes' alley—Flower's alley—Turner's lane—all of which extended only from Front to Second street. They probably then bore the names of the chief inhabitant dwelling at or near them. The streets of larger size, he says, took the names from the abundance of such trees formerly in growth there.

William Penn, in his letter of 1683, says "the names of these streets are mostly taken from the things that spontaneously grow in the country, as Vine street, Mulberry street, &c."—but in enumerating them, he names some not known to us, to wit: Cranberry street, Hickory street, Oak street, Beech street, Ash street, and Poplar street.

Public Spectacles.

In September, 1758, a great fire-works was exhibited at Philadelphia, on the Delaware river, in honour of the reduction of Cape Breton, by general Amhurst. It represented a citadel in the centre, and on each flank a tower. On shore were other works to represent the French. Then a great exhibition of fire ensued, and the sounds of cannonade, &c. The citadel approached to storm the works on shore—they sprung a mine and surrendered. Then succeeded rejoicings, by a swarm of rockets from the towers, &c. This was certainly a very grand display for so small a community, as Philadelphia then was, to effect. The truth was, the enterprise of Cape Breton was deemed an American affair of great merit—a thing in which the northern and middle colonies gave themselves great credit.

About 55 years ago, many hundred persons went out to the Schuylkill to see a man cross that river in a boat carried in his pocket! He went over safe, near High street. B. Chew, Esq. saw it, and told me of it, and my father saw the same at Amboy. It was made of leather—was like parchment—was about five feet long—was upheld by air-vessels, which were inflated, and seemed to occupy the usual places of gunwales. For want of a patent-office, the art is probably lost. The fact gives a hint for light portable boats for arctic explorers, and suggests a means of making more buoyant vessels on canals.

The increase of public exhibitions is greater every year. We have not long since had the greatest and finest menagerie of wild beasts ever before seen here, being equal to twenty animals in one collection, and containing lions, tigers, elephants, camels, &c. In 1824, we had even a mummy brought among us, from ancient Thebes, and soon after, came two Roman urns, repositories for the ashes of the dead for 2,500 years and more. Why do people visit such, but for their interest in relics, as a means to connect the imagination and the heart. Their heart feels the question rising like this, viz.

"Statue of flesh, come prithee tell us,
Since in the world of spirits thou hast slumber'd,
What hast thou seen—what strange adventures number'd!"

We have also a growing practice among us, of adventurers coming from Europe,—as players, singers, dancers, lecturers, and "catafelto's wondering for their bread!"

Leathern Apron Club.

This was Franklin's club, which took the name of the Junta. In 1728, J. Logan speaks of these as being the tools of Sir William Keith's "baseness and falsehood," saying "they are to send thee a petition, calling themselves the Leathern Apron Men, and they solicit favourable sentiments towards their master, Sir William Keith, who has raised deep contentions here."—for when he was elected into the Assembly, after being no longer Governor, he was escorted into town by eighty men on horseback, and guns were fired in triumph, &c. Perhaps Keith's use of the club, and Franklin's influence there, altho' then but young, and only a resident of the city 4 or 5 years, may present some clue to Sir William's strange seduction of Franklin to follow him in his fortunes to England, where Sir William joined "the ghosts of departed Governors," as hangers on.

North West Passage.

In 1753, the citizens of Philadelphia, especially the merchants, employed Captain Swaine, in the schooner *Argo*, to seek a North West passage. At his return he got credit for his exertions, although as unsuccessful as Captain Parry's late royal enterprise.

In May, 1754, he again makes another unsuccessful voyage. The particulars of both voyages may be read on page 381 of my MS. Annals in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, too long for insertion here: his report was, that the winter had not been so severe there for 24 years before. The *Argo* got through the ice into the mouth of Hudson strait as far as the Island Resolution on the 26th of June; but was forced out again by ice, to sea. She cruised off with some Hudson Bay ships—twenty days trying to get in again, but could not. She ran down the ice from 63 to 57 degrees. Then went over to the Labrador coast and discovered it plainly from 56 to 65 degrees. Finally returned home all well, &c.

Magistrates.

Until the year 1759, it had been an occasional practice for Justices of the Peace to hear and decide causes at public inns; as it had a demoralizing effect in bringing so many people to drinking places, the Governor in this year publicly forbids its longer continuance. Even courts themselves, before they had a court-house, had been held there, for I see by James Logan's MS. that in the year 1702, the court at Philadelphia sat in Hall's public house.

It has been a general and frequent remark, made to me by the aged, that Magistrates were, in olden time, a much more dignified and honoured class of persons than now. They were also chosen as men of the first fortune, influence, and wisdom; so that wherever they went they carried reverence, and were effectively "a terror to evil-doers." Their occasional voice, heard in the street, could

instantly repress "wrong and outrage" among men, or frolic and mischief among boys. They were at the same time effective "peacemakers;" for as they never served from motives of personal gain, their fortunes being above it, they generally strove to return the parties under some mutual agreement. I can still see some of those dignitaries in my mind's eye as they remained even in my early days,—a person bearing a post of authority, cock'd hat, powdered hair, and a gold headed cane, ruffles over the hand, and bowed to with reverence by all who passed them, "His honour the Squire."

The Dutch Riot.

About the year 1782-3, a riot was formed by numerous Dutch women headed by Mammy Swivel, an old woman of prodigious size. It excited great interest and commotion in the northern end of the city, at the time, and led to several small law-suits. The case was this:—The square from Callowhill to Brewer's alley, and from Third to Fourth street, then lay in a field of grain, into which some hogs made their entry and depredations. The owner, for his revenge shot three of the animals. Upon this occurrence, the German women in the neighbourhood "called to arms." They soon gathered in strength and fell upon the owner and beat him so severely he had to be taken to the inn then at the north east corner of Brewer's alley and Fourth street, where he lay some time. In the meantime, the women, to the number of several hundreds, fell to work and tore up all his post and rail fences, making thereof a great pile, casting thereon the dead hogs, and making of the whole a grand conflagration, in the presence of great crowds of spectators—none of whom attempted to arrest their progress. It was a high exertion of female power and revenge, and long "Mammy Swivel" bore the reputation of the heroine.

RIVER DELAWARE.

“ Not distant far the time—when in thy solitude sublime
 No sail was ever seen to skim thy billowy tide
 Save light canoe, by artless savage plied.”

P. HEYLIN, in his *Cosmography*, says the Indians called this river *Arasapha*, and the bay *Poutaxat*.

William Penn, in his letter of 1683, thus describes the fish of the Delaware, to wit: “ Sturgeons play continually in our river. Alloes, as they call them—the Jews *alice*, and our ignorants *shades*, [*shad* !] are excellent fish. They are so plentiful that 600 are drawn at a draught. Fish is brought to the door both fresh and salt. Six alloses or rocks for twelve pence, and salt fish at three farthings per pound. Oysters two shillings per bushel.”

In the year 1733, the Governor proposes to the Assembly to adopt the practice of other countries in placing buoys for the channel of the Delaware, and to appoint pilots under proper regulations. These things are said to be suggested in consequence of the difficulties of navigation, and the frequency of shipwrecks. They seem, however, to have got along awhile without them, for the buoys were not introduced into use until the year 1767.

In 1746–7, John Harding, a miller, built the wharf and made a windmill on the muddy island against the town. He, however, took a fever by working in the mud, and died. His son who succeeded him gave it its finish, and both expended about 600*£*. in the works. The windmill was in operation but a few years, when it had the misfortune to have the top and sails blown off in a violent gust, and was borne in the air to Joshua Cooper’s orchard on the Jersey shore ! There it was seen as a play place for boys many years afterwards. This was declared by Mr. John Brown, who saw it.

At a later period a bakehouse was erected there, which, as Thomas Hood told me, did much business. They had also a frame tavern, and sold milk. In time the tavern was left untenanted,—when some skating boys at night made it into a great bonfire for the interest of the town beholders.

Captain Smith’s lodgement at the north end is a modern affair, and probably better than any preceding one.

Professor Kalm, when here in 1748, said it was the remark of

the old Swedes, and other oldest persons, that the rivers and brooks decreased whilst the seashores increased. As facts, they stated, that mills which 60 years before were built on waters with a sufficiency of head, had since so little as to be kept idle but in times of rains and snows. Aoke Kalm remembered several places in the Delaware, since made islands of a mile in length, over which he used to row in a boat.

Mr. M'Clure made a scientific and minute survey of the state of our tides in the Delaware, the facts concerning which may be seen at length in my MS. Annals, p. 325, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

RIVER SCHUYLKILL.

THIS name, given it by the Dutch, is said to express "Hidden River," it not being visible at its mouth as you ascend the Delaware. From the Indians it bore the name of Manajung, Manaiunk, and in Holmes' map it is called Nittabaconck. It is told as a tradition that the Indians called the river the mother, and that what is called "Maiden creek," a branch of the Schuylkill above Reading, was called Onteelaunee, meaning the little daughter of a great mother. The letter of Governor Stuyvesant, of 1644, to Colonel Nicolls, says they discovered the Varsche Rivierte—the little freshwater river, in 1628.

I have heard it conjectured that the flat ground of Pegg's marsh, and the low ground of Cohocksinc swamp, are the beds of the Schuylkill, which may have passed there before Fair Mount barrier gave way—one channel having come from Fair Mount to Pegg's swamp, and the others from the Falls of Schuylkill by Cohocksinc. The particulars of this theory may be read in my MS. Annals, p. 352, 353, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

In the year 1701, William Penn writes to James Logan, saying, "Pray see the utmost of poor Marshe's project of navigating flats up Schookill and Susquehanah above the Falls; he assuring me he could make the experiment for 40s. be it 50s. or 3£. it were a mighty advantage."

In 1722, the Common Council this year appointed a committee to examine a route to Schuylkill through the woods, and to fix upon the site of a ferry at the end of High street, whereupon it was resolved to address the Assembly for an act for the same.

The same year the corporation of Philadelphia made a causeway on both sides of the ferry, and appointed boats, &c. The ferrymen were to dwell on the western side, and to ferry persons over at one penny, horses 1d. cows and oxen 1½d. cart or wagon 6d. to 1s. sheep ½d. &c. The Upper and Lower ferries were then called Roach's and Blunston's, on private account. This one became of course "the Middle ferry."

In the year 1762, we see by a minute of the Council that they then leased "the Middle ferry," for three years at 200£. per annum.

I am not able to say when the floating bridges were first introduced; but we know the British army made one across the

Schuylkill when they held the city, which I believe they destroyed when leaving it, as it is known that Joseph Ogden built and kept a new bridge at the Middle ferry, soon after they were gone.

Mr. Kalm states that at the first building of Philadelphia, they erected sundry houses upon the Schuylkill side, which they afterwards removed to the Delaware side, on finding settlements there did not take.

The river scenery and banks of Schuylkill was once picturesque and beautiful—such as I have elsewhere described the “Baptisterion,” at the end of Spruce street. Benjamin Franklin too, said it was his custom when young to go out there with his companions, Osborne, Watson, Ralph, &c. to take a charming walk on Sundays in the woods then bordering on the river. There they used to sit down and read and converse together; now how changed the scene to a busy bustling coal mart!

“Receding forests yield the labourers room,
And opening wilds with fields and garlands bloom!”

It is even now within the memory of aged men, when it was a great fishing place. Old Shronk assured me he had caught as many as 3000 catfish of a night with a dip-net, near the Falls. Penn's letter of 1683, speaks of Captain Smith, at Schuylkill, who drew “600 shades at a draught.”

In the year 1759, there appeared in the Gazette a writer from Berks, who greatly urges the advantages to be produced by clearing and opening the river channel. Some of them were then set upon by a subscription.

The 4th of July, 1824, being Sunday, the long desired era arrived of opening the canal from Reading to Philadelphia. Many witnessed the operations near Reading with great gratification. This is “the consummation devoutly to be wished!”

RELICS & REMEMBRANCERS.



“These we preserve with pious care.”

IT may be deemed worthy of the subject, to give a special notice of those relics of the olden time, which have come to our knowledge, to wit :

Dr. Benjamin Rush had a study-chair presented to him in 1811, made out of the treaty tree. His letter of thanks for it, as a present from Mrs. Pritchett, I have seen.

David Lewis, Esq. presented me with a piece of the mahogany beam of Columbus' house, in which he once dwelt in St. Domingo—of course of the first house constructed by a European in America. I have used parts of it in several snuff-boxes of relic wood.

An elbow-chair has been made of the elm tree wood, which grew in the State-house yard. It was made in 1824, on the occasion of cutting down those once beautiful trees there, and was presented by Adam Ramage, to the “Philadelphia Society for promoting Agriculture.”

Some of the timber of the Alliance frigate has been preserved by me, as a relic of the first navy of the United States.

Some of the hair of General Washington, in my possession, is highly and justly prized.

“Yea, beg a hair of him for memory,
And dying mention it within their wills,
Bequeathing it as a rich legacy.”

A writing-table of William Penn, of curious construction, of mahogany, is now in possession of J. R. Smith, Esq. of Philadelphia. Its general appearance is like a common breakfast table. By lifting up the lid, a regular writing-desk is exposed with drawers and casements, and by the use of elevators, two lids are thrown up, which furnish great convenience for placing books and papers thereon for copying from, or for writing upon. It was the gift to him from John Barron, Esq. once a venerable gentleman, who possessed large claims to lands about Philadelphia, from his progenitors.

The girder in the office of the Union canal, in Carpenter's court, is a part of the mainmast of the Constellation frigate, and has several marks of the shot it received.

A piece of silver coin, marked the year 733, of the weight of 90 cents, was ploughed up by Mr. John Shallcross, at seven miles from the city, near the York road. A copy of its impression is preserved on page 64 of my MS. Annals, in the Historical Society.

The arm-chair of Dr. Benjamin Franklin, is in possession of Reuben Haines, Esq. in Germantown. It is of mahogany, and the one which the doctor used as his common sitting-chair.

An oaken chair of Count Zinzendorf, is in possession of C. J. Wister, Esq. in Germantown.

Autograph letters of William Penn, of the year 1677, are in possession of Henry Pemberton, of the Philadelphia bank, being a small folio book of letters from Penn to his religious friends in Holland. Among the letters is a postscript, subscribed by the initials of the celebrated George Fox. A fragment of George Fox's pen, annexed to R. Barclay's, is also with Reuben Haines, Esq.

A pewter cistern and ewer, for washing and shaving, once the property of the Penn family, is now in possession of Thomas J. Wharton, Esq. They contain the initials of Wm. Penn, and the family arms. It would seem as if they had been the property of Admiral Penn, from the motto being different from that of the founder—it reading "*Dum Clavium Tenens.*" This, by-the-by, is as appropriate to William Penn as the governor of a colony, as to the Admiral as the governor (or steersman) of a ship.

The tea plate of Wm. Penn, I have seen at the widow Smith's farm near Burlington, which had descended to her husband from James Logan. The teapot was small—not to contain more than one pint—was very heavy—in fine preservation—bore the cyphers W. P.—and had a stand to set under it, in which to insert a flame heater to keep it hot or to make it boil.

Penn's book-case is now in possession of Nathaniel Coleman, of Burlington.—formed of English oak, veneer'd all over with mahogany. Its base is formed of a chest of drawers and a desk for writing; and above are arrangements for accounts and papers, shut in by panelled doors, having in each a looking-glass.

At that desk, I should suppose he wrote many of those papers and publications since known to the public. It came to Coleman from the Pennsbury mansion. A sketch of it is drawn on page 105 of my MS. Annals, in the Historical Society, and the original feet of it are in my possession.

Penn's silver seal, cyphered W. P. is now in the possession of R. L. Pitman, Cashier of the Northern Liberty bank,—he procured it of the above named N. Coleman, who had received it in his business as a silver-smith.

Penn's clock was not long since in the hands of Martin Sommers, near Frankford, who got it from Mr. Peter Harewaggen, an aged person who lived near Pennsbury. The clock was formed of an oaken case, curiously wrought and inlaid with bone. There is

another clock of Penn's, said to be such, now in the Warder family of Philadelphia.

A silver cup of Benjamin Lay, the hermit, is now in possession of Roberts Vaux, Esq.

Penn's chair, which came from Pennsbury, is now in the Pennsylvania hospital—a present from Mrs. Crozier, through the hands of Mr. Drinker. Another similar chair is in my possession,—“a present from Deborah Logan,”—is so inscribed on its brass plate, with the addition of these appropriate words, to wit: “Fruitful of Recollections—sit and muse!” Mrs. Frazier, at Chester, has the chair in which Penn sat at opening the first Assembly at that place.

Relics of the treaty tree are numerous. I have myself presented several snuff-boxes formed severally of a plurality of kinds of relic wood, including the treaty tree, Columbus' house, the Blue Anchor tavern, &c. There is, in my house, a lady's work-stand, of the treaty tree, ornamented with the walnut tree of the Hall of Independence, with the mahogany beam of Columbus' house, &c.

Joseph P. Norris, Esq. has Wm. Penn's silver snuff-box. It is inscribed with the names of successive owners, from Governor Thomas Lloyd, downwards. He has also a watch seal of Quartz chrysal, set in gold, a present from an Indian king to Isaac Norris, at the treaty of 1710.

Besides those before mentioned as in various hands, there are attached to the pages of my MS. Annals, in the Philadelphia Library, and in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, at the pages severally annexed, the following articles, to wit :

In my Manuscript Annals in the Philadelphia Library :

PAGE.

- 165.—The celebrated Mary Dyer's gown specimen.
 do. Penn's bed-quilt—a fragment.
 do. Silks—made in Pennsylvania by Susan Wright and Catharine Haines.
 166.—Dress silks at the Meschianza.
 170.—Silk specimen of 1740, of Dr. Redman's ancestor.
 do. Red garden satin, from the Bishop of Worcester, 1720.
 do. Black silk velvet of Dr. Franklin's coat.
 190.—Six gown patterns of former years, of my family.
 198.—Original petition, showing all the signatures of primitive settlers of Chester, in 1704.
 199.—Likeness of Penn—best done by Bevan.
 206.—Likeness of James Pemberton, and costume of Friends.
 215.—Paper money of 1739—of the Lighthouse, and of the Walnut street prison.—Specimens.
 218.—Profile of a city belle of high head-dress, in 1776.
 do. Specimen of a silk and silver dress of a lady.
 230.—A sketch of Friends' Meeting, at Centre Square.
 231.—Pictures of ladies' bonnets and dresses in olden time.

PAGE.

- 233 to 239, contain pictures of sundry public houses—such as Courthouse; London Coffeehouse; Jones' Row, Grindstone alley; Slate house; Duche's house; S. Mickle's house; Loxley's house; Benezet's house; Governor Palmer's house; Swedes' church; Shippen's house; Washington's house; Office of Secretary of foreign affairs; Friends' Almshouse; Wigglesworth's house; Scene at Drawbridge, at city commons; Lætitia court; Perspective at Philadelphia; Penn's treaty; the treaty tree; a female figure drawn in colours by Major André; a pictorial invitation card of General Howe, to the Meschianza; R. Morris' great house.
- 240.—The first almanac of Philadelphia—a sheet—1687.
- 246.—An engraved picture of six public buildings.
- 247 to 252, are specimens of old colonial paper.
- 264.—First ground plot plans of the city in 1793-4, by Davis.
- 273.—Ancient caricature and poetry "to wash the black Moor white."—Some city gentlemen are drawn.
- do. A caricature of Friends and the Indians.
- 277.—Portraits of "Bishop Allen" and Benjamin Lay.
- 278.—The Association Battery.
- 279.—Dock creek and Drawbridge scene.
- 280.—Pegg's run, and scenery in skating there.*
- 282.—Lætitia house in the court.
- do. Cherry-garden house.
- 283.—An ancient house at the north west corner of Front and Race streets.
- do. The place called Barbadoes lot, where the Baptists and Presbyterians first held worship—corner of Chesnut and Second street.
- 284.—The portrait of an oddity, known universally by the name of "M. O. Mike,—H. A. Harry Hanse,—Michael Weaders," and called also, "I see thee first," with some remarks on his character.

In my Manuscript Annals in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, are the following, to wit:

PAGE.

- 272.—A specimen sheet of modern bank notes.
- 276.—Specimens of colonial and continental money.
- 277.—A sheet almanac of Philadelphia, 1687.
- do. Specimen of the writing of Count Zinzendorf, 1734.
- 278.—Slips of ancient silk dresses.
- 279.—An original drawing by Kosciusko of Miss Pollock.
- 296.—Picture and description of Fitch's steam-boat.

* The picture, as a skating scene, is more to the ideas in my mind, than the one given in this work. There were difficulties in forming the picture of "things before," which the present artist could not overcome.

PAGE.

- 296.—Gray's Ferry bridge, and General Washington's passage there.
 do. Cape Henlopen Lighthouse—and description.
- 342.—A slip of silk, home-made, which gained the premium in 1770, and was made into a wedding dress for Mrs. C. Roberts, in 1774.
- 347.—A picture of the new market in Southwark, as drawn in 1787.
- 350.—A caricature print of the Revolution—of “Liberty triumphant, or the downfall of oppression.”
- 358.—Likenesses of James Pemberton and Nicholas Waln, in the costume of ancient Friends.
- 360.—Association Battery, and windmill near.
- 361.—Governor Palmer's house at treaty tree.
 do. The place of the Barbadoes lot where the Baptists and Presbyterians first worshipped.
- 362.—The Swedes' church.
 do. The slate roof house of Wm. Penn.
- 363.—Shippen's great house.
- 364.—Almshouse of Friends.
- 365.—Old London Coffee-house.
 do. Old Court-house—built 1707.
- 366.—Fair Mount and Schuylkill in 1789.
 do. Bush-hill in 1788.
- 367.—Slate house, residence of Wm. Penn.
- 368.—Davis' ground plot plan of Philadelphia, 1793-4.
- 370.—The same, in continuation.
- 371.—Holm's ground plot of Philadelphia, 1682, with explanatory remarks.
- 374.—A map of Pennsylvania in 1787—curious for preserving Indian names of places, and of former frontier forts.
- 376.—George Heap's map of 1754, of the environs of Philadelphia—curious as showing primitive owners and localities.
- 378.—Old stone prison at the corner of Third and High streets.
- 379.—Swedes' house of Sven Sener, and the first Swedes' church of logs, of 1669.
- 460.—Triumphal arches for La Fayette, and silk badge, as worn at his visit.

LIST OF UNPUBLISHED PAPERS.



THESE comprise such as have been purposely excluded from a publication in my printed Annals. They are, first, remarkable autographs preserved as subjects for inspection by the curious. Secondly, they are papers not expedient to be printed entire, although sufficiently useful to be preserved,—and sometimes already occasionally extracted in part, under some of the divisions of the printed Annals.

In my Manuscript Annals in the Philadelphia Library, to wit :

PAGE.

- 219.—Joseph Sansom's description of Philadelphia, in 1803—
in print.
- 245.—A MS. petition and names, praying the King for defence.
in 1743.
- do. Autograph of Count Zinzendorf, 1742.—Of his daughter
Benigna, 1742.—Of Asheton, clerk of court, 1727.—Of
Joseph Wilcox, Mayor, 1706.—Of James Logan, Secretary.
1702.—Of Wm. Trent, 1706.—Of Wm. Penn.—Of Hannah
Penn, 1712,—Of John Penn, in 1825.
- 253.—Form of a letter, by which inquiries were usually made
of aged persons, having 36 queries.
- do. Autograph of Mary Smith—her description, in 4 pages of
MS. of the primitive settlement of Burlington, to which she
was an eye-witness.

*In my Manuscript Annals in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
to wit :*

PAGE.

- 190.—Some ancient religious scandal on Friends, by the Kei-
thians.
- 252.—Autograph of Robert Fairman, of 1715, descriptive of
his estate at the treaty tree.—Singular writing.
- 280.—Penn's letter of 1683, descriptive of Philadelphia then.
- 284.—Robert Turner's letter of 1685, to Wm. Penn, descrip-
tive of Philadelphia then.
- 286.—Letter of P. S. Duponceau, Esq. descriptive of the of-
fice of Secretary of foreign affairs.
- 290.—Letter of John Penn of Stoke Pogis, 1825.

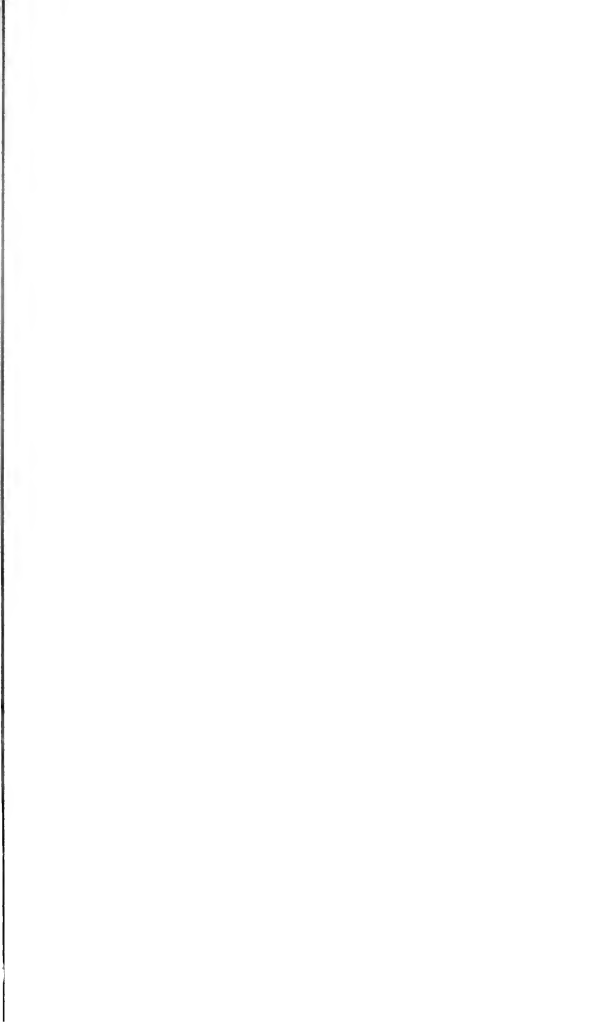
PAGE.

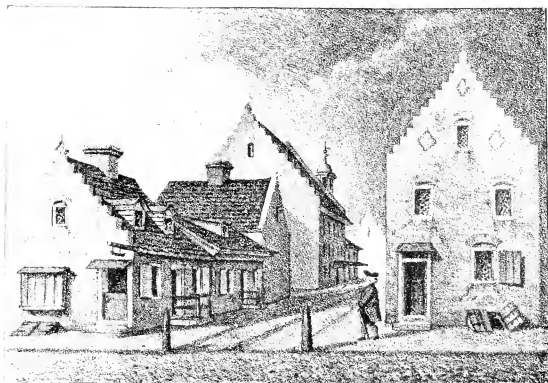
- 294.--Autograph letter of Joseph--once king of Spain--first king ever dwelling among us.
- 298.--Autograph of Dr. Fothergill on Philadelphia topics.
- 300.-- do. of Rev. George Whitefield, 1754.
- 304.-- do. of Rev. John Wesley, 1772.
- 306.-- do. of Du Simitiere--the Annalist.
- 310.-- do. First writ for the first Assembly, 1682.
- 312.-- do. of the Honourable Charles Thomson, being his historical sketch of the leading incidents in the Congress of 1774-5.
- 314.-- do. Minute by Patrick Robinson, in a rare kind of writing of 1693--of the proceeding of the Council concerning a trespass on Schuylkill.
- 316.-- do. Minute of Council of 1698, concerning duties and ports of entry.
- 318.-- do. Letter of Wm. Penn. 1687, respecting his cottage in Philadelphia.
- 322.--Correspondence of James Logan, proving him to have been the author of Cicero's Cato, &c.--a thing imputed to Dr. Franklin.
- 326.--Primitive court records concerning Germantown--an extract.
- 328.--Original account of the cost in detail of the materials and workmanship of the first court-house in 1707-8--cost 616£.
- 332.--Autograph letter of Isaac Norris, of 1704.
- 334.-- do. and rare old family letter of 1693, by Samuel Flower, showing causes of emigration here to avoid woes--and signs and wonders in woful Europe.
- 340.--Original roll of female patriots of 1780, of Lower Dublin, with their subscriptions and names to aid the sufferers in the war.
- 344.--Autograph of Dr. Franklin in 1784, to C. T. Secretary of Congress, announcing the peace, and his gratification and advice on the same.
- 346.--Autograph of Robert Proud--our historian--concerning his birth, age, and personal history.
- 352.--Prosper Martin's description of his rare spring at Pegg's run, and his diagram to show the supposed former passage there of the river Schuylkill.
- 354.--Autograph letter of the late Joseph Sansom, Esq. of 1820, giving several facts concerning Philadelphia.
- 381.--A letter showing the form of inquiries addressed to the aged, by which the facts in this book were attempted to be elicited.
- 393 to 430.--Reminiscences and diaries of events and incidents at Philadelphia, at the time of the war of Independence, and of the acts of the British army there.

PAGE.

- 431 to 434.—Revolutionary soldiers—a tale of truth.
- 435 to 438.—Incidents of the war and its calamities to a family—best known to the author.
- 447.—Autograph signatures of the first members of “the Penn Association for commemorating the landing.”—and facts concerning the origin of that Society.
- 461.—Autograph letter of General La Fayette of 1824, respecting his public visit to Philadelphia, addressed to Joseph Watson, Esq. City Mayor.
- 459 to 474. contains an extended and graphic description of the public visit of La Fayette to Philadelphia, and many facts to be preserved for some future day.
- 486.—A printed account of Dr. Franklin’s relatives at Nantucket.
- 490 to 496—Printed biographical notices by Sam. Preston, Esq. of several memorable persons of Bucks county, in the olden time—such as John Watson, surveyor, Jacob Taylor, mathematician and astronomer, William Satterthwaite, poet and scholar, James Pellar, a genius, Dr. Thomas Watson, a learned and benevolent man, D. Ingham, Nathan Preston, much concerned in Indian affairs, &c. Many local incidents are described, and the particulars of the “Indian Walk” are given.
- 501.—A singular nomenclature of rare names of Philadelphia.
- 507.—The Pennsylvania Journal of 1758, containing a warning to Friends of 1758, by the Watchman, and Penn’s letter of the 27th of 4 mo. 1710. admonitory.
- do.—A specimen of Humphrey’s *tory* Gazette in Philadelphia, 1777.
- 508.—Philadelphian demonstrations in 1795, for the grand canal of New York; being a detail of the facts given by John Thomson, Esq. of his experiment and success in bringing a small schooner from Niagara to Philadelphia.
- 511.—A poetic description of the Delaware river and contiguous country.
- 516.—Reminiscences by Mrs. H.
- 536 to 539—Some scrapiana of facts of our general history.
- 544 to 575.—Several MS. letters from Samuel Preston, Esq. generally descriptive of historical events, and persons in Bucks county,—say of Thomas Jenks, Thomas Penn, and Lady Jenks, of the Indian Walk—of E. Marshall, and his discovery of silver—of Richard Smith, botanist and traveler among the Indians,—of the noted Indian, Isaac Still, and his tribe in Bucks county, and of Frederick Post, the interpreter.
- 576 to 580.—A detail of facts concerning Godfrey’s invention of the quadrant,—in print.
- Here I would mention as a closing and general remark, that

several communications made to me by aged persons of *all* they knew or remembered, have been used by me under various *distributions*, but *the whole together* of what they said, which may hereafter interest their immediate friends, may be found in my MS. Annals in the Philadelphia Library—such are those from J. P. Norris, T. Matlack, John Brown, Sarah Shoemaker, Davenport Merrot, Owen Jones, Isaac Parish, William West, Samuel Richards, Samuel Coates, Thomas Bradford, A. J. Morris. Those by Lang Syne, pages 520 to 530, and by Samuel Preston, are to be found in my MS. Annals in the Historical Society,—also there, Penn's letters to James Harrison, his agent from 1681 to '87, page 164 to 171; the Loganian MSS. at Stenton, pages 222 to 260; Secretary R. Peters' letters to Penns, page 266 to 269; extracts of the minutes of the Association of 1756 for preserving peace with the Indians, pages 180 to 183.





Flory House, New York - Corner of Broad & Garden Streets



Stadt-Huis, New York - built 1602 - razed 1700

Engraving by W. H. Russell

APPENDIX:

CONTAINING

OLDEN TIME

RESEARCHES & REMINISCENCES,

OF NEW YORK CITY.

BY J. F. WATSON, IN 1828.

Oh! dear is a tale of the Olden Time!"

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following pages relative to New York, owe their origin to a short visit made to that city in 1828, by the author of the *Annals of Philadelphia*.

They were originally written, without any ulterior view to publication, and solely for personal gratification and preservation.—But, being since seen by some friends who have solicited their publication, they now meet the public eye in their original form, as well to indulge them, as to promote more enlarged researches in that city, by those New Yorkers who may have more time and better opportunities than was possessed by the present contributor.

NEW YORK CITY.

“Let us satisfy our eyes
With the *memorials*, and the *things* of fame
That do *renown* this city!”

It is scarcely possible that an observing and considerate spectator, who had seen New York in its loneliness, some thirty years ago, should be now insensible to its rapidly rising glories:—he must feel grateful emotions of surprise and exultation at the many imposing proofs of her distinguished prosperity.

Having myself been familiar with the localities of New York, in my boyhood, 33 years ago, the numerous *changes* of *localities* every where surprised me on my visit there in 1828. Wishing to preserve some *recollections* of the things I saw or heard, or of the imaginations which occupied my mind, I determined to give them “shape and form,” in the following *Memorial*. They may create grateful images to my mind in future years.

While I thus contemplated New York as “from her meridian arch of power,” I went back instinctively to its earliest origin as the *suburbs* of a *military station*; there I saw in vision the sparse population of Hollanders, the hardy *Pioneers*, by whose primitive efforts their present descendants enjoy so much affluence and repose!—I saw, in idea, the first adventurous Yatch, the “Half Moon,” first enter this present crowded and busy harbour, then,

“one still
And solemn desert, in primeval garb,
Hung round his lonely bark!”

In this contemplation, *retrospection* is *touching*; there is a poetry of feeling in the subject!—duller minds may be insensible to the charm of “Olden Time” affections without an adapted *stimulus*, and yet, even these, *can* be stirred, and by a graphic picture of the past, “sometimes made *to wonder* that they never *saw* before what he shows them, or that they never yet had *felt* what he impresses!”

With views and emotions like these, which however scouted by others, *I* shall ever delight to cherish, both *con amore*, and as an expedient *lengthening* the span of our existence,

“Down History’s lengthening, widening way.”

I was prepared to explore some of the *arcana* of New York, with some such affections and feelings as Dr. Johnson imputed to himself

in investigating the construction of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, saying, "To trace back the structure *through all its varieties* to the simplicity of *its first plan*; to find what was first projected; whence the scheme was taken; how it was improved; by what assistance it was executed; and from what stores the materials were collected. However *obscure* this may be *in itself*, nothing can be more worthy of *rational curiosity!*"

To attain these objects, in *my* case, I occupied myself in the leisure hours of a fortnight-tarry at New York, in making personal *inquiries* of the aged and the experienced, or by exploring the localities, or the archives of office, as the case might seem to require. The result, and *my reward*, are comprised in the following pages.

GENERAL VIEWS OF NEW YORK,

As scann'd with bird-eye view.

THE city "stretching street on street," as in her *present* grandeur and magnitude, enrolls a total population of 180,000 souls; a collection of about 30,000 houses; a tonnage of 300,400 tons—this is exclusive of 10500 tons of steam boats;—and an assessed value of property of 114 millions dollars;—her lighted and paved streets, lined with houses, extend to Thirteenth street, on the North River side, to the dry dock, on the East River side, and to Thirteenth street on the Broadway and Bowery streets. All its modern streets are streight and wide, graduated to easy and gradual ascents or descents; and where formerly very narrow lanes existed, or crowded edifices occurred, they have either cut off the encroaching fronts of houses, as in William street and Maiden lane, or cut through solid masses of houses, as in opening Beekman and Falton streets. They have widened the bounds of the city, both on the North and East rivers, by building up whole streets of houses, at, and beyond Greenwich street on the western side; and, at and from Pearl street on the eastern river. The value and magnitude of these improvements, all redeemed from the former rivers there, are really astonishing to the beholder.

There is every indication to evince the fact, that New York was in primitive days the "city of hills;" such verdant hills, of successive undulation, as the general state of the whole country-part of the island now presents. Thus, at the extreme S. end of the Broadway, where the ancient fort formerly stood, was an elevated mount, quite as elevated as the general level of that street is now before Trinity Church, and thence regularly declining along that street to *the beach* on the North River. The hills were sometimes *precipitous* as from Beekman's and Peck's Hills, in the neighborhoods of Pearl street and Beekman and Ferry streets, and from the middle Dutch church in Nassau street down to Maiden lane; and sometimes gradually sloping, as on either hills along the line of the water, coursing along the region of Maiden lane. Between many of the hills flowed in several invasions of water: Such as "*the canal*," so called, to gratify Dutch recollections, which was an inroad of river water up Broad street;—and up Maiden lane, flowed another inroad, through Smith's marsh or valley; a little beyond Peck's Slip, existed a low water course, which in high tide water

ran quite up *in union* with the Collect, (Kolek) and thence joining with Lispenard's swamp on North River side, produced a union of waters quite across the former city. Thus, converting it occasionally into an island, and showing a reason for the present lowness of the line of Pearl street as it traverses Chatham street. There they once had to use boats occasionally, to cross the foot passengers passing over from either side of the *high* rising ground ranging on both sides of Pearl street, as that street inclines *across* the city till it runs out upon Broadway, *vis a vis*, the hospital.

These details of mere streets, are necessarily dull, and indeed not susceptible of any further interest, than as they may serve as *notes and bounds*, within which, to lay the foundation of more agreeable and imaginative topics, to grow upon the reader, as the subject advances.

PRIMITIVE NEW YORK.

We backward look to scenes no longer there.

A perspective map of New York, in 1673, as preserved in Du Simi-tiere's Historical Collection, in the Philadelphia Library, and latterly illustrated by J. W. Moulton, Esq., from his researches among the Dutch records, gives us a pretty accurate conception of the outline features of the city at the time when it became, by the peace of 1674, permanently under British dominion, and thence gradually to wear off its former exclusive *Knickerbocker* character.

At that time, almost all the houses presented their *gable ends* to the street; and all the most important public buildings, such as "Stuyvesant Huys," on the water edge, at present, Moore and Front streets; and the "Stadt-huys," or City Hall, on Pearl street, at the head of Coentie's Slip, were then set on the fore-ground to be the more readily seen from the river. The chief part of the town of that day, lay along the East River (called *Salt River* in early days) and descending from the high ridge of ground along the line of the Broadway. A great artificial dock for vessels, lay between "Stuyvesant Huys," above referred to, and the bridge over the *canal* at its debouche on the present Broad street. Three "Half Moon Forts," called "*Rondecls*," lay at equidistances, for the defence of the place; the first at Coentie's Slip and the third at the "Water Gate," or outer bounds of the then city, being the fort of the present *Wall street*, so called from its being then shut in there by a line of palisades, along the said street, quite over to the junction of Grace and Lumber street, where the North River limits then terminated in a redoubt.

One of our original Philadelphians, Wm. Bradford, the first printer of Philadelphia, has left us a lively picture of the city of New York, as it stood about the year 1729, being his publication from an original survey by James Lync. The one which I have seen (a great *rarity* considered) at the city commissioners, should be, I should think, but a *reduced* copy, inasmuch as my MSS. "Annals of Philadelphia," show that in the year 1721, the son of the above William Bradford, (named *Andrew*) advertises in his "Mercury" the sale of "a curious prospect of New York, on *four* sheets of paper, *royal* size." What an article for an antiquary!

By the map aforesaid, it is shown in 1729, that there was no street beyond the Broadway, westward, but that the lots on the western side

of that street descended severally to the beach; that from Courtlandt street, northward, all the ground, west of Broadway, was occupied by trees and tillage and called the "Kings Farm." The eastern side of the city, was all bounded by Water street, having houses only on the land side, and its northern limits terminating with Beekman street. At the foot or debouche of Broad street were two great docks, called West and East Dock, as they lay on either side of said Broad street;—they occupied the ground *now built upon* from Water street, nearly out to South street, and from the east side of Moore street, nearly up to Coenties Slip. Between present Moore street and Whitehall street, lay the "Ship Yards," and all along where now tower stately trees in the Battery Promenade, lay numerous rocks forming "the Ledge," having the river close up to the line of the present State street fronting the Battery. How wonderful then is the modern extension of this city, by carrying out whole streets and numerous buildings, to places before submersed *in water!*—thus practising, with signal benefit, the renowned predilections and ingenuity of their transatlantic ancestors!

ANCIENT MEMORIALS.

"I'll note 'em in my book of memory."

THE MSS. documents and recorded facts of New York city and colonial history, are, it is said, very voluminous and complete. Mr. Moulton's history declares there are one hundred volumes of folio, of almost unexplored MSS. among the records of the State. What abundant material for research must these afford, whenever the proper spirit for their investigation is awakened!

I am myself aware that the city itself is rich in "hoar antiquity," for I have ascertained that numerous books of records, are of ready access to such congenial minds as can give their affections to the times by-gone. Many of them are of the old Dutch dynasty and have had no translator. For instance, there are in the County Clerk's Office, a book of Records, of 1656—another of 1657;—orders of the Burgomasters, in 1658—another of their resolutions and orders, from 1661 to 1664. There are also some books of deeds, &c.

It would be "a work of supererogation," to aim at the general translation of such a mass of papers: but it is really surprising that hitherto no "ardent spirit" greedy of "antiquarian love," should have been inspired to make his gleanings from them! A judicious mind, seeking only the strange or the amusing of "the olden time," might with a ready facility extract their honey only, and leave the cumbrous comb behind. I myself have made the experiment. I found in the office of the Common Council, the entire City Records, in English, from the year 1675, downwards to the present day. From the first volume, embracing a period of sixteen years, (to 1691) I was permitted, through the politeness of General Jacob Morton, the Clerk of Council, to make the following extracts. These, while they furnish in some instances appropriate introduction to sundry topics intended in these pages, will also show that but a very small portion of the whole mass, is desirable for the entertainment of modern eyes, and therefore not to be sought after;—it is even satisfying and useful to know how little need be known!

I give the following from "the Minutes," consecutively as they occurred,—to wit:

October, 1675.—The canoes of the Indians, wheresoever found, are to be collected to the north side of Long Island, as a better security to the inhabitants, in case of their having any purpose to aid the Cana-

dian enemies. At same time it is ordered that all Indians near New York, should make their coming winter quarters at Hell Gate, so as to be ready of control or inspection.

It is ordered, that because of the "abuse in their oyle caske," on the east end of Long Island, there shall be "a public tapper of oyle" in each towne where the whaling design is followed. Thus evincing the former business of whalers in those parts.

Governor Andros orders that by reason of the change of government, the inhabitants shall take an oath of allegiance to their new sovereign. There are only thirty-six recorded names who conform!

The Mayor in the approach of New Year's day, commands the disuse of firing guns.

The city gates are ordered to be closed every night at 9 o'clock, and to be opened at day-light. The citizens in general are to serve their turns as watchmen, or be fined. No cursing or swearing shall be used by them. They are carefully to go frequently towards "the bridge, for greater safety; [meaning the bridge, I take it at the great dock, at the end of Broad street.] Every citizen [for the purposes of guard] is to keep always in his house a good fire-lock, and at least six rounds of ball.

The rates of tavern fare are thus decreed and ordered:—For lodging, 3d.; for meals, 8d.; brandy, per gill, 6d.; French wines, a quart, 1s. 3d. syder, a quart, 4d.; double beere, a quart, 3d.; and mum, a quart, 6d.

The Mayor proposes that they who own convenient land to build upon, if they do not speedily build thereon, it be valued and sold to those who will. This being proposed to the Governor, who as Military Chief, always had a control in the semi-militaire city, the same was afterwards adopted. How valueless must have been lots then, since so estimable, which could thus "go a begging" in 1675!

In 1676, all the inhabitants living in the Streete, called the Here Graft, (the same called "Gentleman's Canal," and since Broad street) shall be required to fill up the graft, ditch, or common shore, and level the same.

"Tanners' Pitts" are declared to be a nuisance within the city, and therefore it is ordered, they shall only exercise their functions as tanners without the towne. This ordinance will account for the numerous tanneries once remembered in Beekman's Swamp, now again driven thence by encroaching population, but the premises still retained as curriers and leather dealers, making the whole of that former region still a proper Leather Towne!

It is ordered, for the sake of better securing a sufficiency of bread, that no grain be allowed to be distilled. How many wretched families of the present day could now profit by such a restraint—who abound in whiskey and lack bread!

It is ordered, that innkeepers be fined, from whose houses Indians may come out drunk: and if it be not ascertained by whom, the whole streete shall be fined for the non-detection!

A fine of twenty guilders is imposed on all Sabbath breakers. The knowledge of this may gratify some modern associations.

In 1676, is given the names of all the then property holders, amounting to only three hundred names, and assessed at $1\frac{1}{2}$ dollar a pound on 99,695 pounds. This is a curious article in itself, if considered in relation to family names, or relative wealth!—What changes since “their families were young!”—The English names of John Robinson, John Robson, Edward Griffith, James Loyde, and George Heathcott, appear pre-eminently rich among their cotemporaries!

In 1676, it is ordered, that for better security of seasonable supplies, all country people bringing supplies to market, shall be exempt from any arrest for debt. The market house and plains (the present “bowling green”) afore the fort, shall be used for the city sales.

It is ordered, that all slaughter houses be removed thenceforth without the city, “over the water, without the gate, at the Smith’s Fly, neare the Half-Moone.” Thus denoting “the water gate,” near the present ‘Pontine on Wall street, beyond which was an invasion of water, near the former “Vly Market” on Maiden lane.

Public wells, fire ladders, hooks and buckets are ordered, and their places designated for the use of the city. Thus evincing the infant cradling of the present robust and vigorous fire companies!—The public wells were located in the middle of such streets as Broadway, Pearl street, &c., and were committed to the surveillance of committees of inhabitants in their neighborhoods, and half of their expense assessed on the owners of property nearest them. Will the discovery of their remains, in some future day, excite the surprise and speculation of uninformed moderns?

A “mill house” is taxed in “Mill street lane.” Thus indicating the fact of a water course and mill seat (probably the bark mill of Ten Eycke) at the head of what is now called “Mill street.” Thus verifying what I once heard from the Phillips family, that in early times when the Jews first held their worship there, (their synagogue was built there a century ago) they had a living spring (two houses above

their present lots) in which they were accustomed to perform their ablutions and cleansings, according to the rites of their religion.

In 1676, all horses at range are ordered to be branded and enroled : and two stud horses are “to be kept in commons upon this island.”

Tar for the use of vessels, is to be boiled, only against “the wall of the Half Moon”—i. e. Battery.

All the carmen of the city, to the number of twenty, are ordered to be enroled and to draw for 6d. an ordinary load, and to remove, weekly from the city the dirt of the streets, at 3d. a load. The dustmen showed much spunk upon the occasion, and combined to refuse full compliance. They proposed some modifications ; but the spirit of the “Scout, Burgomasters and Schepens,” was alive and vigorous in the city rulers, and they forthwith dismayed the whole body of carmen by divesting all of their license, who should not forthwith appear as usual at the public dock, pay a small fine and make their submission !—only two so succumbed, and a new race of carmen arose ! Those carmen were to be trusty men : worthy to be charged with goods of value from the shipping, &c., wherefore, all Indian and Negro slaves were excluded.

An act is passed concerning the revels of “Indian and Negro Slaves” at Inns. At the mention of Indian slaves, the generous mind revolts—What ! the virtual masters of the soil, to become “hewers of wood and drawers of water” to their cherished guests ! Sad lot !—

“Forc'd from the land that gave them birth,
They dwindle from the face of earth !”

In 1683, twelve pence a ton is assessed on every vessel for their use of the City Dock, “as usually given,” and for “the use of the Bridge ;”—understood by me to have been as a connecting appendage to the same dock.

Luke Lancton, in 1683, is made “Collector of Customs” at the Custom House, near the bridge ; [“Stuyvesant Huys” at the N. W. corner of present Front and Moore streets, was in ancient days called “the Custom House”] and none shall unload “but at the bridge.”

The Indians are allowed to sell fire wood, (then called “stick wood,”) and to vend “gutters for houses ;”—by which I suppose was meant long strips of bark, so curved as to lead off water :—else, it meant for the roofs of sheds—even as we now see dwelling houses roofed along the road side to Niagara.

An act of reward is promulgated for those who destroy wolves. Year 1683.

A record of 1683, speaking of the former Dutch dynasty, says, the

Mayor's Court was used to be held in the City Hall, where they, the Mayor and Aldermen determined "without appeal." It alledges also, that "they had their own Clerk, and kept the records of the city distinctly." Thus giving us the desirable fact, that "records" in amplitude, have once existed of all the olden days of Lang Syne! They spell the name of the island, "Manhatans."

Then none might exercise a trade or calling, unless as an admitted "Freeman." Then they might say with the Centurion, "with a great price bought I that privilege!" If a freeman, to use "handy craft," they paid £3 12s. and for "being made free," they paid severally £1 4s. None could then trade up the Hudson River, unless a freeman who had had at least three years residence; and if any one, by any cause remained abroad beyond twelve months, he lost his franchise, unless indeed he "kept candle" and paid "Scott and Lott,"---terms to imply his residence was occupied by some of his family. Have we moderns bettered the cautious policy of our ancestors, in opening our arms to every "new comer?" We tariff goods, but put no restraint on men, even if competitors!

In 1683, it was decreed that all flour should be bolted, packed and inspected in New York city. This was necessary then for the reputation of the port in its foreign shipments. Besides, the practice of *bolting* as now done at mills by water power, was unknown. In primitive days the "bolting business" was a great concern by horse power, both in New York and Philadelphia.

The Governor and his council grant to the city, the dock and bridge, provided it be well kept and cleaned; if not, it shall forfeit it;—but no duty shall be paid upon the bridge as "bridge money."

In 1683, the city bounds and wards are prescribed along certain named streets. The third or east ward was bounded "along the wall" and "again with all the houses in the Smith fly and without the gate on the south side of the fresh water." Meaning in the above, "the wall" of palisades along Wall street; and by the "fresh water," the Kolck, or Collect Fresh Water.

In 1683, a committee which had been appointed to collect ancient records respecting the city privileges of former times, make their report thereon, and therein name the "City Hall and Yards," "Market house," and "Ferry house." It says, Wm. Merritt had offered "for the ferry to Long Island" the sum of £20 per annum for 20 years, to erect sheds, to keep two boats for cattle and horses, and also two boats

for passengers. The ferriage for the former to be 6d. a head, and for the latter 1d. Think of this ye present four cent. "labor saving" steam boats!—Ye *shun* the Dutchman's penny toil, but raise the price!

A committee, in 1683, report the use of 6000 stockadoes of 12 feet long, at a cost of £24, used for the repair of the wharf—i. e. at the dock.

They ascertain the vessels and boats of the port, enroled by their names, to be as follows:—3 barques, 3 brigantines, 26 sloops, and 46 open boats. Some of their names are *rare* enough.

An ordinance of 1683, orders, that "no youthes, maydes, or other persons, may meete together on the Lord's Day for sporte or play," under a fine of 1s. No public houses may keep open door or give entertainment then, except to strangers, under a fine of 10s. Not more than four Indian or Negro slaves may assemble together; and at no time may they be allowed to bear any fire arms,—this under a fine of 6s. to their owners.

A city Surveyor "shall regulate the manner of each building on each street, (even crooked and "up and down" as it then was!) so that *uniformity* (mark this!) may be preserved." Are we then to presume they had no scheme or system, who now complain of "winding narrow streets!" &c.

In 1683, markets were appointed to be held *three* times a week, and to be opened and shut by ringing the bells. Cord wood, under the name of "Stick wood," is regulated at the length of four feet.

A Haven master is appointed to regulate the vessels in the mole, (the same before called the Dock) and is to collect the dock and bridge money.

A part of the slaughter house, (before appointed) by the Fly, is appointed in 1683, to be a powder house, and its owner, Garrett Johnson is made the first keeper, at 1s. 6d. a brl.—Of course then locating it at the Vly, as far enough beyond the verge of population, to allow of "a blow up!"

In 1683, several streets therein named are ordered to be paved by the owners concerned, and directs they shall pluck up and barricade before their doors where needful to keep up the earth.

In 1684, the city requests from the King's government, the cession of all vacant land, the Ferry, City Hall, Dock and Bridge.

An order of King James, is recognized and recorded in 1685, prohibiting all trade from New York colony "with the East Indies," that being even then a claimed "privilege of the company of merchants

of London." This proscribed East India commerce had more import than meets the eye, for it virtually meant to prohibit trade (unless by special grant) with the West Indies!

In 1685, the Jews of New York, petition to be allowed the public exercise of their religion, and are refused on the ground that "none are allowed by act of assembly, so to worship, but such as profess a faith in Christ." Experience has since proved that we are no where injured by a more liberal and free toleration. Laws "may bind the body down, but can't restrain the flights the spirit takes!"

In 1686, a committee is appointed to inspect what vacant land they find belonging to Arien Cornelissen; and this entry is rendered curious by a recorded grant of 1687, preserved in the records of the office of G. N. Bleeker, Esq. the City Comptroller, to this effect, saying—Sixteen acres of the Basse Bowery (by which I understand, low or meadow farm) is hereby granted unto Arien Cornelissen for the consideration of one fat capon a year! Who now can tell the value of that land for that small and peculiar compensation!

In 1691, it is ordered that there shall be but one butcher's shambles kept, and that to be on the green, before the fort. The next year another (place for shambles I presume) is allowed under the trees, by the Slip. At same time, it is ordered that fish (as at a market) be sold at the Dock, over against the City Hall. Thus referring to the Hall, as then known on Pearl street, at the head of Coenties Slip—under which was also a prison.

The Clerk of the Mayor's Court, in 1691, is charged to inquire after, and to collect and preserve the books and papers of the city, and to keep them safely with an inventory thereof. May not this record present an index hand to guide to some discovery of such historical rarities!

The Mayor rents a shop or shops in the Market house. One John Ellison is named as paying £3 for such a shop.

In 1691, it is ordered that the inhabitants by the water side, "from the City Hall to the Slip," are to help build the wharf to run out before their lotts, and every male Negro in the city, is to help thereat with one day's work.

The hucksters of that day, even as now, were very troublesome in forestalling the market, and laws were made to restrain them.

The bakers, too, had their ordeal to pass, and the regulation and limit of bread-loaves is often under the notice of the Council.

Such are the amusing, as well as instructive incidents of the ancient days in New York, from which "the thinking bard" may "cull his pictur'd stores." Through such mazes, down "hoar antiquity,"

"The eye explores the feats of elder days!"

It may well encourage to further research to know the fact, that I considered myself as gleaning from that first volume, all in the few preceding pages which I deemed the proper material for the amusements of history. If we would make the incidents of the olden time familiar and popular, by seizing on the affections and stirring the feelings of modern generations, we must first delight them with the comic of history, and afterwards win them to graver researches. They who cater for such appetites, should always consider that there is a natural passion for the marvellous in every breast.—And that every writer may be sure of his reader, who limits his selections to facts, which mark the extremes of our relative existence, or to objects "on which imagination can delight to be detained."

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But there are means of inquiry exclusive of memorials and records—such as the recollections and observations of living witnesses, respecting "Men and Manners" of other days, and of things gone down to oblivion. These they retain with a lively impression, because of their original interest to themselves; and for that reason they are generally of such cast of character as to afford the most gratifying contemplations to those who seek them.

From a lively sense of this fact, I have been most sedulous to make my researches among the living chronicles, just waning to their final exit. These can be consulted only *now*, or never! I did what I did hastily, for time was precious to me also;—but the following facts are evidences that congenial minds of more leisure, could yet effect much more in the same way, if ardently set upon the same pursuit. But, *who* will try it?

From such materials, we may hope to make provisions for future works of poetry, painting and romance. It is the raw material to be elaborated into fancy tales and fancy characters, by the Irvings and Coopers of our country. By such means, we generate the ideal presence and raise an imagery to entertain and aid the mind. We raise stories, wherein—

"Sweet fiction and sweet truth alike prevail."

LOCAL CHANGES AND LOCAL FACTS.

“To note and to observe.”

Thomas Storms, Esq., aged 81, told me of his digging out the trunk of a walnut tree, at nine feet depth, at his house at the Coenties Slip, near Pearl street.

He well remembered in early life, to have seen a natural spring of fine fresh water at the fort, at a position a little north-west of Hone's house. There was also a fresh water well once at N. Prime's house, near the Battery.

He saw the old fort cut down about the year 1788—9, when they found beneath the vault of the ancient Dutch church once there, the leaden coffins of Lord Bellermont and lady. Vansant and Janeway were charged to remove them to St. Paul's church.

He saw a linseed oil factory, worked with wind sails, on a high hill of woods, about quarter of a mile north-east of the Kolck. This was about the year 1790.

About same time he saw a beautiful meadow and flourishing grass cut on the declining hill, back of the City Hall, towards the Kolck.

The “Tea Water Fountain,” out by Stuyvesant Field, is now very good and was in great repute formerly. The region of country, near the prison, on East River, has now excellent water. There “Knapp” gets his “spring water” for the city supply.

The mother of Dr. Hosack's present wife, if now alive, would be about eighty-six years of age, and she said she well remembered when the locality of the present St. Paul's church, was a *wheat field*.

She also spoke of her remembrance of a “ferry house” in Broad street, up above “Exchange place,” (then Garden alley) to which place the Indians used to come and set down in the street, near there, and make and sell baskets.

The place called “Canvas Town,” was made after the great fire in 1776. It lay towards the East River, and from Broad street to Whitehall street. It was so called from the temporary construction of the houses and their being generally covered with canvass instead of roofs. Very lewd and dissolute persons generally were their tenants, and gave them their notoriety and fame.

While the old fort existed, before the revolution, it contained within

its bounds the mansion of the Governors (military chieftains) and their gardens. There, Governors Dunmore, Tryon, &c. dwelt. New York was a military station, and as such, it had always a regiment of foot and a company of artillery—also a guard ship in the bay.

Mr. Abram Brower, aged seventy-five, informed me that the lots fronting the Vly Market, were originally sold out by the city corporation, at only one dollar the foot.

He said the market in Broadway, [the Oswego, I presume] was once leased to a Mr. Crosby, for only 20s. for seven years!

He remembered when only horse boats ferried from Brooklyn, with only two men to row it, in which service they sometimes drove towards Governors' Island, and employed a whole hour. Only one ferry was used on the North River side, and then not to go across to Jersey city as now, but down to Blazing Star. Those who then came from Bergen, &c. used the country boats.

He said the Dutch *yachts* (then so called) were from one to two weeks in a voyage to Hudson and Albany. They came to, usually every night, "slow and sure." Then all on board spoke the Dutch language. [The Mayor, Thomas Willet, in 1665, informs the corporation "he intends for Albania with the first opportunity, and prays its leave of absence."]

The last Dutch school master was Vanbombe'er, he kept his school till after the revolution. Mr. Brower himself went to Dutch school, to his grand-father, Abram Delanoye (a French Hugonot, via Holland) who kept his school in Courtlandt street.

The first Methodist preaching in New York, was at a house in William street, then a rigging loft. There Embury first preached; and being a carpenter, he made his own pulpit,—a true puritan characteristic!

Mr. Brower, when a boy, never heard of "Greenwich;" the name was not even known; but the Dutch when they spoke of the place, called it Shawbackanicka—an Indian name as he supposed. "Greenwich street" was of course unknown.

He knew of no *daily* Gazettes until after the revolution. Weyman and Gaine had each a weekly one, corresponding to their limited wants and knowledge.

He saw Andrews hanging in gibbets, for piracy;—he was hung long in irons, just above the Washington Market, and was then taken to Gibbet Island and suspended there;—year 1769.

I notice such changes as the following :—

Maiden lane is greatly altered for the better; formerly, that street was much lower near its junction with Pearl street; it was much narrower and had no separate foot pavement; its gutter ran down the middle of the street.—Where the lofty triangular store of Watson is seen up said street, was a low sooty blacksmith shop, Olstein's; (a rarity now in the sight of passing citizens) and near it a cluster of low wooden buildings.

In Pearl, below Maiden lane, I have seen proof positive of the primitive river margin there; several of the cellars and shallow ones too, had water in them from that original cause.

I perceive that Duane street, from Broadway, is greatly filled up; from one and a half to two stories there, is made ground;—the south corner of Duane street, at Broadway, is sixteen feet filled up, and the same I am told in Broadway. South of this, was originally a hill descending northward.

Where Leonard street traverses the Broadway and descends a hill to the Collect, was well remembered an *orchard*, but a few years ago. Some of the Collect was still open fourteen or fifteen years ago (it is said) and was skated upon.

The original Collect main *spring* still exists on Leonard street, having a house now over it, lettered "Supply Engine."

The Kolek waters still ooze through the new made filled-in ground, into the cellars, especially in wet seasons.

When they dug out some of the Kolck ground, some used the earth as *turf*, thinking it had that quality.

The Collect street runs through the leading line or centre of the old Kolek channel, and has under its pavement a sewer to lead off the water. This street is the thoroughfare of so much water, as to make it necessary to incline this street deeply to the middle as a deep gutter-way. Indeed so much water, "deep and broad," flows along it like a sullied brook, that it might be well called Brook street; helped as the idea is, by the numerous foot-planks, as miniature bridges, laid across it at intervals for the convenience of foot passengers.

About the year 1784-5, property near New York, went down greatly; few or none had money to buy with. About the year 1785-6, Alderman William Bayard wished to raise cash by selling his farm of one hundred and fifty acres, on the western side of Broadway, and near the city. He devised the scheme of offering them in lots of twenty-five

by one hundred feet—only twenty-five dollars was bid, and but few of them were sold. It was well for him; for very soon after, feelings and opinions changed, and they who had bought for twenty-five dollars, sold out for one hundred dollars; and then, the impulse being given, the progressive rise has had no end!

A kinsman, G. T. tells me that the out lots of the city, "went up" about twenty-one years ago, greatly, and staid up long, till about four years ago, (from the circumstances of trade, &c.) they began to fall much, and soon after, to rise again more than ever. He bought lots four years ago at the rate of \$850, which would now bring him \$1800. Twenty-one years ago he bought lots for \$2000 reluctantly, which he in six months after sold for \$4000. The purchaser kept it till four years ago at its minimum price, and sold it for \$2000! Some of his property, which five years ago he would have freely sold for \$2000, would now be valued at \$12,000.* This is however a rare circumstance, having had the accident of attaining to much front along the newly extended Broadway.

The Stuyvesants, Rutgers, Delancys, and others, have attained to great riches, by the rapid and unexpected growth of New York;—voraciously calling on such "out-town" landlords, for their farms at any price! Old Mr. Janeway who died lately, at four score, saw his few acres, near the Chatham street and Collect, grow in his long life and possession, from almost nothing to a great estate. "While they slumbered and slept," their fortunes advanced without their effort or skill. Much the fact impresses the recollection of "Ecclesiasticus," he saith. "There is one that laboreth and taketh pains and maketh haste, and is so much the more behind, (as many poor bankrupts know) and there is another that is slow and hath need of help, wanting ability, yet *he* is set up from his low estate!"

The head of Chatham street, where it joins the Bowery road, although now a hill, has been cut down in modern times full twelve feet. From this point, following the line of Division street and thence down to the river, on the line of Catharine street, was formerly Col. Rutger's farm;—it was opened as city lots about thirty-five to thirty-eight years ago, as told to me, by G. Taylor.

I found the once celebrated "Tea Water Pump," long covered up and disused—again in use, but unknown;—in the liquor store of a Mr. Fagan, 126 Chatham street, I drank of it to revive recollections.

* Since writing, the estate at the corner of Broadway and Maiden lane, sold at auction for \$27,600, which is equal to twenty-two dollars the square foot!

I have been surprised to find, in so magnificent a city, such a mean collection of hovels, of feeble wooden fabric as I see in the rear of the great City Hall and the stately houses along Chamber street; they lay on the line of Cross street, descending a present hill, formerly much higher and more rugged, having only foot paths for clambering boys. The mean houses at the foot of the hill or street, are now half buried in earth, by the raising of the street, fully ten feet; up to this neighborhood, came once the *little Collect*; it forms the site generally of what was formerly Janeway's little farm.

The Magazine street, here, (because of the powder house once close by) now named Pearl street, in continuation, as it runs towards the Hospital on Broadway, shows I think, strong marks of having been at the period of the revolution, the utmost verge of city hopes! The range of Beekman street and Vesey street had once bounded their expectations, and lastly they extended to the natural lines of Pearl street, as it crosses the city, and was there formed at the foot of the hills, on its southern side. Before the Magazine street was formed, it was so essentially the imaginary line, which bounded the Police of Justice, &c. that it was usual to designate the limits by the vague name of "the Fresh Water" side of the city. Thus referring to the great Kolek and its course of marshes, as separating all beyond in a *terra incognita*!

The houses No. 13 and 15, on Elm street, near the corner of Duane street, are singular evidences of modern innovation. They were originally good two story houses, and are now filled up in Elm street nearly to their roofs!

In the rear of No. 48 Frankford street, is now a very ancient tannery. This street, down to Ferry street, and from William street over to Jacob's street, is the region of what was formerly tan yards, and originally Beekman's swamp. An old man near here, said, he remembered to have shot ducks here formerly;—the father of another, had told him, he often gathered huckleberries about here; and fifty to sixty years ago, it was common to exercise here in skating.

Mr. Lydig told me, that when the tanneries about here accumulated great hills of tan, it was the material for the fortifications of the boys, (preparing for the revolution, by sham fights!) Here great tan redoubts, piked with cow horns, were defended bravely by the Pearl street and Fly boys, against the invading urchins from Broadway. Sometimes the open field was resorted to on the present Park, where missile of thwacking force were dealt with vigorous arm.

Mr. Jacob Tabele, aged eighty-seven, said that in his early days he heard much speaking of Dutch among the people and along the streets. He saw no lamps in the streets, when a boy.

The powder house he remembered.—A powder house, called the Magazine, on a rising ground, (a kind of island) at the Collect.

In Nicholas Bayard's woods, he often shot numerous pigeons.

He remembered they used to burn lime from oyster shells, on the Park commons. This agrees with what Mr. Brower said, who imputed the name of *collect* to the low Dutch, for *burnt lime*—but it is more probable *kolck* was the true name, from its meaning “fresh water” there.

He remembered ship yards, between Beekman's and Burling's Slip.

There were once some small houses of wood, where is now St. Paul's church.

He has seen river water flow through the sewer up the Maiden lane as high as Olstein's blacksmith shop on the triangular square.

There was a very high hill, once called “Bayard's Mount,” on which, the Americans built a fort, and called it Bunker Hill, in the time of the revolution,—now all cut down. It stood on present Grand street, a little east of Centre market.

He remembered the “ferry house,” so called, high up Broad street—had heard the creek once run up there. The sign was a boat with iron oars. It was an Inn with such a sign in his time.

He remembered seeing the block houses in a line of palisades, quite across the island—they went in a line from the back of Chambers street. They were of logs of about one story high. They being empty, were often used by Indians who made and sold baskets, &c. there. So said Ebbets, also.

He remembered when boats could freely pass along the space, now occupied by large trees on the Battery ground.

He well remembered the ancient City Hall, (Stadt Huys) at the head of Coenties Slip;*—said he often heard it had been used as a fort in Leister's civil war, against the real fort at the Battery. He had often seen a ball, shot at it, and which was left in the side wall of the house, (pulled down by Tunis Quick, in 1827) on the south-west

* In all this, he referred to the house built in 1701, on the site of the original City Hall. The people confounding as one the original and the successor. The latter only lately taken down.

corner of Pearl and Coenties Slip. That ball is now in the possession of Dr. Mitchell, as a relic.

There were market houses at every one of the slips, in his time;—the one at the foot of Wall street, nigh the Tontine, was called the Meal Market.

Said he often heard of Lindley Murray, (the grammarian) having leaped across Burling's Slip, (about twenty-one feet) with a pair of fowls in his hands, as he came from market. He believed it, and others spoke of it to me as true, and that his lameness afterwards was imputed to his efforts.

He, Mr. Tabele, said there were but few streets paved. Broadway and other streets had all their gutter ways in the *middle*.

He remembered the Oswego Market in Broadway, *opposite* to Liberty street. When demolished, another was placed at west end of Maiden lane.

The Bear Market was the only one on the North River side. It took its name from the fact of the first meat ever sold in it, having been bear meat, killed as the bear was swimming from the neighborhood of Bergen shore.

William street, from John street, northwards, used to be called Horse and Cart street, from an Inn near there having such a sign.

Mr. Thoburn, the seedman, told me that when they were digging in Broadway to lay the Manhattan pipes, they came to the posts of the City Gate once at Wall street.

He also read to me, from his deed of the Quaker meeting house, which he owns and uses as his rare seed store, as being located "outside of the north side of the wall of the city:" Thus referring to the wall once along "Wall street."

He also showed me a rarity, in the *first* Directory ever made for New York—say in the year 1756. The very names of that day, are curious;—so few then, who were foreigners. Such was the novelty or uselessness of a Directory then, when every man knew his neighbor, that no other was attempted till the year 1793;—that one Mr. Thoburn also possesses.

Mr. Thoburn's seed house is a curiosity itself—a rare conception on his part; and presenting to the eye of a walking passenger along the streets, a little *rus in urbe*.

An ancient house at the corner of Beaver lane and Broadway, of

original two stories high, has all its cellar wall exposed *out* of ground, thus showing the cutting down of Broadway six to eight feet at least. If we keep the idea of that elevation, we may form probably a just idea of the primitive elevation of the ground whereon the fort stood; aged men have told me they thought the highest elevation of the parapet walls was about equal to the walls of present houses near there.

Mr. Daniel J. Ebbets, aged seventy-six, who has been a very observant youth and is now an intelligent gentleman of lively mind, has helped me to many facts.

He says, the present Bowling Green was once an oblong square and was well surrounded with large locust trees.

As late as the year 1787, he had assisted to draw a seine on the beach, where runs the present Greenwich street—say from Beaver lane to Battery;---there they caught many fish and much of herring; ---the beach was beautiful;---there boys and horses were wont to bathe and sport in the wave. A *street* to be *there*, never entered the head of the sportive youth! A large rock (see it on Lyne's map) stood out in the middle of present Greenwich street, then in the water, on which was a kind of rude summer house, much to the mind and fancy of the boys. "Oh! rare days of sportive fun!"

Then Mr. Ebbets saw no commerce nor vessels along the North River side;---the Albany sloops all went round to East River, and all their sailors talked Dutch at the wharves;---the carmen too, generally talked Dutch, and all understood it enough for their business.

He was familiar with the plot of the old fort, and described it thus: first the green bank, which was sloping, was about fourteen feet high, on which was erected a wall of about twenty feet additional height. An old linden and two apple trees on the city side, were as high as the walls. Some barracks lay along the line of State street.

The Broadway, in 1772, extended only as high as the Hospital.---Where the Hospital is, was "Rutger's orchard."

There was a rope walk, (Vanpeltz's) a little north of Courtlandt street, running from Broadway to the North River. All the old deeds on north side of Courtlandt street, speak of fifteen feet of the said walk, as in their lots. Another, ran parallel to it from vis a vis the present Bridewell prison; and in its place, or near it, was formerly a range of British barracks;---[as I think since, in the line of the present Scudder's Museum.]

The "brick meeting," built in 1764, on Beckman street, near

Chatham street, was then said to be in popular parlance, in "the fields." There, Whitefield was heard to preach.

Back of the above mentioned barracks, and also behind the present jail, was a high hill, and on its descent a Negro burying ground, and thence further down, it was a fine meadow.

The British army gave the name of "the Mall," to their parade ground fronting the Trinity church.

There were very fine Sun fish and Roack fish, caught in the Collect Pond.

The City Hall at the head of Broad street, (afterwards the Congress Hall) besides holding the courts, was also a prison. In front of it on the head of Broad street, he remembered seeing there a *whipping post*, and *pillory*, and *stocks*. He has seen them lead the culprits round the town, whipping them at the cart tail. They also introduced the wooden horse as a punishment. The horse was put into the cart-body and the criminal set thereon. Mary Price having been the first who had the infamous distinction, caused the horse ever after to be called, "the horse of Mary Price!"

So recently has a part of Water street been filled up, that he could now lead to the spot there, where could be found the body of a vessel deep under present ground.

He verified the fact in Moulton's book, of a canal (or channel) of water running out of the present Beaver street, into the Broad street canal, in primitive times. He said that half way between Broad street and New street, in Beaver street, there had been dug up two bars of lead, evidently dropped over-board from some boat. At same place, was a cedar post, upright, having on it the lines of the ropes of boats once tied to it.

The Mineral Spring, No. 8 Jacob's street, quaintly enough called "Jacob's Well," is a real curiosity, whether regarded either as an illusion, or as a reality. The enterprise was bold to bore there one hundred and thirty feet, and the result is said to be that they found a spring, having the properties of the Saratoga and Congress waters. Some distrust it, but the proprietors say, twenty-five thousand persons *used* it last year. It is a part of Beekman's swamp.

The house in Peck's Slip, north side, a yellow frame, No. 7, was pointed out to me by an aged person, as being in his youth, the *nearest*

house to the river—which was then so near, he could jump into the river then ranging along Water street, near to it. He said also, that “Walton house,” close by on Pearl street, No. 324, had its garden in its rear, quite down to the river. He said, the hill called Peck’s Hill, from Walton house to the Franklin Bank, (at the union of Cherry and Pearl streets) was originally a much higher hill.

I went out to the Dry Dock and Steam Mill, for sawing, &c. on the river margin of “Stuyvesant’s Swamp,” or flats. It is a very wide extended wet flat, over which, tides used to overflow—now sluiced out. Some low grass meadows appear; but generally it is a waste, coming now into incalculable value to that family as building lots. The adjacent hills furnish abundance of coarse sand and gravel material for filling up, which is now busily pursued in the lines of the intended streets. Some of the ancient oaks are scattered around and many stumps showing the recent woods about here, wherever not submerged in water. At the point or hook, a little beyond the Dry Dock, I see a small mound on which in the revolution, was a small redoubt, near which lay the King Fisher’s loop of war.

I observe great digging down of hills and removals of earth, going on, all about the Stuyvesant Mansion house and farm. Mr. Nicholas S—— tells me they often came to Indian graves, known as such, by having oyster shells interred with the bones and sometimes some fragments of frail pottery.

Just beyond “Peter’s Field” and mansion, extending up to the Fever Hospital, at Bellevue, is a great bend or bay, which is now all filling up with innumerable loads of earth from the adjacent high grounds, the whole having a long wharf in front, calculated to extend down to the Dry Dock, all of which is to be laid out in streets and city lots. It is an immense and spirited undertaking, affording constant business for the laboring poor.

Canal street is a grand undertaking, effecting a great benefit, by draining through a great sewer the waters which once passed by the former canal to the collect. The street is broad and the houses genteel; but as this region of ground was once swampy, it is liable now to have wet or damp cellars throughout the range of Lispenard’s Swamp to the northward, and from Lafayette Theatre, (which is laid on piles) down to the North River. Chapel street which runs southward from Canal street, follows the line of a former water course (connecting with the canal formerly and now by a sewer) quite down to Leonard street, has been all made ground, filled-in over the sewer.

From the inlets to those sewers is emitted a strong offensive smell of filth and salt water, only however perceptible at the apertures and never known to have any deleterious effect on health.

Mr. Wilke, President of the Bank, told me he once stood centinel as a volunteer on the sand beach, close to the present old sugar house still standing nearly in the rear of the present City Hotel, on Broadway. Thus proving, what I had before heard from Mr. Swords and others, that at the rear of Trinity church yard, a little beyond where Lumber street is now, the boys used to swim.

Mr. Wilke also told me he knew the parties who in 1780, fought a *duel* in the rear of the hospital ground.

In visiting Thomas Rammey, a good chronicle, though only sixty-six years of age, I learned from himself and wife, several facts, to wit:

Rammey had lived in Cross street—while there, he dug up remains of the old Magazine, and he could see evidence that water sometimes had enclosed it, [as Lyne's ancient map had shown.] His mother-in-law, if alive, would be one hundred and six years of age. She often talked of the block houses and palisades across the city, behind present City Hall;—said, the Indians occupied many places outside of their line, and used there to make baskets, ladles, &c. for sale. Many of them huted outside the present Hospital, towards the North River.

She well remembered they were used at times in high waters, to have a *ferry boat* to cross the people in Chatham street, over where it crosses Pearl street—where it is still low ground. Lyne's map of 1729, marks this same place with a *bridge*.

She had a recollection of the wife of Gov. Stuyvesant, and used to go out to his farm near the flats, and there see numerous fish caught.

She remembered and spoke much of the Negro Plot—said it made terrible agitation—saw the Negroes hung back of the site of the present jail, in the Park. A wind mill once stood near there.

The Jews' burying-ground was up Chatham street, on a hill, where is now the Tradesman's Bank.

She said, the water once run from the collect, both ways—i. e. to East River as well as to North River. Sometimes the salt water came up to it from the North River in the winters and raised the ice.

In her time, the strand or beach on the East River, was along present Pearl street, generally; and at the corner of Pearl street and Maiden lane, there dwelt her brother-in-law, who used to keep his boat tied to his stoop to ferry him off by water.

She said, Maiden lane got its name from the practice of women, the younger part, generally going out there to bleach their family linen: all of which was then made at home. It had a fine creek or brook, and was headed by a good spring. Sometime afterwards, minor springs remained for a time in cellars there, and one was in Cuyler's house, till modern times. The hills adjacent, clothed in fine grass sloped gradually to the line of Maiden lane, and there *she* bleached with many others.

She said, Broadway went no higher than St. Paul's church.

She said, "Chapel Hill," where is now Dr. Milnor's church, on Beekman street, was a very high mount and *steep*, from which the boys with sleds, used to slide down on the snow, quite to the swamp below. With this, agrees the fact told me by Mr. James Bogert, that his father in latter times, used to ride up to it as a high apple orchard.

Mr. Rammey said, that behind the City Hall, once stood an old Alms house, built in 1710, and taken down about the year 1793;—perhaps the burials behind it gave rise to the remark made to me by Dr. Francis, that along the line of Chamber street, are many graves.

He says he used to be told that the real "ferry house" on Broad street, was at the north-east corner of Garden street, (now Exchange place) and is lately taken down; [and so several others have also suggested to me] and that the other, (No. 19) a little higher up, (the north end of the Custom house store) was only a second Inn, having a ferry boat sign, either in opposition or to perpetuate the other. He said, the boats were flat bottomed and used to come from Jersey. To me, I confess it seems to have been a singular location for a ferry; but as the tradition is so general and concurrent, I incline to think it was so called from its being a resort of country boats coming there to find a central place for their sales. I have heard the names of certain present rich families, whose ancestors were said to come there with oysters.

A man actually born in the old ferry house, at the corner, and who dwelt there forty years, thus described it as a very low one story house, with very high and steep pediment roof;—its front on Broad street;—its side along Garden alley, had two dormer windows in the roof, much above the plate;—shingle roof covered with moss: one hundred years probably of age;—had an iron boat and oars and anchor for a sign;—the "Governor's house" adjoined it in the alley. An old lady close by confirmed all this. *A picture of the whole scene is annexed.*

Mr. David Grim, an aged citizen to whom we are indebted for much valuable *data*, given to the historical society, has estimated in detail the houses of the city in 1744, to have been 1141 in number—of which only 129 houses were on the west side of the Broadway, to the North River inclusive: Thus evidencing fully, that the tide of population very greatly inclined to the East River.

Mrs. Myers, the daughter of said D. Grim, said she had seen the British barracks of wood, enclosed by a high fence. It extended from Broadway to Chatham street, along present Chamber street, exactly where is now the Museum. It had a gate at each end;—the one by Chatham street, was called “Tryon’s Gate,” from which we have derived since *there*, the name of “Tryon’s Row.”

About the year 1788, the whole of the ancient fort, near the site of the present Battery, was all taken down and levelled under the direction of Mr. J. Pintard (now Secretary of Insurance Office) and Mr. Janeway (or Janny) as City Commissioners. The design was to prepare the site to erect thereon a house for General Washington as President of the United States, but as the Congress removed to Philadelphia, he never occupied it, and it therefore became the “Governor’s house,” in the person of Governor Clinton.

In taking down the ancient Dutch chapel vault, they came to remains of Lord and Lady Bellermont, in leaden coffins, known by family Escutecheon, and inscriptions in silver plates. These coffins with several bones of others, were taken by Mr. Pintard, who told me, to St. Paul’s church ground, where they all rest now in one common grave without any notice above ground of “storied urn or animated bust!”* I am chagrined to say, that Mr. P. told me the silver plates were taken by his colleague for his own, or for a museum—I do not remember which—but afterwards with bad taste, converted into spoons! A story much like this, is told of the use made of the coffin plates of Governor Paulus Vanderbrecke and wife, placed first in G. Baker’s Museum, and afterwards to Tamany Hall. Lord Bellermont died in 1701.

This brief notice of the once renowned dead, so soon divested of sculptured fame, leads me to the notice of some other cases where the sculpturor’s hand could not give even brief existence to once mighty

* They rest about sixty feet in a straight line west from the steeple—so says Mr. P. The red *silk* velvet on the top of the coffins, was entire!

names. I refer to the King's equestrian statue of lead in the centre of the Bowling Green, and to Pitt's marble statue in Wall street, centre of William street. Both are gone, and scarcely may you learn the history of their abduction. So frail is *human* glory!

The latter I found after much inquiry and search in the Arsenal yard on the site of the collect. It had before been to Bridewell yard. The statue is of fine marble and fine execution, in a Roman toga, and showing the roll of *Magna Charta*; but it is decapitated, and without hands—in short, a sorry relic! Our patriot fathers of the revolution, when they erected it, swore it should be as eternal as “enduring marble;”—they idolized the man as their British champion,

“In *freedom's* cause with generous warmth inspired.”

But the fact was, while the British army occupied New York, their champion lost his head on some unknown occasion, and has never since been heard of! The statue itself was taken down soon after the peace, both as an inconvenience in the street, so narrow there in the busy mart, and also as a deformity. Alexander M'Cormick, Esq. who dwelt near the statue, told me it disappeared the night of St. Andrew, when as it was whispered, some British officers who had been at their revels, struck it off in revelry, rather than in spite. No inquisition was made for it at the time—one hand had before been struck off, it was supposed, by boys. A story was told among some Whigs, that the Tories had struck off the head in retaliation for the alleged insult offered to the King, by drawing his statue along the street, to melt it into bullets for the war. My friend John Baylie was present in April, '76, and saw the degrading spectacle. He saw no decent people present;—a great majority were shouting boys. The insult, if so meant, was to the *dead*, as the statue was of George the 2d—“our most gracious King!”

“Then boast not honors. *Sculpture* can bestow,
Short lived renown!”

[*Querie*: should not the Society of Artists possess and repair such a piece of art as Pitts' statue?]

Before the revolution and even some time afterwards, William street was the great mart for dry good sales and chiefly from Maiden lane up to Pearl street. It was the proper Bond street too for the beaux and shopping belles. Now Broadway has its turn!

Pearl street then had no stores, but it was the place of good dwellings;—then Broadway had no stores or business, and had but a few scattered houses about the region of the new City Hall.

Before the revolution the only road out of town, was by the Bowery road, and was once called "the high road to Boston."

The Bowling Green was before called "the Parade."

Mr. Thomas Swords, aged sixty-six, told me he remembered to have seen the remains of an old redoubt, by Grace and Lumber street, (corner) the same which was presumed once to have terminated the northern line of the city, along Wall street;—it was a hill there;—there American prisoners were buried in time of the revolution; and he has seen coffins there in the wasting banks of the mount;—at the foot of it, was the beach along the North River.

The grand-father of Mr. James Bogert, told him oyster vessels used to come up Broad street to sell them; and in later times, water used to enter cellars along that street, from the canal.

David Grim, in his very interesting topographical draft of the city as it was in 1742-4, (done by him when seventy-six years of age, in the year 1813) is a highly useful relic and gift of the *olden time*. His generous attention to posterity in that gift to the Historical Society, is beyond all praise, as a work in itself *sui generis*, and not to be replaced by any other data. He was a chronicle, and lived to be eighty-nine, and to *wonder* at the advancements and *changes* around him! I here mark some of his facts:

He marks the "Governor's Garden," near the fort, as ranging along the line of Whitehall street, next the fort, and there turning an angle of the fort and enclosing westward to the river. This also agrees with the report of others who told me of seeing deer kept by the Governor, in front of the fort on the ground of the Water Battery.

Mr. Grim marks the line of a narrow canal or channel in Broad street, as open above the present Pearl street, and there covered by the bridge or Exchange house, or both.

He marks the localities of public wells in the middle of the streets.

He marks Rutger's farm as laying north-west of the collect, and Winthorn's farm as south-east of the same.

At the foot of Courtlandt street, he marks the then *only wharf*. We know it was built there for King's purposes, having thereon an Arsenal reaching up to Dey street.

Mr. David Grim told his daughter of there having been a market once held at the head of Broad street. This agrees with what G. N. Bleeker, Esq. told me, as from his grand mother, who spoke of a market at Garden street, which was in effect the same place.

Bakewell's City Portrait of 1747, a fine perspective, marks the Great Dock at the foot of Broad street, as having a long dividing wharf, projecting into it from Broad street and set on piles, which leads me to the idea of "the bridge" so often named there. It was probably the landing place for the unloaded goods from vessels in the east and west mole on both sides of it.

A low market house on arches, having a large dial plate on its roof in front, is set at the foot of Broad street.

The City Corporation grants to Trinity church, in 1703, as I saw of record in Mr. Bleeker's office, the grounds there "for a burying place, for the inhabitants of the city forever;" and upon any of the inhabitants of said city paying therefor to the Rector, &c. 3s. for each corpse above twelve years of age, and 1s. 6d. for any under twelve years of age and no more." This last emphatic word may seem peculiar when we reflect how very special and exclusive those grounds have been so long occupied.

In the minutes of council of 1696, I saw that a sewer of 1100 feet length was recommended to be made in the Broad street.

I saw in the City Commissioners' office, that the population of New York in 1730, was only 8638—and in 1825, it was 166,086.

David Grim told Mr. Lydig that he had seen the river water over Chatham street and Pearl street, and extending from the east to the North River—along the line of the collect as I presume.

Mr. Brower and others have explained to me, that all along present Grand street, as it approaches to Corlears Hook, was formerly very high hills covered with apple and peach trees. Much too of the present level Harman street, leading into Grand street, was formerly hills of sixty feet height. The materials of these hills so cut down, furnish excellent gravel for new streets and especially the means of extending their grounds out into the rivers.

I saw, back of Brooklyn, on the height, much of the remains of redoubts and entrenchments still remaining in the fields. The Americans having constructed an entire line of them, from the Navy Yard down to their fort on the south of Brooklyn.

From an eminence, on the road to Flat Bush, I saw an interesting prospect of Brooklyn and New York and all the connecting scenery. The hill I believe was called "Flat-Bush Hill," and ought to be occupied by some good house of entertainment;—a handsome cottage has since been erected there.

Hudson's Square is a beautiful embellishment of New York, redeemed from a former waste. The large growth of the trees—the abundance of grateful shades, make it in connexion with the superiority of the uniform houses which surround it, a place of imposing grandeur. The continuous long lines of iron palisades, both round the square and before the areas of every house, and up the several door steps, give a peculiar aspect of European style and magnificence.

The residences of Col. Rutgers's and Col. Willet, though originally located far out of town, on the East River side, have been surrounded by the encroaching population; but as the encroachments have not been permitted to close very close upon them, they are still enabled to retain some grounds around them of rural appearance. Col. Willet's house was formerly on a knoll, situated on the margin of Stuyvesant Swamp. Soon all such recollections will be obliterated, by the entire different face of things as they now appear there.

David Grim said he remembered when carmen first took about the tea water; it was but one-third of present prices. The water, formerly, was good at the wells and some of the street pumps.

He remembered when only one lamp was used in the street—say at the corner of Wall and William streets.

Mr. Brower told me, street lamps came into use about ten years before the revolution. The carts at that time were not allowed to have any tire on their wheels.

The carriage of the Mail, between New York and Philadelphia, even since the revolution, was a very small affair; it was hardly an affair to be robbed---for, a boy without any means of defence, took the whole in saddle bags on horse-back. Then, they wondered to see it enlarged, and took it on a sulky; and by and bye, "the wonder grew," that it should still more enlarge, and they took off the body and run it in a large bag on the platform set on the wheels. It was then long deemed as at its *ne plus ultra*; whereas, now, it is a load of itself for a four horse stage! At that time, the Post always went to and fro, from the "Blazing Star," vis a vis Staten Island, now unknown as a great thoroughfare.

General Washington's residence in New York, was at the house now the Franklin Bank;---to that house he once went in procession. The house was kept by Osgood, and was then No. 1, in pre-eminence.

The house No. 176 Water street, was the first in New York, to

change leaden sashes for wooden ones;—leaden ones were general. Even Trinity church had its leaden panes put in after the fire of 1778.

Dr. Hosack's map showing the grounds of New York as invaded by water from the rivers, marks "Rutger's Swamp" as united to the East River by a little creek a little to the eastward of Rutger's Slip.

At Corlear's Hook, he also marks much marsh ground uniting to the river, by a small creek.

Beekman's Swamp is also united to the East River, by a little creek next south-west of Peck's Slip.

Governor's Island, originally called Nutting Island, because of the quantity of hazel and other nuts growing there and furnishing the winter's supply to the citizens. In later times, says Knickerbocker, it was cultivated in gardens for the use of the Colonial Governors—"once a smiling garden of the sovereigns of the province."

It was originally a part of Long Island; however it may now appear to the eye on beholding so wide a separation by deep water. This widening and deepening of the Buttermilk Channel has been caused by the filling in of the south side of the city.

An old gentleman is now alive who remembers that as late as 1786, the Buttermilk Channel was then deemed unsafe, even for boats to pass through it, because of the numerous rocks there. It was however so used for a boat channel, through which, boats with milk and buttermilk, going to New York market from Long Island, usually made their passage. My mother has told me that when she first entered New York harbor—then a girl—she was surprised to see all the market boats traversing the East River, rowed by robust women without hats or bonnets--their heads fitted with close caps--two rowers to each.

The same gentleman who told of the channel as he noticed it in 1786, had his attention called to it then by a Mr. Van Alstine, upwards of eighty years of age, who said that he remembered when Governor's Island was separated from Long Island, only by a narrow creek, which was crossed upon a log, raised above the high tide, and having staked logs for a foot-way through the marsh then there on each side of the creek.

William Richards, of Philadelphia, famous there for pickling sturgeon, went on to New York, before the revolution, to plant lobsters in the neighborhood of New York; before which time they chiefly imported them from Rhode Island. He had a vote of thanks of the

Assembly, many years afterwards. Lobsters after this, probably became naturalized about Harlem.

In 1756, the *first* stage is started between Philadelphia and New York, by Mr. Butler---three days through.

In 1765, a second stage is announced to travel between New York and Philadelphia, to go through in three days, being a covered Jersey waggon, at 2d. a mile---owned in Philadelphia.

In 1766, another stage called "the Flying Machine," to go through in two days, "in good waggons, and seats on springs," at 3d. a mile, or 20s. through. This also owned in Philadelphia.

In 1756, the first British "Packet boats," commence from New York to Falmouth; each letter to pay four penny weight of silver.

All newspapers went *free* of postage before year 1758. It was then ordered that by reason of their *great increase*, they should pay 9d. a year for fifty miles, and 1s. 6d. for one hundred miles!

In 1755, the mail was changed from once a fortnight to once a week.

Mr. M'Cormick, of Wall street, remembered when "Burnett's Key" extended from Wall street up to Maiden lane, in one entire line of front and projecting out from Water street, beyond any other line of wharves. It was the bathing place of the city boys and of himself.

In 1702, New York was visited with a very mortal sickness. Isaac Norris' MS. letter says, "the great sickness---Barbadoes Distemper or Yellow Fever---as we had it in Philadelphia three years before. Some hundred died there and many left the town, so that as we passed it, it was almost desolate."

In 1743, a yellow fever, as it was called, visited New York---"not imported"---but like it was at Philadelphia three years before;---they had black vomit and spots. Vide R. Peters' MSS.

In digging for a lamp post, at the north-east corner of Reed street and Broadway, they were surprised to get up several human bones, and thus leading to the recollection of the former fact, that between that place and Chamber street, was once the area of the Negroes' burying ground;---it was on a descending hill, inclining northward.

In Lyne's Survey of New York, he marks a lane called "Old Wind Mill Lane," laying between present Courtlandt and Liberty streets, extending from Broadway to present Greenwich street, and thence north-westward towards the river side, where the Wind Mill must have stood. It was then the most northern street on the western side of Broadway---all beyond was the King's farm.

The same survey fills up the head of present Broadway, with a long rope walk and a long line of trees, reaching from present Barclay street as high as the hospital.

At that time there was at the foot of the present Chamber street, on North River, a distinguished Public Garden and Bowling Green.

Among the names of streets *changed*, are these:---present Pine street was called King street; Pearl street was Queen street; Cedar street now, was Little Queen street; Liberty street was Crown street, importing *the Crown* supplanted by our *self-rule* since! The western end of Garden street, was a *hill* called Flatten-barrack---a celebrated place for the boys in winter, to sled down hill! Present Beaver street, east of Broad street, was Princess street; present Stone street, east of Broad street, was Duke street; Pearl street, near Broad street, was Dock street; John street now, east of William street, was called Golden Hill.---The hill once there at its intersection with Cliff street, gave rise to the name of that street along the Cliff. William street, at its southern end, was called South street---way from Maiden lane to the East River.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

“A different face of things each age appears,
And all things alter in a course of years!”

I AM indebted for the following ideas of “Men and Manners once,” as seen in the middle state of life generally, by facts imparted to me by Mr. Brower, aged seventy-five,—to wit :

The Dutch kept five festivals, of peculiar notoriety, in the year—say, *Kerstyd*, (Christmas); *Nieuw jar*, (New Year,) a great day of cake; *Paas*, (the Passover); *Pinxter*, (i. e. Whitsuntide); and *Sau Claas*, (i. e. Saint Nicholas, or Christ-kindle day.) The Negroes on Long Island, on some of those days, came in great crowds to Brooklyn and held their field frolics.

It was the general practice of families in middle life, to spin and make much of their domestic wear at home. Short gowns and petticoats were the general in-door dresses.

Young women who dressed gay to go abroad to visit or to church, never failed to take off that dress and put on their home-made, as soon as they got home; even on Sunday evenings when they expected company, or even their beaux, it was their best recommendation to seem thus frugal and ready for any domestic avocation. The boys and young men of a family, always changed their dress, for a common dress, in the same way. There was no custom of offering drink to their guests;—when punch was offered, it was in great bowls.

Dutch dances were very common; the supper on such occasions, was a pot of chocolate and bread. The Rev. Dr. Laidlie who arrived in 1764, did much to preach them into disuse; he was very exact in his piety, and was the *first* minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, who was called to preach in the *English* language.

The Negroes used to dance in the markets, where they used tom-toms, horns, &c. for music. They used often to sell Negro slaves at the Coffee-house.

All marriages had to be published before-hand, three weeks at the churches, or else to avoid that, they had to purchase a *license* of the *Governor*:—a seemingly singular surveillance for a great *Military* Chief! We may presume *he* cared little for the fact beyond his fee!

Before the revolution, tradesmen of good repute, worked hard;—there were none as masters, mere lookers-on;—they hardly expected to be rich;—their chief concern in summer, was to make enough

a-head to lay up carefully for a living in severe winter. Wood was even a serious concern to such, when only 2s. 6d. to 3s. a load.

None of the stores or tradesmen's shops then aimed at any rivalry as now. There were no glaring allurements at windows, nor over-reaching signs—no big bulk windows;—they were content to sell things at honest profits, and to trust to an earned reputation, for their share of business.

It was the Englishmen from Britain, who brought in the painted glare and display;—they also brought in the use of open shops at night, an expensive and needless service!—for who sells more in day and night, where all are competitors, than they would in one day, if all were closed at night!

In former days, the same class who applied diligently in business hours, were accustomed to close their shops and stores at an early hour and to go abroad for exercise and recreation, or to gardens, &c. All was done on foot, for chaises and horses were few.

The candidates for the Assembly, usually from the city, kept open houses in each ward, for one week—producing much excitement among those who thought more of the regale than the public weal.

Physicians in that day, were moderate in their charges, although their personal labor was great. They had to make all their calls on foot—none thought of riding. Drs. Baylie and M'Knight, when old, were the first who are remembered as riding to their patients. Dr. Attwood is remembered as the first physician who had the hardihood to proclaim himself as a *man* midwife;—it was deemed a scandal to some delicate ears; and Mrs. Granny Brown, with her fees of two to three dollars, was still deemed the choice of all who thought "women should be modest!"

"Moving day," was, as now, the first of May, from time immemorial!

They held no "fairs," but they often went to the "Philadelphia Fairs,"—once celebrated.

At the New Year and Christmas festivals, it was the custom to go out to the ice on Beckman's and such like swamps, to shoot at turkeys; every one paid a price for his shot, as at a mark, and if he hit it so as to draw blood, it was his for a New Year or Christmas Dinner! A fine subject this for Dr. Laidlie's preaching and reformation!

At funerals, the Dutch gave *hot* wine in winter; and in summer, they gave wine-sangaree.

I have noticed a singular custom among Dutch families;—a father gives a bundle of *goose quills* to a son, telling him to give one to each of his male posterity. I saw *one* in the possession of Mr. James Bogert, which had a scroll appended, saying, “this quill given by Petrus Byvanck to James Bogert, in 1789, was a present in 1689, from his grand-father, from Holland.”

It is now deemed a rule of high life in New York, that ladies should not attend funerals—it was not always so. Having been surprised at the change, and not being aware of any sufficient reason why females should have an exemption from personal attention to departed friends, from which their male relatives could not, I have been curious to inquire into the facts in the case. I find that females among the Friends, attend funerals, and also among some other religious communities.

I have been well assured that before the revolution, genteelest families had ladies to their funerals, and especially if she was a female; on such occasions “burnt wine” was handed about in tankards, often of silver.

On one occasion, the case of the wife of Daniel Phœnix, the City Treasurer, all the pall bearers were ladies—and this fact occurred *since* the revolution.

Many aged persons have spoken to me of the former delightful practice of families sitting out on their “stoopes” in the shades of the evening, and there saluting the passing friends, or talking across the narrow streets, with neighbors. It was one of the grand links of union in the Knickerbocker social compact. It endeared and made social neighbors;—made intercourse on easy terms;—it was only to say, “come sit down.” It helped the young to easy introductions and made courtships of readier attainment.

I give some facts to illustrate the above remarks, deduced from the family of B— with which I am personally acquainted. It shows primitive Dutch manners. His grand-father died at the age of sixty-three, in 1782, holding the office of Alderman eleven years, and once chosen Mayor and declined. Such a man, in easy circumstance in life, following the true Dutch ton, had all his family to breakfast, all the year round, at day light—before the breakfast, he universally smoked his pipe. His family always dined at twelve exactly. At that time, the kettle was invariably set on the fire, for tea, of Bohea, which was always as punctually furnished at three o’clock. Then the

old people went abroad on purpose to visit relatives, changing the families each night in succession, over and over again, all the year round. The regale at every such house, was expected as matter of course, to be chocolate supper and soft waffles.

Afterwards, when green tea came in as a new luxury, loaf sugar also came with it; this was broken in large lumps and laid severally by each cup, and was nibbled or bitten as needed!

The family before referred to, actually continued the practice till as late as seventeen years ago, with a steady determination in the patriarch, to resist the modern innovation of dissolved sugar, while he lived!

Besides, the foregoing facts I have had them abundantly confirmed by others.

While they occupied the stoopes in the evening, you could see every here and there an old Knickerbocker with his long pipe, fuming away his cares, and ready on any occasion to offer another for the use of any passing friend who would sit down and join him. The ideal picture has every lineament of contented comfort and cheerful repose. Something much more composed and happy, than the bustling anxiety of "over business" in the moderns.

The cleanliness of Dutch housewifery was always extreme;—every thing had to submit to scrubbing and scouring;—dirt in no form could be endured by them: and dear as water was in the city, where it was always sold, still it was in perpetual requisition. It was their honest pride to see a well furnished dresser, showing copper and pewter in shining splendour, as if for ornament, rather than for use! In all this, they widely differed from the Germans, a people with whom they have been erroneously and often confounded. Roost fowls and ducks are not more different!--As water draws one, it repels the other!

It was common in families then to cleanse their own chimneys, without the aid of hired sweeps; and all tradesmen, &c. were accustomed to saw their own fuel. Mr. Brower said no man in middle circumstances of life, ever scrupled to carry home his 100 cwt. of meal from the market; it would have been *his* shame to have avoided it.

A greater change in the state of society, cannot be named, than that of hired persons. Hired women, from being formerly lowly in dress, wearing short gowns and petticoats of linsey-woolsey, and receiving but half a dollar a week, have, since they have threbled that wages, got to all the pride and vanity of "showing out" to *strangers*,

as well drest ladies. The cheapness of foreign finery, gives them the ready means of wasting all their wages in decorations. So true it is, that,

"Excess, the scrofulous and itchy plague,
Taints downward, all the graduated scale!"

The Quarterly Review, has preserved one fact of menial impudence, in the case of the New York girl, telling her mistress, before her guests, that "the more you ring, the more I won't come!"

General Lafayette, too, left us a compliment of dubious import on his formal *entree* at New York, when seeing such crowds of well dressed people, and no remains of such as he had seen in the period of the revolution--a people whose dress was adapted to their condition--he exclaimed, "but where is the *people!*" emphatically meaning, where is the *useful class of citizens*, "the hewers of wood and drawers of water!"

"All are infected with the manners and the modes,
It knew not once!"

Before the revolution, all men who worked in any employ, always wore his leathern apron before him--never took it off to go in the street, and never had on a long coat.

We are glad to witness the rise of new feelings among the Dutch descendants, tending to cherish by anniversary remembrances, the love and reverence they owe their sires. For this object, as they have no "landing day," like us, they resort to their tutelary protector Saint Nicholas: on such occasions, decorating themselves or hall with orange colored ribbons, and inscribing "Oranje Boven,"—and garnishing their table with "Malek and Sappawn"—with rullities—and their hands with long summaed pipes.

We are sorry we do not know the history better than we do, of a Saint so popular as he is, with only his name of *St. Claus* to help him. He seems however to be the most merry and jocose in all the calendar. The boys all welcome him as "the bountiful Saint Nick,"—and as "De Patroon Van Kindervreugt"—i. e. the Patron of Children's Joy.

"A richt jolly old Elf, with a little round belly,
Which shakes when he laughs, like a bowl full of jelly."

All we know from Knickerbocker, is what the figure of Hudson's *Goede Vrouw* represented him as attired "in a low brimed hat--a large pair of Flemish trunk hose, and a very long pipe."

In 1765, the best families in New York, entered into certain sumptuary laws to restrain the usual expenses and pomp of funerals.

MEMORIALS OF THE DUTCH DYNASTY.

“Dwell o'er the remembrance of former years!”

HAVING said that the office of the Common Council contains no records of the city, preceding the conquest by the British, I shall add here some tokens of the fact, that there are numerous collections of Dutch records now existing in the archives of state, at Albany---furnishing a rich mine of antiquarian lore, for some future explorer.

“Yet still will memory's busy eye retrace
Each little vestige of the well lov'd place!”

The Records thus speak, viz :---

Fort Amsterdam, (at New York) is repaired and finished in 1635.

Paulus Hook, is sold by Governor Keift, in 1638, to Abraham Isaacs Plank, for 450 guilders.

For Scandalizing the Governor, one Hendrick Jansen, in 1638, is sentenced to stand at the fort door, at the ringing of the bell, and ask the Governor's pardon.

For Slandering the Rev. E. Bogardus, in 1638, (Pastor of the Reformed Church, then in the fort) a female is obliged to appear at the sound of the bell at the fort, and there, before the Governor and Council, to say, “she knew he was honest and pious, and that she lied falsely!”

Torture, was inflicted upon Jan Hobbes, who had committed a theft. The evidence seemed sufficient, but it was adjudged he should also make his confession by torture.

For drawing his Knife upon a person, one Guysbert Van Regerslard, was sentenced, in 1638, to throw himself three times from the sail-yard of the yatch the Hope, and to receive from each sailor there three lashes.

The Wooden Horse punishment is inflicted, in Dec. 1638, upon two soldiers: they to sit thereon for two hours. This was a military punishment used in Holland. He strode a sharp back, and his body was forced down to it, by a chain and iron stirrup or a weight, fastened to his legs.

Goat Milk and Goats, appear as a subject of frequent mention and regulation.

Cases of Slander, often appear noticed;---such as that Jan Jansen, complains of Adam Roelants for slander, whereupon it was ordered that each party pay to the use of the poor, the sum of 25 guilders each.

Tobacco, appears to have been an article of cultivation and of public concern and commerce. Van Twiller had his tobacco farm at

Greenwich. On the 5th August, 1638, two inspectors were nominated to inspect "tobacco cultivated here for exportation;"---and on the 19th August, same year, it is recorded, that because of "the high character it had obtained in foreign countries," any adulterations should be punished with heavy penalties. [This agrees with the fact at Philadelphia county;---there they also in primitive days, sixty years after the above facts, cultivated tobacco in fields.]

A *Cattle Fair*, was established to be held annually on the 15th Oct. and of *Hogs* on the 1st Nov., beginning from the year 1641.

Tavernkeepers---none of them shall be permitted to give any supper parties after nine o'clock at night. In case of any Indian being found drunk, his word when sober, shall be deemed good enough evidence against the white person who made him so!

The Oath of Allegiance, was to be taken by all officers of government, as a "test act," by swearing "to maintain the reformed religion, in conformity to the word of God, and the decree of the Synod of Dordrecht!" Under such solemn obligations to duty, it is scarcely to be wondered at or even condemned, that the officers in authority, overlooking the mild spirit of the gospel of peace, and adhering to the letter and the oath to the Synod, &c. should be led out to persecution! We therefore find, for we may tell a little of the truth in this matter, that in 1657, sundry Quakers "for publicly declaring in the streets," were subjected to the dungeon, &c.; and Robert Hodgson was led at a cart tail, with his arms pinioned, then beaten with a pitched rope until he fell; afterwards he was set to the wheelbarrow to work at hard labor. This continued until the compassion of the sister of Governor Stuyvesant being excited, her intercession with that Governor, prevailed to set him free. About the same time, John Bowne, ancestor of the present respectable family of that name, was first imprisoned and next banished for the offence he gave as a Quaker. It was an ordinance of that day, "that any person receiving any Quaker into their house, though only for one night, should forfeit £50! Little did they understand in that day, that "the sure way to propagate a new religion, was to proscribe it!"

Good Dr. Cotton, in common with good Paul of Tarsus, were both persecutors, "haling men and women to prison," and saying, "If the worship be *lawful*, (and they the *judges*!) the *compelling* to come to it, compelleth not to sin; but the *sin* is in the *will* that *needs* to be *forced* to christian *duty*!" So *self-deceiving* is bigotry and intolerance!

There are some fine relics of the Gov. Stuyvesant above referred to, still preserved in his family, valuable to a thinking mind, for the moral associations they afford. I saw them at the elegant country mansion of his descendant Nicholas William Stuyvesant, to wit:—a portrait of Stuyvesant, in armour, which had been well executed in Holland, and probably while he was yet an Admiral there. His head is covered with a close black cap—his features strong and intrepid—skin dark, and the whole aspect not unlike our best Indian faces—a kind of sash or sash is cast round his shoulder—has a large white shirt collar drooping from the neck—has small mustachios on his upper lip, and no beard elsewhere shown. As I regarded this quiet remains, of this once great personage, I inwardly exclaimed, and is this he, in whom rested the last hopes of the Netherlanders in our country! Himself gone down to “the tomb of the Capulets!” His remains “rest in hope,” near by, in the family vault, once constructed within the walls of the second built Reformed Dutch church, which for pious purposes, he had built at his personal expense on his own farm. The church is gone, but the place is occupied by the present church of St. Mark. On the outside wall of this latter church, I saw the original stone designating the body of him, whose rank and titles stood thus inscribed, to wit:

“In this vault, lies buried

PETRES STUYVESANT,

late Captain General and Commander in Chief of Amsterdam
in New Netherland, now called New York, and the
Dutch West India Islands.

Died in August, A. D. 1682, aged eighty years.”

A fine pear tree stands just without the grave yard wall, in lively vigour, although so old as to have been brought out from Holland and planted there by the Governor Stuyvesant himself.

Besides seeing the portrait of the Governor and Captain General as aforesaid in his array of manhood; I saw also a singular token of his puerility; no less than the very infant shirt, of fine Holland, edged with narrow lace, in which the Chief was devoted in baptism and received his christening! It perhaps marks the character of the age, in his family thus preserving this kind of token.†

I saw also the portrait of his son, done also in Holland, in the seventeenth year of his age. He is mounted upon a rampart charger—his

* He was Governor seventeen years—from 1647 to 1664.

† Stow says, christening shirts were given in the time of Elizabeth;—afterwards, Apostles spoons were given as memorials.

head covered with a low crowned black hat—a blue coat—his white shirt sleeves have the cuffs laced and turned up over the cuffs of the coat—wears shoes with high heels, and his silk hose came up above his knees on the outside of the breeches, and appear there looped up in their place.

There I also saw portraits of Bayard and his wife. He appears garbed as a priest—he was father-in-law to Governor Stuyvesant.

Other relics of the Stuyvesant family might have possibly remained, but as the family house, occupied by the uncle of the present Nicholas William, was burnt in the time of the revolution, by some of the persons of Sir Henry Clinton's family, who staid there, it is probable that relics and papers have been lost.

The *first* minister ever appointed to the Dutch Church in New Amsterdam, was the Rev. Everardus Bogardus; he officiated in the church erected in 1612, within the fort. Thus making it, as it probably was, in the governmental rulers in the Netherlands, an affair of military conformity, not unlike the chaplain concerns of modern warfare. At all events, we soon hear of the people taking it into their minds to have another church, to wit: the old "South Dutch Church," founded in 1643, in Garden alley, and then objected to, as being "too far out of town!" A rare demur in our modern views of *distance!*

Besides the church so granted without the fort, they had also conferred "a place for a Parsonage and Garden." On the latter being improved in all the formal stiffness of cut box and trimmed cedar, presenting tops nodding to tops, and each alley like its brother,—the whole so like Holland itself, it became attractive to the public gaze, and so gave popular acceptance to the name of "Garden Alley." The first church of St. Nicholas, though long under the care of its tutelary Saint, fell at last a prey to the flames in the fire of 1791.

The Rev. Mr. Bogardus above named, though intended as an example himself, could not keep his wife exempt from reproach or from the vigilance of an "evil eye," for on the 24th October, 1633, (it is still on record at Albany!) a certain Hendricks Jansen (a sapient reformer no doubt*) appeared before the Secretary and certified that the wife of the Rev. L. Bogardus, in the public street, drew up her petticoat *a little way!* Surely this was an idle scandal when Dutch petticoats were of themselves too short to cover, even if the matron would.

* It may be seen in another place, that this same person for speaking ill of the Governor, had to stand at the fort door in "durance vile."

GARDENS, FARMS, &c.

"Yes, he can e'en replace agen,
The forests as he knew them then!"

Mr. Abram Brower, aged seventy-five, says, in his youth he deemed himself "out of town," about where now stands the Hospital, on Broadway. Blackberries were then so abundant, as never to have been sold.

Jones had a "Ranalagh Garden," near the Hospital—and "Vauxhall Garden" where they exhibited fire-works, was at the foot of Warren street.

At Corlear's Hook, all was in a state of woods, and it was usual to go there to drink mead.

The first "Drovers' Inn," kept so near the city, was a little above St. Paul's church—kept by Adam Vanderbarrack, [spelt Vanderbergh by D. Grim, who said he had also a *farm* there.]

Bayard's Spring, in his woods, was a place of great resort of afternoons; it was a very charming spring, in the midst of abundance of hickory nut trees; tradesmen went there after their afternoon work. It lay just beyond Canal street—say on south side present Spring street, not far from Varrick street.

In the year 1787, Col. Ramsay, then in Congress, considered himself as living "out in the country," at the "White Conduit house," situate between Leonard and Franklin streets.

"Tea Water Pump Garden," celebrated for its excellent pump of water—situate on Chatham street, near to Pearl street, was deemed a "far walk." It was fashionable to go there to drink punch, &c.

A real farm house *in the city*, stood as an ancient relic until eight years ago, in such a central spot as the corner of Pine and Nassau streets—Mr. Thoburn saw it, and was told so by its ancient owner.

The old Dutch records sufficiently show that in primitive days, all the rear of the town was cast into farms, say six in number, called "Bouwerys;" from whence we have "Bowery" now. Van Twiller himself, had his mansion on farm No. 1, and his tobacco field on No. 3. No. 1 is supposed by Mr. Moulton's book, to have been "from Wall street to Hudson street;" and No. 3 "at Greenwich, then called Tapohanican." No. 4 was near the plain of Manhattan, including the Park to the Kolk; and No. 5 and 6 to have lain still farther to the northward.

The ancient *bon-vivants* remember still "Lake's Hermitage" as a place of great regale; the house and situation is fine even now; situ-

ated now near the sixth avenue, quite in the country, but then approached only through "Love Lane."

The ancient mansion and farm out on the East River, at the head of King's Road, once the stately establishment of Dr. Gerardus Beekman, is made peculiarly venerable for the grandeur of its lofty and aged elms and oaks—its rural aspect and deep shade attracted the notice of Irving's pen. It was used too as the selected country residence of General Clinton in the time of the war.

Robert Murray's farm house in this neighborhood, should be venerable from its associations. There his patriot lady entertained Gen. Howe and his staff with refreshments, after their landing with the army at "Kips' Bay," on purpose to afford Gen. Putnam time to lead off his troops in retreat from the city, which he effected. She was a friend and the mother of the celebrated Lindley Murray.

The garden of "Aunt Katey," and called also "Katey Mutz," was spoken of by every aged person, and was peculiarly notable as a "Mead Garden." It was called by some "Wind-Mill Hill," in reference to its earlier use, and also "Gallows Hill," by others, as once a place of execution. Its location was on "Janeway's farm," about the spot where is now the Chatham Theatre. A part of the garden met the line of the ancient palisades. The whole hill, which was large, extended from Duane down to Pearl street, along the line of Chatham street;—near her place was once "the City Gate." "Soft waffles and tea," were the luxuries there, in which some of the gentry then most indulged.

The angle whereon the Park Theatre now stands, belonged originally to the square of the Park;—that corner of the square, was once called "the Governor's Garden, (so David Grim said) in reference to such an intended use of it.

A garden of note was kept vis a vis the Park, where is now Peale's Museum, and named "Montagne's Garden." There the "Sons of Liberty," so called, convened.

A drawing of the Collect as it stood about year 1750, done by David Grim, which I saw with his daughter Mrs. Myers, places a *garden* at the west side of the *little* Collect, which he separates from the big or main Collect, by an elevated knoll, like an island, on which he marks the Magazine, and a Negro hanging in gibbets—between this, knoll and the big Collect is drawn a *marsh*;—a winding *road* is marked along the south side of the *little* Collect.

REMARKABLE FACTS AND INCIDENTS.

——— "To strike our marvelling eyes,
Or move our special wonder!"

In the year 1735, animosity ran pretty high, between the military Governor and his Council on the one part, and the Mayor and Council on the other part:—On this occasion, *Zanger* the printer, took the part of the latter, which was considered "vox populi" also; the consequence was, he was put under arrest and trial. The popular excitement was strong; and feelings extended even to Philadelphia. Andrew Hamilton there a celebrated lawyer and civilian, volunteered to aid *Zanger* and went on to New York and there effected his deliverance with great triumph. Grateful for this, the corporation of the city, voted him "a golden snuff-box with many classical inscriptions," and within they enclosed him the Freedom of the City." The box might now be a curiosity to see.

I was shown the locality of an incident which has had more readers than any other popular tale of modern times. No. 24 on Bowery road, is a low wooden house, the same from which the Heroine of "Charlotte Temple" was seduced by a British officer. The facts were stated to me and the place shown by Dr. F.

In 1769, was a time of fierce and contentious election for Assembly men:—the poll was kept open for four days;—no expense was spared by the candidates;—the friends of each party kept open houses in every ward, where all regaled and partook to the full!—all citizens left off their usual business;—there were only 1515 electors, of which 917 were freeholders;—all non-resident voters were sought for earnestly in the country and brought to the city polls. John Cruger, James Delancey, Jacob Walton, and James Jauncey, were the successful candidates by majorities, generally of 250 to 270 votes. [This and the following fact respecting election, was derived from MSS. notes, kept by D. Grim with his daughter.]

On an occasion of election, Mr. Alexander M'Dougal (afterwards Gen. M'D.) was the author of an Address "to the Public," signed "Legion," wherein he invoked the public assembling of the people "at the fields, near Dela Montague's, (which is in modern parlance in the Park, near Peale's Museum) "in order effectually to avert the evil of the late base, inglorious conduct by our general assembly, who in opposition to the loud and general call of their constituents and of

sound policy, and to the glorious struggle for our birthrights, have dared to vote supplies to the troops without a shadow of pretext. Therefore, let every friend to his country, then appear."

For this stirring appeal, M'Dougal was taken under arrest by the Sergeant of Arms of the Assembly, who placed him in the county goal. While he was there confined, forty-five persons, "Sons of Liberty," (for "forty-five" was a talismanic number then!) went to visit him in prison, to salute and cheer him. Not long after, "forty-five" female "Sons of Liberty," headed by Mrs. Malcomb, (wife of the General) made their visit also to cheer the state prisoner and to applaud "his noble conduct in the cause of Liberty." It was this leaven that was carrying on the fermentation thus early for the revolution.

The gaining of the election, caused the New Yorkers in 1770, to recede from their non-importation covenants, and the Whigs of Philadelphia, resolved to buy nothing of them "while governed by a faction!"

The winter of 1755, was so peculiarly mild, that the navigation of the North River kept open all the season. Mr. David Grim saw from that cause, Sir Peter Hackett's and Col. Dunbar's regiment go up to the river to Albany in that winter.

The winter of 1780, on the other hand was the extreme of cold, producing "the hard winter." Two great cakes of ice (says D. Grim) closed the North River from Paulus Hook ferry to Courtlandt street. Hundreds then crossed daily. Artillery, and sleds of provisions, were readily passed over: and even heavy artillery was borne over the frozen bridge, to Staten Island.

My friend James Bogert, then a small lad, was with his uncle, the first persons who were ever known to have crossed the East River on the ice, at or near Hell Gate.

I saw in the Historical Society Library, something very rare to be found in this country:—they are sixteen volumes folio of MSS. Journals of the House of Commons, in Cromwell's reign—say from 1650 to 1675—said to have been presented through the family of the late Governor Livingston. [I suspect however, they came through the family of Governor Williamson, because a great part of Col. De Hart's library went by will to De Hart Williamson, in 1801.] Mrs. D. Logan had before told me of having seen those volumes in the possession of Col. De Hart, of Morristown, N. J. about the year 1800. She could not learn how they came into this country, although she found it

was believed they were abducted by some of Cromwell's friends (who went out first to New England, and afterwards settled near Morristown) to prevent their use against those who might remain in England. Their ample margins had been partially used by a commanding officer of our army there, when paper was scarce, to write his orders!

Captain Kidd the celebrated pirate, was once married and settled at New York. As the trial of Kidd, which I have seen and preserved, states on the authority of Col. Livingston, that he had a wife and child then in New York, my inquiring mind has sometimes, looking among the multitude, said,—Who knows, but some of these are Kidd's descendants? I observe however, that the name is not in the New York Directory;—Col. Livingston recommended him to the Crown Officers, “as a bold and honest man.” He had probably been a Privateersman aforesaid out of New York, as we find the records there stating that he there paid his fees (in 1691) to the Governor and to the King. Another record also states, some process against one of his seaman, as deserted from him.

In 1695, he arrived at New York, from England, with the King's Commission, and soon after began and continued his piracies for four years. In 1699, he again arrived within the Long Island Sound, and made several deposits on the shore of that island. Being decoyed to Boston, he was arrested, sent to England, and executed at Execution Dock, on the 23d March, 1701.

To this day, it is the traditionary report, that the family of J—— at Oyster Bay, and of C—— at Huntington, are enriched by Kidd's spoils, they having been in his service, *by force it is presumed*, and made their escape at Long Island at Eaton-neck, which gave them the power afterwards of attaining “the deposits” above referred to. Mr. Benjamin H——t who informed me of this, said he believed that none doubted of it. Both J—— and C—— became strangely rich.

The records of Philadelphia, show that cotemporaneous with this time, “one Shelly, from New York, has greatly infested our navigation with Kidd's pirates.”

In 1722, a Pirate Brigantine appeared off Long Island, commanded by one Lowe, a Bostonian---he was a successful fellow---had captured Honduras. About same time, one Evans also comes on the coast.

The next year, two pirates looked into Perth Amboy and New York itself!

Lowe commanded the "Merry Christmas," of 330 tons, and his consort was commanded by one Harris. [Another pirate, Captain Sprigg called his vessel "the Bachelor's Delight."] They bore a black flag--while off the Hook, they were engaged by the Grey Hound of his majesty's navy. He captured the least of them, having on board as prisoners thirty-seven whites and six blacks; all of whom were tried and executed at Rhode Island, and all bearing our common English names. Captain Solgard who thus conquered, was presented with the freedom of the city in a gold snuff box. Lowe in indignation, afterwards became cruel to Englishmen, cutting and slitting their noses. He had on board during the fight, as the prisoners told, £150,000 in silver and gold.

The gazettes of this period, teem with their adventures. In that time, the public mind was engrossed with the dread of them and they had accomplices often on shore to aid them and divide the spoil.

In 1724, William Bradford in New York, publishes the general history of the pirates, including two women, Mary Reed and Anne Bonny. [Much we should like now to see that work.]

DRESSES, FURNITURE AND EQUIPAGE.

Our father's homely fare discard,
Still studious of change.

Mr. Abraham Brower, aged 75, told me the following facts, viz :

Boots were rarely worn---never as an article of dress---chiefly when seen, they were worn on hostlers and sailors ;---the latter always wore great petticoat trowsers, coming only to the knee and there tying close ;---common people wore their clothes much longer than now ;---they patched their clothes much and long ;---a garment was only " half worn " when it became broken.

He never saw any carpets on floors, before the revolution---when first introduced, they only covered the floor outside of the chairs around the room ;---he knew of persons afraid to step on them when they first saw them on floors ;---some dignified families always had some carpets, but then they got them by procuring them through merchants as a special importation for themselves.

Mahogany was not in general use, and at most it was displayed in a desk and tea table :---the latter was always round. The general furniture was made of " billstead,"---i. e. maple.

He thinks coaches were very rare---can't think there were more than four or five of them ;---men were deemed rich to have kept even a chaise ;---the Governor had one coach ;---Walton had a coach ;---Lieut. Governor Coldon also had a coach, which was burnt before his window, and in his presence, by a mob ;---Mrs. Alexander had one and Robert Murray, another---he being a Quaker, called this his "Leathern Conveniency," to avoid scandal !

The first umbrellas he ever knew worn, was by the British officers, and were deemed effeminate in them. Parasols as guards from the sun, were not seen at all. As a defence from rain, the men wore " rain coats," and the women, " camblets." It was a common occurrence to see servants running in every direction with these on their arms, to churches, if an unexpected rain came up. As a defence in winter from storms, the men wore " great coats," daily. It was a general practice, (as much so, as moving on the first of May,) to put on these coats on the tenth of November, and never disuse them till the tenth of May, following !

The first stoves he remembered, came into use in his time, and were all open inside, in one oblong square, having no baking oven thereto, as afterwards invented in the ten plate stoves.

All the houses were sanded on the floor with white or "silver sand," in figures and devices.

A beaver hat, entire of that fur, "lasted forever," and cost only \$5.

Almost every article of the table and kitchen, as new used in Queensware, used to be made of pewter.

Gentlemen of the true Holland race, wore very long body coats, the skirts reaching down nearly to the ancles, with long and broad wastes, and with wide and stiff skirts;—they wore long flaps to their vests;—their breeches were not loose and flowing, although large, but were well filled up with interior garments, giving name to the thing as well as to families, in the appellation of *Mynheer Ten Bræck*.

A female child of six years, in full dignity of dress, was attired thus, viz:—a white cap of transparent texture, setting smooth and close to the head; on the left side of it, was a white ostrich feather, flattened like a band close to the cap—the cap had a narrow edge of lace. From the neck, dropped a white linen collar with laced edges. A gold chain hung on one shoulder only and under the opposite arm. A white stomacher, with needle ornaments, and the edges laced. The body braced with stays. A white apron very full at the top and much plaited, and edged all round with small lace. A silk gown of thick material of dove color, very full plaited and giving the idea of large hips, (indeed all the Dutch women affected much rotundity in that way!) Broad lace was sewn close to the gown sleeves, along the length of the seam on the inside curve of the arms, so as to cover the seam. The sleeve cuffs were of white lace, large, and turned up. This picture from life, was given by an artist who understood the detail.

Mrs. M'Adams, a venerable lady who I saw at the age of ninety-three, spoke of a circumstance occurring in New York, in 1757, respecting Gen. Gates' first wife—she was generally reported as riding abroad in *mens' clothes*, solely from the circumstance of her wearing a riding habit, after the manner of English ladies, where she had been born and educated. It proved that the manners of the times, did not admit of such female display, and perhaps it was more masculine than we now see them on ladies.

The price of fine cloth before the revolution, was always "a guinea a yard;" and all men, save the most refined, expected after wearing it well on one side, to have it vamped up new as a "turned coat." Among common men, the practice was universal. Thus showing how much better then cloths were than now, in durability.

CHANGES OF PRICES.

“For the money *cheap*—and quite a heap.”

It is curious to observe the changes which have occurred in the course of years, both in the supply of common articles sold in the markets, and in some cases, the great augmentation of prices:—For instance, Mr. Brower, who has been quite a chronicler to me, in many things, has told me such facts as the following, viz:—He remembered well when abundance of the largest “Blue-Point” oysters could be bought, opened to your hand, for 2s. a hundred, such as would now bring from 3 to 4 dollars! Best sea bass were but 2d. a lb., now at 8d.! Sheep-head sold at 9d. to 1s. 3d. a piece, and will now bring 2 dollars! Rock fish were plenty at 1s. a piece, for good ones. Shad were but 3d. a piece. They did not then practice the planting of oysters. Lobsters then were not brought to the market.

Mr. Jacob Tabelec who is as old as eighty-seven, and of course saw earlier times than the other, has told me sheep-head used to be sold at 6d., and the best oysters at only 1s. a hundred—in fact they did not stop to count them, but gave them in that proportion and rate by the bushel. Rock fish were sold at 3d. a pound. Butter was at 8 to 9d. Beef by the quarter in the winter, was at 3d. a pound, and by the piece at 4d. Fowls were about 9d. a piece. Wild fowl were in great abundance. He has bought twenty pigeons in their season, for 1s.;—a goose was 2s. Oak wood was abundant at 2s. the load.

In 1763, the market price of provisions was established by *law*, and published in the Gazette—wondrous cheap they were, viz:—A cock turkey, 4s.; a hen turkey, 2s. 6d.; a duck, 1s.; a quail, 1½d.; a heath hen, 1s. 3d.; a teal, 6d.; a wild goose, 2s.; a brandt, 1s. 3d.; snipe, 1d.; butter, 9d.; sea bass, 2d.; oysters, 2s. per bushel; sheep-head and sea bass, 3 coppers per pound; lobsters, 6d. per pound; milk, per quart, 4 coppers; clams, 9d. per 100; cheese, 4½d.

SUPERSTITIONS.

“Stories of Spectre’s dire disturb’d the soul!”

THE aged men have told me that fortunetellers and conjurers, had a name and an occupation among the credulous;—Mr. Brower said he remembered some himself. Blackbeard’s and Kidd’s money, as pirates, was a talk understood by all. He knew of much digging for it, with spells and incantations, at Corlear’s Hook, leaving there several pits of up-turned ground. Dreams and impressions were fruitful causes of stimulating some to thus “try their fortune” or “their luck!”

There was a strange story, the facts may yet be recollected by some, of “the Haunted House,” some where out of town—I have understood it was Delancey’s.

But a better ascertained case, is that of “the Screaching Woman;” she was a very tall figure of masculine dimensions, who used to appear in flowing mantle of pure white at midnight, and stroll down Maiden lane. She excited great consternation, among many. A Mr. Kimball, an honest praying man, thought he had no occasion to fear, and as he had to pass that way home one night, he concluded he would go forward as fearless as he could;—he saw nothing in his walk before him, but hearing steps fast approaching him behind, he felt the force of terror before he turned to look; but when he had looked, he saw what put all his resolutions to flight,—a tremendous white spectre! It was too much!—he ran, or flew, with all his might till he reached his own house by Peck’s Slip and Pearl street, and then, not to lose time, he burst open his door, and fell down for a time, as dead! He however survived and always deemed it something preternatural. The case stood thus:—When one Capt. Willet Taylor of the British navy, coveted to make some trial of his courage in the matter, he also paced Maiden lane alone at midnight, wrapped like Hamlet in his “inky cloak,” with oaken staff beneath. By and bye, he heard the sprite full-tilt behind him, intending to pass him, but being prepared, he dealt out such a passing blow as made “the bones and nerves to feel,”—and thus exposed a *crafty man* bent on fun and mischief!

MISCELLANEOUS FACTS.

“All pay contribution to the store he gleans.”

THE Indians, in the year 1746, came to the city of New York, in a great body---say several hundreds, to hold a conference or treaty with the Governor. Their appearance was very imposing; and being the last time, they ever appeared there for such purposes,---having afterwards usually met the Governor at Albany, they made a very strong impression on the beholders. David Grim, then young, who saw them, has left some MSS. memoranda respecting them, which I saw in the hands of his daughter Mrs. Myers, to this effect :---They were Oneidas and Mowhawks; they came from Albany, crowding the North River with their canoes; a great sight so near New York; bringing with them their squaws and papoucs, (children);---they encamped on the site now Hudson's Square, before St. John's church; from thence they marched in solemn train, single file, down Broadway to Fort George, then the residence of the British Governor, George Clinton. As they marched, they displayed numerous scalps, lifted on poles, by way of flags, or trophies, taken from their French and Indian enemies. What a spectacle in a *city!*

In return, the Governor and officers of the colonial government, with many citizens, made out a long procession to the Indian camp, and presented them there the usual presents.

The Indians were remembered by Mr. Bogert's grand-mother, to be often encamped at “Cow-foot Hill,” a continuation of Pearl street---there they made and sold baskets.

An Indian remains, such as his bones and some ornaments were lately found in digging at the corner of Wall and Broad streets.

The palisades and block houses, erected in 1745, were well remembered by Mr. David Grim. There was then much apprehension from the French and Indians;---£8000 was voted to defray the cost. Mr. Grim said the palisades began at the house now 57 Cherry street, then the last house out on the East River, towards Kip's Bay; thence they extended direct to Wind-Mill Hill, [that is, near the present Chatham Theatre] and thence in the rear of the Poor House, to Dominic's Hook, at the North River.

The palisades were made of cedar logs of fourteen feet long and ten inches in diameter;---were placed in a trench three feet deep.

with loop-holes all along for musketry;—having also a breast work of four feet high and four feet wide. There were also three block houses of about thirty feet square and ten feet high:—these had in each six port-holes for cannon;—were constructed of logs of eighteen inches thick, and at equi-distances between the three gates of the city, they being placed on each road of the three entrances or outlets;—one was in Pearl street, nearly in front of Banker street—the other in rear of the Poor House; and the third, lay between Church and Chapel streets.

This general description of the line of defence, was confirmed to me by old Mr. Tabelee, aged eighty-seven. He described one gate as across Chatham street, close to Kate-Mutz's garden, on Wind-Mill Hill. The block house on the North River, he supposed stood about the end of Reed street.

The great fires of '76 and '78, are still remembered with lively sensibility by the old inhabitants. They occurred while the British held possession of the city, and excited a fear at the time, that the "American Rebels" had purposed to oust them, by their own sacrifices, like another Moscow. It is however believed to have occurred solely from accident. Mr. Brower thought he was well informed by a Mr. Robins, then on the spot, that it occurred from the shavings in a board yard on Whitehall Slip; but Mr. David Grim, in his MSS. notes, with his daughter, is very minute to this effect, saying:—The fire began on the 21st of September, 1776, in a small wooden house on the wharf, near the Whitehall Slip, then occupied by women of ill fame. It began late at night, and at a time when but few of the inhabitants were left in the city, by reason of the presence of the enemy. The raging element was terrific and sublime—it burned up Broadway on both sides until it was arrested on the eastern side, by Mr. Harrison's brick house; but it continued to rage and destroy all along the western side to St. Paul's church—thence it inclined towards the North River, (the wind having changed to south-east) until it run out at the water edge, a little beyond the Bear Market—say at the present Barclay street.

Trinity church, though standing alone, was fired by the flakes of fire which fell on its steep roof, then so steep that none could stand upon it, to put out the falling embers. But St. Paul's church equally exposed, was saved, by allowing citizens to stand on its flatter roof, and wet it as occasion required.

In this awful conflagration, four hundred and ninety-three houses were consumed;—generally in that day, they were inferior houses to the present, and many of them were of wood.

Several of the inhabitants were restrained from going out to assist at night, from a fear they might be arrested as suspicious persons—in fact, several decent citizens were sent to the Provost Guard, for examination, and some had to stay there two or three days, until their loyalty could be made out. In one case, even a good loyalist and a decent man, sometimes too much inclined “to taste a drop too much,” (a Mr. White) was by misapprehension of his character, and in the excitement of the moment, hung up on a sign post, at the corner of Cherry and Roosevelt streets. Mr. N. Stuyvesant told me he saw a man hanging on his own sign post—probably the same person before referred to by Mr. Grim.

Mr. Grim has given to the Historical Society, a topographical map, showing the whole line of conflagration.

The next fire, of August, 1778, occurred on Cruger’s wharf, and burnt about fifty houses;—on that occasion, the military took the exclusive management, not suffering the citizen-firemen to control the manner of its extinguishment. It was afterwards ordered by the Commander in Chief, that the military should *help* but *not order*, at the suppression of fires.

The Slips, so called, were originally openings to the river, into which they drove their carts to take out cord wood from vessels. The cause of their several names, has been preserved by Mr. D. Grim.

Whitehall Slip, took its name from Col. Moore’s large white house, or hall;—it adjoined the Slip, and was usually called “Whitehall.”

Coenties Slip, took its name from the *combination* of two names—way of Coenraet and Jane Ten Eycke—called familiarly Coen and Anties.

The Old Slip, was so called, because it was the first or oldest in the city.

Burling’s Slip, was so called after a respectable family of that name, living once at the corner of Smith’s Vly (now Pearl street) and Golden Hill.

Beekman’s Slip, after a family once living there.

There was only *one* Slip on the North River side, which was at the foot of Oswego street, now called Liberty street.

Corlear's Hook, which means a point, was originally called Nechtant by the Indians, and was doubtless from its locality a favorite spot with them. There Van Corlear, who was trumpeter at the fort, under Van Twiller, had laid out his little farm, which he sold in 1652, to William Beekman, for £750.

The Negro Plot, of 1741, was a circumstance of great terror and excitement in its day;—aged persons have still very lively traditionary recollections of it. One old man showed me the corner house in Broad street, near the river then, where the chief plotters conspired. Old Mr. Tabelec, says, new alarms were frequent after the above was subdued. For a long time in his youth, citizens watched every night, and most people went abroad with lanthorns.

Mr. David Grim, in his MSS. notices, which I saw with his daughter Mrs. Myers, says, he retained a perfect idea of the thing as it was. He saw the Negroes chained to a stake and burned to death.* The place was in a valley, between Wind-Mill Hill, (Chathan Theatre) and Pot-Bakers' Hill, (now Augusta street, about its centre) and in mid-way of Pearl and Barley streets. At the same place, they continued their executions for many years afterwards.

John Hustan, a white man, was one of the principals, and was hung in chains, on a gibbet at the south-east point of H. Rutger's farm, on the East River, not ten yards from the present south-east corner of Cherry and Catharine streets. Since then, the crowd of population there, has far driven off his "affrighted ghost," if indeed it ever kept its vigils there.

Cesar, a black man, a principal of the Negroes, was also hung in chains, on a gibbet, at the south-east corner of the old powder house in Magazine street. Many of those Negroes were burnt and hung, and a great number of others were transported to other countries.

We must conceive, that on so dreadful a fear, as a general massacre, (for guns were fired, and "many run to and fro,") the whole scenes of arrest, trial, execution, and criminals long hung in chains, must have kept up a continual feverish excitement, disturbing even the very dreams when sleeping! Thank God, better times have succeeded, and better views to fellow men.

"I would not have a *slave* to tremble when I wake,
For all the price of sinews bought and sold!"

* The Pennsylvania Gazette of 1741, says, one of those hanged, having shown signs of life, was hung up again. John Ury, a popish priest, was also hung as an accomplice.

Roman Catholics, and the cry of "church and state in danger," was often witnessed on election and other occasions in New York;—also, "high and low church," were resounded. "No Bishop," could be seen in capitals, on fences, &c. A man did not dare to avow himself a Catholic---it was odious---a chapel then would have been pulled down! It used to be said, "John Leary goes once a year to Philadelphia, to get absolution."

Hallam's company of players, the first on record, played at New York, in 1754.

William Bradford, fifty years government printer, at New York, died at the age of ninety-four, in the year 1752;---he had been printer a few years at Philadelphia, in the time of the primitive settlement.

In 1765, two women named Fuller and Knight, were placed one hour in the pillory, for keeping bawdy houses. If this were again enforced, would not much of the gaudy livery of some be set down!

Among the MSS. of the Logan family, I have seen some notice by James Logan, in 1702, of Gov. Nansen, at New York, "in the time of the distractions of that place,"---saying that "Gov. Hamilton, of Pennsylvania, had in a friendly manner given a hint not to be too rigorous, &c. in the case of Col. Bayard, P. French, T. Wenham, outlawed; and scores of others who made their flight, but Nansen drove furiously, and scurrilously and resentfully returned his answer," &c.

A Gazette of 1722, hints at the declining whalery along Long Island, saying, "There are but four whales killed on Long Island, and little oil is expected from thence."

But they have soon after a generous recompense—for in 1724, it is announced that at Point Judith, in a *pond* there, they took 700,000 bass, loading therewith with fifty carts, 1000 horses and sundry boats.

In the old Potters-field, there was formerly a beautiful epitaph on a patriot stranger from England, a Mr. Taylor, who came to join our fortunes, to wit:---

Far from his kindred friends and native skies,
Here mouldering in the dust, poor Taylor lies—
Firm was his mind and fraught with various lore,
And his warm heart was never cold before.
He lov'd his country, and that spot of earth
Which gave a Milton, Hampden, Bradshaw birth—
But when that country—dead to all but gain,
Bow'd her base neck and hugg'd the oppressor's chain,
Loathing the abject scene, he droop'd and sigh'd—
Cross'd the wild waves, and here untimely died,

About the year 1787, there was much excitement in the city of New York, against the whole fraternity of doctors, called "the Doctors' Riot;"---it was caused by the people's lively offence at some cases of bodies procured for dissection. The mob gathered to the cry of "down with the Doctors." And so pushed to the houses of some of the leading practitioners---their friends got before them, and precipitate retreat ensued. In the sequel, the most obnoxious sought their refuge in the prison, where the police being quelled, there were some violent assaults. Their friends and the friends of the peace, ranged on the prison side, made some defence;---Col. Hamilton stood forward as champion, and John Jay was considerably wounded in the head, from a stone thrown from the mob---it laid him up some time.

A singular fact occurred a few years ago, on the occasion of the explosion of Mr. Sand's Powder Magazine, at Brooklyn. An aged citizen, then at the Bull's Head Inn, at the Bowery, wearing a broad brimmed hat, perceived something like gun powder showering upon it;---the experiment was made, on what he gathered thereon, and it ignited! This is accounted for as coming from the explosion, because the wind set strong in that direction, and it is ascertained by firing a fusee over snow, that if it be over-charged, the excess of grains will be found resting upon the snow.

INCIDENTS OF THE WAR IN NEW YORK.

————— “this to show
Mankind, the wild deformity of war!”

New York city having been held during the term of the revolution, as a conquered place, and also as the chief military post of British rule, it becomes matter of interest and curiosity to the present generation, to revive and contemplate the pictorial images of those scenes and facts which our fathers witnessed in those days of peril and deep emotion. I give such as I could glean.

The spirit of opposition in us, began before the revolution actually opened.

The first Theatre in Beekman street, (now where stands the house No. 26) was pulled down, on a night of entertainment there, by the citizens, generally called “Liberty Boys.” The cause arose out of some offence in the play, which was cheered by the British officers present, and hissed and condemned by the mass of the people. Soon after, the people seized upon a Press Barge, and drew it through the streets to the park commons, where they burnt it.

After the war had commenced and New York was expected to be captured, almost all the Whig families, who could sustain the expense, left their houses and homes, to seek precarious refuge where they could, in the country. On the other hand, after the city was possessed by the British,—all the Tory families who felt unsafe in the country, made their escape into New York, for British protection. Painfully, family relations were broken;—families as well as the rulers, took different sides, and “Greek met Greek” in fierce encounter!

Mr. Brower who saw the British force land in Kip’s Bay, as he stood on the Long Island heights, says it was the most imposing sight his eyes ever beheld. The army crossed the East River, in open flat boats, filled with soldiers standing erect; their arms all glittering in the sun beams. They approached the British fleet in Kip’s Bay, in the form of a crescent, caused by the force of the tide breaking the intended line, of boat after boat. They all closed up in the rear of the fleet, when all the vessels opened a heavy canonade.

I shall herein endeavor to mark the localities of position occupied by the British, especially of residences of distinguished officers, and also of those suffering prison-houses and hospitals where our poor countrymen sighed over their own and their country’s wo.

All the Presbyterian churches in New York, were used for military purposes in some form or other. I suspect they were deemed more whiggish in general than some of the other churches. The clergyman of that order, were in general throughout the war—said to be zealous to promote the cause of the revolution. The Methodists on the contrary, then few in number, were deemed loyalists, chiefly from the known loyalism of their founder, Mr. Wesley. Perhaps to this cause it was, that the Society in John street, enjoyed so much indulgence as to occupy their church for Sunday night service, while the Hessians had it in the morning service for their own chaplains and people.

The British troops were quartered in any empty houses of the Whigs, which might be found. Wherever men were billeted, they marked it.

The Middle Dutch church in Nassau street, was used to imprison 3000 Americans. The pews were all gutted out and used as fuel. Afterwards they used it for the British cavalry, wherein they exercised their men, as a riding school; making them leap over raised windlasses. At the same place, they often picketed their men, as a punishment, making them bear their weight on their toe, on a sharp goad. At the same place, while the prisoners remained there, Mr. Andrew Mercein told me he used to see the "Dead Cart" come every morning, to bear off six or eight of the dead.

The old sugar house, which also adjoined to this church, was filled with the prisoners taken at Long Island;—there they suffered much, they being kept in an almost starved condition.

This starving proceeded from different motives;—they wished to break the spirit of the prisoners, and to cause their desertion; or to make the war unwelcome to their friends at home. On some occasions, as I shall herein show, the British themselves were pinched for supplies—and on other occasions, the commissaries had their own gain to answer, by withholding what they could from the prisoners. I could not find, on inquiry, that Americans in New York, were allowed to help their countrymen, unless by stealth. I was told by eye-witnesses of cases, where the wounded came crawling to the openings in the wall, and begging only for one cup of water, and could not be indulged, the sentinels saying, "we are sorry too, but our orders have been, 'suffer no communication in the absence of your officer.'"

The North Dutch church in William street, was entirely gutted of its pews, and made to hold 2000 prisoners.

The Quaker meeting in Pearl street, was converted into an Hospital. The old French church was used as a prison.

Mr. Thomas Swords told me they used to bury the prisoners on the mount, then on corner of Grace and Lumber streets. It was an old redoubt.

Cunningham was infamous for his cruelty to the prisoners, even depriving them of life, it is said, for the sake of cheating his King and country, by continuing for a time to draw their nominal rations! The prisoners at the Provost, (the present Debtors' Prison in the Park) were chiefly under his severity, (my father among the number, for a time.) It was said he was only restrained from putting them to death, (five or six of them of a night, back of the prison-yard, where was also their graves) by the distress of certain women in the neighborhood, who pained by the cries for mercy which they heard, went to the commander-in-chief, and made the case known, with entreaties to spare their lives in future. This unfeeling wretch, it is said, came afterwards to an ignominious end, being executed in England, as was published in Hall and Sellers' paper in Philadelphia. It was there said, that it came out on the trial, that he boasted of having killed more of the King's enemies by the use of his *own* means, than had been effected by the King's Arms!—he having, as it was there stated, used a preparation of arsenic in their flour!

Loring, another commissary of prisoners, was quite another man, and had a pretty good name. Mr. Lennox, the other, being now a resident of New York, I forbear any remarks.

There was much robbing in the city, by the soldiery at times. In this, Lord Rawdon's corps and the King's guards, were said to have been pre-eminent.

The British cast up a line of entrenchments, quite across from Corlear's Hook to Bunker's Hill, on the Bowery road, and placed gates across the road there. The Hessians under Knyphausen, were encamped on a mount not far from Corlear's Hook.

Mr. Andrew Mercier who was present in New York, when most of the above mentioned things occurred, has told me several facts. He was an apprentice, with a baker who made bread for the army, and states, that there was a time when provisions even to their own soldiery, was very limited. For instance, on the occasion of the cork provision fleet over staying their time, he has dealt out six penny loaves, as fast as he could hand them, for "a hard half dollar a piece!"

The baker then gave \$20 a cwt. for his flour. They had to make oat-meal bread for the navy. Often he has seen 7s. a pound given for butter, when before the war, it was but 9d.

When Cornwallis was in difficulties at York town, and it became necessary to send him out all possible help, they took the citizens by constraint and enrolled them as a militia. In this service, Mr. Mercein was also compelled, and had to take his turns at the fort. There they mounted guard, &c. in military attire, just lent to them for the time, and required to be returned. The non-commissioned officers were generally chosen as Tories, but often without that condition. Mr. Mercein's Sergeant, was whiggish enough to have surrendered, if he had had the proper chance! There were some independent companies of Tories there.

It was really an affecting sight to see the operations of the final departure of all the King's embarkation;—the Royal band beat a farewell march. Then to see so many of our countrymen with their women and children, leaving the lands of their fathers, because they took the King's side—going thence to the bleak and barren soil of Nova Scotia, was at least affecting to them!—their hearts said, “my country! with all thy faults, I love thee still!”

In contrast to this, there followed the entry of our tattered and weather-beaten troops, followed by all the citizens in regular platoons.

“Oh! one day of such a welcome sight,

Were worth a whole eternity of lesser years!”

Then crowded *home*, to their own city, all those who had been abroad as exiles from British rule—fondly cherishing in their hearts,

“This is my own my native land!”

The German troops, says Mr. Mercein, were peculiarly desirous to desert, so as to remain in our country, and hid themselves in every family, where they could secure a friend to help their escape.

It is estimated that 11,000 of our Americans were interred from the British prisons, at the Wallabout, the place of the present Navy Yard. In cutting down the hill, for the Navy Yard, they took up, sixteen or eighteen years ago, full thirteen large boxes of human bones, which being borne on trucks, under mourning palls, were carried in procession to Jackson street on Brooklyn height, and interred in a charnel house constructed for the occasion, beneath three drooping willows. There rest the bones of my grand-father, borne from the Jersey Prison Ship, three days after his arrival.

“Those prison ships, where pain and penance dwell,

Where death in tenfold vengeance holds his reign,

And injur'd ghosts, then unaveng'd complain!”

Two of the burnt hulks of those ships, still remain sunken, near the Navy Yard—one in the dock, and one (the Good Hope) near Pindar's Island.

“Rotten and old, e'er filled with sighs and groans!”

The word Wallabout, is said to mean, as its location signifies, a bend in the shore.

The sick were changed from the Jersey Prison Ship, after Washington's interference.—It did good.

Our ideas of prisons and prisoners, having ourselves been never confined, are too vague and undefined in reading of any given mass of suffering men. To enter into conception and sympathy with the subject, we must individualize our ideas by singling out a single captive—hear him talk over his former friends and happy home—see him penniless, naked, friendless, in pain and sickness, hopeless, sighing for home—yet wishing to end his griefs in dying! with Sterne's pathos—see him watch his weary days and nights—see the iron enter his soul—see him dead—then whelmed in pits, neglected and forgotten. Such was the tales, if told, of 11,000 of our countrymen at New York!

Our officers had better fare---they had money or credit---could look about and provide for themselves---could contrive to make themselves half gay and sportive occasionally. Capt. Graydon, who has left us amusing and instructive memoirs of sixty years of his observing life, having been among the officers captured at Fort Washington, and held prisoners in New York, has left us many instructive pages concerning the incidents at New York, while held by the British, which ought to be read by all those who can feel any interest in such domestic history as I have herein endeavored to preserve;---I claim him as a kindred spirit, and am gratified to see so old a man set down the recollections of his life, with so much good feeling and pleasant anecdote. Agreeable old age is always grateful and companionable.

When we look back and consider the names of British generals who were once our terror;---think of the schemes and inventions on which they must have been closeted within the walls of houses still in New York—all intended for our destruction;---then consider how cold and noiseless they now all rest;---their latter fame unknown—none of us knowing their final history;---how very small “the triumphs of the hour appear!—even as poor players “who had strutted and played life's poor part!” Has no body any after history of any of them?—Does Dodsley's Annual Register give nothing of their closing life?

We know from the late Judge Peters, who was in counsel with Gen. Washington, upon the occasion, that it was designed to attack the British in New York, even at that time when it became suddenly necessary to abandon that project and to turn the designs to York town, where it eventually terminated in the capture of Cornwallis' army, and afterwards led to the peace. It was the withdrawal of De Grasse's naval support that compelled the change of purpose—De Grasse saying he found the bay of New York, too dangerous for his heavy ships, and that he must seek the Chesapeake. To a mind fond of the marvellous, it may appear that the page of destiny had inscribed York as the name of occult omen. For whether York betokened the Duke's name and rule of former years, or the head of British power in the revolutionary struggle, it became the name by which to close the career of British empire, and to found under American auspices, the metropolitan of our ocean cities!

RESIDENCES OF BRITISH OFFICERS.

“In all the pomp and circumstance of war!”

As it aids our conceptions of the past, to be able to identify the localities, where men conspicuous in our annals of the revolution, dwelt, I set down the mansions which some of them occupied.

General Gates, before the revolution, dwelt in the large house, now Young's cabinet rooms, No. 69 Broad street. There Gates had that house splendidly illuminated in 1762, for the news of the Stamp Act repealed, probably as a measure to conciliate the people. In the same house, once dwelt Gen. Alexander—afterwards, our Lord Stirling.

Governor Tryon, lived, after his residence in the fort was burnt, in the house, now the Bank of New York, at the corner of Wall and William streets.

Gen. Robinson, commandant of the city, lived at one time in William street, near to John street. At another time, he lived in Hanover Square, now the premises of Peter Remson, & Co. No. 109. He was an aged man of seventy-five years of age.

Col. Birch, was also commandant of the city a long while, and lived in Verplank's house, the same site on which the present Bank of the United States, in Wall street, stands. The residence of Admiral Digby, and indeed of all naval officers of distinction arriving on the station, was Beekman's house, on the north-west corner of Sloate Lane and Hanover Square. There dwelt, under the guardianship of admiral Digby, Prince William Henry, the present Duke of Clarence, probably destined to be King of England. What associations of ideas must it produce, if he attains the honors of a throne! He who seen in the common garb of a midshipman's "roundabout," in New York, has been seen easy of access, trying to join the boys of New York, in skating on the Kolck Pond: then a knocked-kneed lad, offering on one occasion, on board his ship in New York harbour, to lay aside his star, and box-out a controversey with a fellow midshipman. Could he again see New York, he would not know the rival London!

Gen. H. Clinton had his town residence at N. Prime's house, (first built for Capt. Kenedy) at No. 1, Broadway, on the Battery. His country house was then Dr. G. Beckman's, on the East River, now Bayard's place.

Sir Guy Carlton, also occupied the house of N. Prime; and for his country residence, the house at Richmond Hill, on Greenwich street: afterwards, the residence of Col. A. Burr, (the same house is now lowered 22 feet!) Lord Dorchester also dwelt at the latter house,

Gen. Howe dwelt in N. Prime's house, at south end of Broadway, next to the Battery.

Gen. Knyphausen, commander of the Germans, dwelt in the large house, even now grand in exterior ornaments, &c. in Wall street, where is now the Insurance Co., next door eastward from the New York Bank.

Admiral Rodney, when in New York, occupied for his short stay, the house (double front) of Robert Bowne, No. 256 Pearl street.

Gov. George Clinton had his dwelling in the present "Redmond's Hotel," No. 178 Pearl street. It was splendid in its day, of Dutch construction;---it has a front of five windows and six dormer windows; ---its gardens at first extended through to Water street, which was then into the river.

All along the front of Trinity church ground, (called "the English Church," formerly) was the place of the military parade, called by the British "the Mall." There the military band playd---on the opposite side, assembled the spectators of both sexes.

I have taken unusual pains to ascertain the residence and conduct of the traitor General Arnold---I found such variety and opposition in opinion, as to incline me to believe there was some intentional obscurity in the residence. The weight of evidence however desides me to believe he dwelt at two places in New York; and that his chief residence, as a separate establishment, was at the west side of Broadway, and the third house from the river. There Ramney, said he dwelt and had one sentinel at his door, whilst Sir H. Clinton, at Prime's house at the corner, had two. John Pintard, Esq. told me of his being present at Hanover Square, when his attention was called by whispers, "not loud but deep," of "see the traitor-general!" He saw it was Arnold, coming under some charge from Sir Henry Clinton, at the Battery, to General Robertson, then understood by Pintard, to be the commandant of the city. It was said, that after the usual salutations with Robertson, he requested his aid Capt. Murray, a dapper little officer, to show Gen. Arnold, the civilities and rarities of the place. The spirited Captain strutted off alone, saying, "Sir, his majesty never honored me with his commission to become the gentleman usher to a traitor!" There seems almost too much point in the story, to be strictly true; but it was the popular tale of the day, among the Whigs incog. Mr. L. C. Hamersley told me he saw Arnold at Verplank's house, in Wall street, where is now the Bank of the United States; and then he thought Arnold lived there with Colonel Birch. Robert Lennox, Esq. thought he lived with Admiral Digby.

ANCIENT EDIFICES.

The venerable pile, by innovation razed!

THE Walton House, No. 321 Pearl street, was deemed the nonpareil of the city in 1762, when seen by my mother, greatly illuminated, in celebration of the Stamp Act repealed. It has even now an air of ancient stately grandeur. It has five windows in front;—constructed of yellow Holland brick;—has a double pitched roof covered with tiles and a double course of balustrades thereon. Formerly, its garden extended down to the river. The family is probably descended of the Walton, who a century ago, gave the name of “Walton’s Ship Yards” at the same place. William Walton, who was one of the Council, and the first owner of the above house, made his wealth by some preferences in the trade among the Spaniards of South America and Cuba.

There are at present but four or five houses remaining of the ancient Dutch construction, having “pediment walls,” surmounting the roof in front and giving their gable ends to the street.

Last year they took down one of those houses in fine preservation and dignity of appearance, at the corner of Pearl street and the old Slip—it was marked 1698. Another on the north-east side, of Coenties Slip, was also taken down last year, marked 1701. The opposite corner had another, marked 1689.

In Broad street, is one of those houses marked 1698, occupied by Ferris, & Co. No. 41. Another appearing equally old, but of lower height, stands at the north-east corner of Broad and Beaver streets. These with the one now standing, No. 76 Pearl street, near Coenties Slip, is I think the only ones now remaining in New York. The passion for novelty “studious of change,” is levelling all the remains of antiquity!

The ancient “Stadt Huys,” formed of stone, stood originally at the head of Coenties Slip, facing on Pearl street, towards the East River, is now occupied by the houses No. 71 and 73. It was built very early in the Dutch dynasty, 1642, and became so weakened and impaired in half a century afterwards, as to be recommended by the court sitting there, to be sold out and another to be constructed. The minutes of common council, which I have seen in General Morton’s office, are to his effect:—In 1696, it is ordered that inquiries be made, how the

City Hall,” and the land under the trees by Mr. Burgher’s path, would sell?” In 1698, they agree to build the “new City Hall,” by the head

of Broad street, for £3000, (the same afterwards the Congress Hall, on corner of Wall street.) In 1699, they sell the old City Hall, to John Rodman, for £920, reserving only "the bell, the King's Arms, and iron works, (letters, &c.) belonging to the prison," and granting leave also, to allow the cage, pillory, and stocks before the same, to be removed within one year; and the prisoners in said jail, within the said City Hall, to remain one month." In front of all these on the river side, was placed the Rondeal, or Half-Moon Fort, where it probably assisted the party sheltered in the City Hall, while the civil war prevailed. All these citations sufficiently show, that here was really a City Hall as a Court of Justice, with the prison combined. All the tradition of the old men, has been, that "there was once the old jail." We know from Dutch records that there was an earlier prison than this once within the fort---say in 1640;---we know also, that this Stadt Huys was originally constructed by Governor Keift, for a Stadt Herberg, or City Tavern. Soon after, it was both the Company's Tavern, and City Hall, at same time. Here the partizans in the civil war, held their fortress, and at them, balls were fired from the fort. In time the numerous persons crowding the courts held in it, weakened the building and made it needful to take it down in 1700. It would seem as it "was old and run to decay," a second building had supplied its place in 1701, as that was the mark, which that house, taken down last year, then bore.

The City Hall at the head of Broad street, fronting on Wall street, stood out beyond the pavement in that street, and must have been finished in 1700. It was also the prison, having before it in the Broad street, a whipping post, pillory, &c. There was also held the Provincial Assembly, the Supreme Court, and the Mayor and Admiralty Courts—it was also the place of election;—it was finally, altered to suit the congress, and the prisoners removed to the then "new jail in the Park,"—but the congress removing to Philadelphia, through the influence of Robert Morris, as the New Yorkers set forth in a caricature, it was again altered to receive the courts and the state assembly;—finally, all was removed to the present superb City Hall of "everlasting marble."

It is curious respecting the City Hall, that after it was built, it is on record, it was first ordered that it be embellished with the Arms of the King and the Earl of Bellermont, and afterwards the corporation order, that the latter should be taken down and broken! What meant that indignity! just at his death too, in 1701.

The first theatre being destroyed in Beekman street, a second theatre was established in John street, between Nassau and Broadway. There British officers performed sometimes for their amusement. Bonaparte's activity, and vigour of mind, would have found them more characteristic and busy employ! It was well for us, the army had such material!

There were two ancient custom houses: one stood at the head of Mill street—a confined little place;—a more respectable one, is the same now a grocery store on the north-west corner of Moore and Front streets. Mr. Ebbets, aged seventy-six, remembered it used as such. At same time, the Bason was open all along Moore street. The present N. W. Stuyvesant told me this was the same building once the “Stuyvesant Huys,” of his celebrated ancestor. In front of the building, was a public crane.

The exchange stood near there, on arches, across the foot of Broad street, in a line with Water street--was taken down after the revolution. Under its arches, some itinerant preachers used occasionally to preach.

The first Presbyterian church, built on the site of the present one in Wall street, near Broadway, was built in 1719, and it is on record in Connecticut, that churches there took up collections to aid the primitive building.

MY REFLECTIONS AND NOTICES.

“When I travelled I saw many things,
And I learned more than I can express.”—Eccl.

IN my travels about New York, looking into every thing with the “peering eyes” of a stranger, I saw things which might not strike every one, and which I am therefore disposed to set down.

New York, as a whole, did not strike me as a deformity that it had several narrow and winding lanes. I might prefer for convenience of living, straighter and wider streets, as their new built ones in every direction are; but as a visiter, it added to my gratification, to wind through the unknown mazes of the place, and then suddenly to break upon some unexpected and superior street or buildings, passing in another direction. It gives entertainment to the imagination, to see thus, the lively tokens of the primitive Dutch taste for such streets; and the narrow lanes, aided the fancy to conceive, how, the social Knickerbockers, loved the narrow lanes for their social conveniences, when setting in their stoopes in evenings, on either side the narrow pass, they enjoyed themselves in social Dutch, not unlike the “social vehicles,” now used for travelling up and down Broadway, and ranging the passengers face to face.

I felt also pleased and gratified with the great variety of painted brick houses; done of necessity, because their bricks are inferior generally, but giving them occasion to please the eye with numerous fancies.

I most disliked their marked compliment to our Philadelphia brick, in painting numerous brick houses in the precise red colour of our unpainted bricks. A brick of dead red, has no beauty of itself;—almost any other colour, in my judgment, would surpass it.

This is peculiarly the town of “merry church going bells.” Their numerous spires as ornaments, seem to demand the others, as apologies for such expensive steeples. In Philadelphia, in other days, the inhabitants petitioned that a part of their few bells should be dismantled or silenced, because they disturbed the sick. Do not the sick hear them in New York?—or are they still “merry bells” to them!

There is something in New York, that is a perpetual ideal London to my mind, and therefore more a gratification to me to visit, than to abide. The stir and bustle; the perpetual emulation to excel in dis-

play;---the various contrivances, by signs and devices, to allure and catch the eye;---the imitations of London, and foreign cities and foreigners; rather than our own proper republican manners and principles, struck my attention every where. The very ambition to be the metropolitan city, like London, gave them cares which I am very willing to see remote enough from Philadelphia---I am fully willing, ours shall long be "the peaceful city of Penn." Why do we want our cities, and even our country, dense with foreign population!--Is there no maximum point, beyond which our comforts and ease must proportionably diminish? I fear so.

New York is distinguished for its display in the way of signs;---every device and expense is resorted to, to make them attractive; crowding them upon every story and even upon the tops and ends of some houses. One small house in Beekman street, has twelve signs of lawyers; and at 155 Pearl street, the name of Tildon and Roberts, were painted on the stone steps of the door!

"A wilderness of strange but gay confusion."

In truth, it struck me as defeating its own purpose, for the glare of them was so uniform as to lose the power of discrimination. It is not unlike the perpetual din of their own carriage wheels unnoticed by themselves, though astounding to others.

These signs however, had some interest for me, and especially along Pearl street, where they were of tamer character, than in Broadway, and were so much the easier read. There I read and considered the nomenclature of the town. I saw by them that strangers had got hold of the business and the wealth of the place. "The busy tribes" from New England, supplied numerous names; and the names of the Knickerbockers, were almost rarities in their own homes! Judicious persons told me they thought full one half of all the business done in New York, was "by the pushing Yankees," (I mean it to their credit!) one fourth more by foreigners of all kinds, and the remainder left a fourth for the Knickerbockers; some of them in business, but many of them reposing *otium cum dignitate*, on the surprisingly increased value of their real estates. The ancients who still linger about as lookers-on, must sigh or exclaim, "strangers feed our flocks, and aliens are our vine dressers!"

Jones' buildings, or Arcade, in Wall street, is a curious contrivance for mere offices---a real London feature of the place! where ground is precious.

I deem it strange, that in so rapidly an enlarging city, I should see no houses "to let;"---all seen occupied.

The frequency of fires, and their alarms, is one evil of over large population. The cry occurred every day or night I dwelt in the city. An old man (Mr. Tabece) who had been twenty-eight years a fireman, told me, they never had an alarm of fire in summer, in olden time.

New York has now become an extremely finely paved city. Formerly, many of their foot walks had only the same kind of round pebbles which fill the carriage way. This gave occasion to Dr. Franklin to play his humour, in saying, a New Yorker could be known by his gait, in shuffling over a Philadelphia fine pavement, like a parrot upon a mahogany table! Now, their large flag stones, and wide foot pavements, surpass even Philadelphia, for its ease of walking; and the unusual width of their flag-stone footways, across the pebbled streets at the corners, is very superior.

In visiting two of the Reformed Dutch churches, my mind ran out in various meditations and reflections---I thought of the ancients all gone down to the dust---of their zeal and devotion to the decrees of the Synod of Dort and of God---of their hope that their own language would never be superceded within those walls which they had reared! Now, as I looked around among the congregation for Knickerbocker visages and persons, I saw no caste of character to mark their peculiar race. You may discern a German in Pennsylvania, as a coarser mould; but not so the Netherland progeny in New York. Yet such as I found them, they were the only and last remains of the primitive settlers of New Amsterdam;---it was only in such a collection of descendents, that you could hope to find, if at all, the *sesquipedalia names* of their ancestors, such as these:---Mynheers Varrevanger, Vander Schuven, S'ouwert Olpheresse, Vande Spiegel, Van Bommel, Hardenbroeck and Ten Broeck, Boele Roclofsen, Van Ruyven, Ten Eyck, Verplanck Spiegelaer, Van Borssum, &c. &c.:---not to omit the least of all little names, "De!" These were names of men of property, on the earliest list assessed, now extant.

It is interesting to witness occasionally, here and there, the remains of the ancient town, as the houses in some instances of humble wooden fabric, continue as they were. Thus in so conspicuous and wealthy a place as Broadway and the Park,---"tall mansions to shame the humble shed,"---we see at the south-west corner of Warren and Broadway, a collection down each street, equal to four houses each

way, of small two story frames. Down Broad street, a central place, are still many very mean looking low frames. They doubtless retain their places, because of paying better rents for their value, than could be derived from more sightly edifices.

The New York painters of fancy wood, are certainly peculiar in their skill in tasteful decorations or accurate imitations. It is displayed in numerous fine imitations of oaken doors---sometimes in marble pillars and posterns---some fine imitations of the pudding-stone columns, which cost so much in the capital of Washington;---but finally, I think nothing can excel the excellency of the painting of the north Dutch church pulpit, where Dr. Brownlee is pastor. Every touch of it is true to the character of the bird-eye maple, and having the finest possible polish.

With more time, I might possibly have found out some rarely aged persons of good experience in the past. I saw Sarah Paul, a colored woman, at No. 23 Lombardy street, of the rare age of *one hundred and fifteen years*,* as it was estimated. Her memory was too unstable to rest any remarkable facts upon, although she was sufficiently talkative. Another relic of "Lang Syne," was found in the intelligent mind and active person, of old William Ceely, now an inmate of the Alms-house at Bellevue, at the advanced age of *one hundred and eight*. 'Tis only in the last year that he walked one hundred and fifty miles, to see relatives in Connecticut. How strange to see such persons, so long escaped the "thousand ills that flesh is heir to!"

Coney Island is a "lonely shore" of rare advantage to New York. We can never hope to have any thing to compare or compete with its benefits, as a recreation and a salutary change "for the cooped-up sickly citizen." A greater *desideratum* cannot be imagined for the population of a great city, devoted to their daily toil of business, than the power of reaching sea-bathing, in a cheap and moderate ride of but two hours. There to eat a meal, or spend a night, and return home "with nerves new braced, and sinews firmer strung!" Such a place is Coney Island, having a dashing surf, and good house of adequate entertainment. If its worth is duly appreciated as a means of refreshing and invigorating the city population, it will be deemed an invaluable acquisition!

Though but a looker-on in New York, like others, of "no particular business," I nevertheless felt myself occasionally charged with

* She died in February, 1829.

every body's concerns, and thought myself not unlike Knickerbocker himself—a mysterious gentleman “very inquisitive, continually poking about town and prying into every thing,”—seizing when he could, facts “trembling on the lips of narrative old age,” just as they were “dropping piece meal into the tomb.” With the best intentions to be unintrusive and civil, a *quid nunc* must sometimes traverse gruff natures, who having no feelings in sympathy with the subjects, feel fretted by the kindest questions. They are indeed rare occurrences; and when happening, are more likely to afford amusement to the calm inquirer than to vex him. I could tell anecdotes of some such occasional incidents, but one may here suffice.

Passing along a certain street and seeing the house which had been occupied as the primitive Methodist meeting—now a small store, I concluded to stop in and inquire whether any facts concerning its early days, had ever been spoken of it in their presence. I took for granted that the inmate was a New Yorker;—but I was no sooner entered than I perceived it was occupied by a debonair foreigner, who, with much vivacity and seeming politeness, was already on the approach from a back apartment. It struck me instantly, as an affair *mal apropos* on both sides! For I could readily read in his face that he expected in me a guest by whom to make his profit. It was not perhaps to the credit of the gentleman that I should, beforehand, conceive that he would revolt at any question about “a Methodist meeting,” let me put it in what form of gentleness I would: But it was so. I had no sooner, in set words of intended brevity, told the objects of my stepping-in, than I perceived “the hectic of the moment” mantling his cheeks; and I began to think if I could only preserve my self-possession, I might see the enactment of “Monsieur Tonson” himself! His first replication was—“my God saire! what have I to do wid de Metodiste meeting!”—Excuse me, sir, I replied, that is what I cannot answer, because, I came to *ask you* what you had ever heard of this house. “Why saire, what have you to do wid dis house?” Very much, sir, as a matter of curiosity; for here it was said, was cradled a religious people now the strongest in numerical force in the United States! “Ah saire, dat is noting to me—I am no Metodiste!” Oh, sir, replied I, I am satisfied of that. “Then saire, wat do you want?” I told you that at first, sir, when I introduced myself and subject. “I have *no interest* in the subject,” said he. So I perceive, said I, and I am only sorry I have engaged so much of your time to so little mutual benefit.

Perceiving him so tempest tost, on so small a subject---all "to waft a feather, or to drown a fly!" I constrained him to hear me a little longer, while I should tell him a little of the primitive history of the house, under the plausible kindness of enabling him to give more direct answers to future enquirers, if ever again questioned concerning his notable place. His nervous impatience, in the mean time, was apparent enough, but he had to bear it, for it was impossible to quarrel with my gentleness and urbanity; and he could not but be half-afraid his troubler "was lunatic and sore vexed," as one too often visiting "the glimpses of the moon!" We parted with mutual bows and civilities, and both "preserved our honors!"

As I had looked in vain for any thing like primitive remains of "Oranje Boven" in the Dutch churchés of New York, I would fain have followed Kniekerböcker himself to their "last hold" at *Communipaw*,---a name itself sufficiently sounding and mysterious to invite a stranger to an inspection and exploration,---to learn, if he could, what it means and what it exhibits. Its allurement, to me, would have been to catch there a living picture of those characteristics appropriated to it by its comic historian, saying, "it is still one of the fastnesses whither the primitive manners of our Dutch forefathers have retreated and still are cherished with devout affection." The pleasure of a visit to such a place, I was not favored to indulge; but if it answers the description, it is the spot which the sons of Oranje Boven, should specially consecrate to Dutch memory, by holding *there* their occasional festivals in rude simplicity;---reviving there the recollection of their ancestors by crowning their festive boards with the very diet in kind, which they once prized,---such as Suppawn and Malk, Hoof Kaas, Zult, Hokkies en Poetyes, Kool Slaa, Roltetje, Worst, Gofruyt Pens, &c. &c.

☞ *The original MSS. book, from which the preceding notices of New York have been taken, has been given to the Historical Society of that place. Among a few of its articles omitted in the present print, was the form and manner of the queries usually submitted, or explained in substance, to the aged, as a means of eliciting the information required. It may be usefully consulted by those who may desire further to pursue the subject.*

